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AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

VOLUME I.

THE FOUR GOSPELS.

VOLUME II.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES TO THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

VOLUME III.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY TO THE REVELATION.

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

NEW TESTAMENT;

CONTAINING

AN EXAMINATION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE AUTHORITY, INTERPRETATION, AND INTEGRITY OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS, WITH REFERENCE TO THE LATEST INQUIRIES.

BY

SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE, AND LL. D.

VOLUME III.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY TO THE REVELATION.

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ΠΟΛΛΑΙ μεν θνητοις ΓΑΣΣΑΙ, μια δ'Αθανατοισιν.

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SAMUEL BAGSTER AND SONS,

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PREFACE.

In submitting to the public the third and last volume of the "Introduction to the New Testament," the author has only to say, that he has endeavoured to complete the work in the manner and spirit in which it was commenced. He has studied to conduct his researches with impartiality and candour, not rejecting or adopting an opinion because it is held or disowned by any party or individual, but weighing it on its own merits and deciding accordingly. He has tried to explore the sources of information, on the subjects with which he has had to deal, with a single desire to ascertain the truth. *Traditional* views have not been followed or discarded simply because they *are traditional*, but because they are correct or erroneous, probable or improbable. In carrying forward his inquiries, it has been his duty to discuss perplexing topics, about which wise and learned men have differed. It will not therefore be expected, that he should be alike successful in all places; or that he should arrive at results which will always approve themselves to the reader's judgment. In several instances he may have erred; in many, he may have employed incautious expressions. But those who know the real difficulties of his task,

will not hasten to blame. Aware of the fact that men of the highest ability have pronounced very different sentiments respecting these questions, they will refrain from looking out for such conclusions as may exactly accord with their own, in all cases.

The writer would fain hope, that he has been able to advance the intelligent study of the New Testament books in this country. In all the topics his work was intended to embrace, he trusts he has done something towards making them better understood, by throwing the light of recent researches upon them. True it is, that the perfunctory may not wish for more information. They may rest contentedly in the present state of their knowledge, unconcerned about its enlargement or correction. They are conservative enough to abide by what they have; believing that it is sufficient for their good. But there is a growing class of students who do not so think. Alive to the tendencies of the age they live in, they see the conflict between truth and error which has begun to shake old opinions to their foundation; and readily avail themselves of all helps within their reach to attain a better acquaintance with the records of Revelation. They do not dream that the men of two centuries ago were as wise in the department of theology as those of the present day; or that ancient creeds embody all essential truth, either in the best form, or without admixture of error. They gladly welcome new light from whatever quarter it comes; not turning away from it at once because it wears a strange face. Or, they accept old conclusions as true, only after clearing away the rubbish which had gathered around them. They are not afraid of a German writer merely because he is German; nor prone to give an opprobrious name to a sentiment or opinion because it is German or new to them. They embrace truth simply *because it is truth;* and are more anxious about the meaning of the New Testament records, than about adherence to the current belief of a particular sect. They wish,

if possible, to belong to God's church and God's side, unpopular though they be, rather than the church of their fathers, or the side that is fashionable. To the latter class, the author hopes his work will be acceptable as a contribution towards a full understanding of the questions connected with the department of introduction. He has tried to make it worthy of their attention. And the favour already shewn to the former volumes by those whose favour is precious, encourages him to hope that he has not laboured in vain.

It has been judged better to put the remainder of the work into one volume, though the size of it is larger than either of the preceding, than to divide it into two parts, or to make two thin volumes. Had two volumes been adopted, it is likely that the observations on the Apocalypse would have been enlarged. In that part especially, condensation has been followed. Under other circumstances, the Apocalypse portion would have been larger than it is.

It will be seen, that some of the observations on the Revelation are the same as have been already published in an article on the book, in Kitto's "Cyclopædia"; others are very different. The writer has altered, modified, corrected, and enlarged what he had inserted there. Nor is he ashamed to avow his change of opinion on several points. The dissertation on *designations of time* was inserted in the "Eclectic Review" for December 1844. It is now reprinted in an enlarged and improved form, without any material change.

Mr. Elliott has assailed these articles in Kitto's "Cyclopædia" and the "Eclectic Review," in various parts of his *Horae Apocalypticae*. In doing so, he has made and repeated statements he ought not to have advanced, because they are untrue. Thus

he says: "Dr. Davidson's internal evidence is a mere repetition of the above from Stuart" (vol. i. p. 511, note). In another place he writes: "So substantially, Prof. Stuart; and so too, his prototype Eichhorn, and his English follower Dr. Davidson" (vol. iv. p. 507). In a third passage, we read about Eichhorn "and his copyists, Stuart and Davidson" (vol. iv. p. 516).

With regard to repeating, copying, or following Stuart, in the article on the Apocalypse written for Kitto's "Cyclopædia," nothing can be farther from the truth. It was not till that article had been printed and published, that Stuart's work on the Apocalypse came to hand across the Atlantic. Mr. Elliott would have seen this fact stated, in the note to an article which follows "Revelation," by Dr. Wright, had he been disposed to a little candour (see p. 714). How Dr. Davidson could imitate, follow, or copy a book he had not seen, is left to the commentator on the Apocalypse to explain. Nor has Dr. D. yet read Stuart's "Commentary on the Apocalypse." He has purposely refrained from its perusal. All the observations now written are independent of Stuart's. When he wanted to get at the Professor's opinion on two or three passages, he simply turned to them; but that was to know what the class of expositors to which he belongs say, that they might be combated. Dr. Davidson has not read two consecutive pages, he might even say one, in the two volumes of the learned American. Hence all that he has written on the Revelation is his own, as far as Stuart is concerned. As to Eichhorn, whom Dr. D. is also represented by Elliott as following, his work on the Apocalypse has never been seen by the present writer. So much for the truth of Elliott's statements. A little more caution, candour, and charity, would be desirable on this head in the next edition of the "Horae," whose redoubted author ought to be ashamed of making false statements against one who is as conscientious in the pursuit of sacred truth as himself.

In like manner it is said by the late lamented Bickersteth, in his "Signs of the Times in the East," that the Reply to Birks, in the "Eclectic Review," "is the fullest, but it is Mr. Maitland's argument over again" (p. 10). This is not correct. When the article in question was written, the author had not seen one of Maitland's pamphlets. He knew them only by Birks's and Elliott's attempted refutation of the view advocated in them. The few words he quoted out of one or two of them were borrowed from these writers. In re-writing the article for the present work, the author has had before him the pamphlets in question; but it will be seen, that the substance and arguments remain as they were. Mr. Bickersteth's statement is wholly without foundation.

The writer regrets that he has not had the benefit of perusing the continuation of Olshausen's "Commentary on the New Testament," by Wiesinger and Ebrard, containing the Epistles to the Philippians, Titus, Timothy, Philemon, and the Hebrews. The corresponding portion of his volume was printed before this fifth volume of Olshausen was published. He could also make but a very limited use of Huther on the Pastoral Epistles, in continuation of Meyer's "Commentary," because his own MS. was in the printer's hands, and partly in type, before the volume was received. In like manner, the third edition of Tholuck on the Epistle to the Hebrews came to hand, after the printing of the writer's observations on that epistle had commenced. But he endeavoured to make such use of it as he could in the proof-sheets. In like manner the works of Arnaud and Stier on the Epistle of Jude, and of Cellerier on the Epistle of James (Etude et Commentaire sur l'Epitre de Saint Jacques), were published too late to be consulted in the preparation of the present volume.

Since the volume was printed off, the work of Mr. Shepherd, entitled "The History of the Church of Rome," has come to hand,

opening up new views in ecclesiastical history which have an influence on some portions of the present Introduction. Had it been published earlier, allusion would have been made to the way in which Mr. Shepherd reasons against Peter's presence and death in Rome; for the new researches come most into contact with that part of the present volume which relates to Peter's life. But it is too late to do more at present than simply allude to the able, ingenious, and original inquiries of the learned writer. Some *quotations*, they might probably have led the present writer to hesitate about accepting as authentic. They might have abridged his authorities, while not materially affecting his inferences. Or, they might perhaps have modified a conclusion or two at which he has arrived.

Had the author consulted his own desires, he should have been disposed to wait till the remainder of Hengstenberg on the Apocalypse had been published; and also till the rest of Lücke's Einleitung to the same book, in the new edition, had appeared. But though Dr. Lücke kindly offered to send him the sheets as they should be printed, the publishers deemed it advisable not to delay. Reluctantly therefore has he been obliged to forego the pleasure and profit of reading these two most important works on the Apocalypse, before his own observations were printed.

Discussions on the disputed readings, 1 Tim. iii. 16, and 1 John v. 7, should have been inserted in their proper places in the volume. But in consequence of its size they have been omitted. They will appear, however, in the new edition of the "Lectures on Biblical Criticism."

The author has to thank the Rev. Dr. S. R. Maitland for some manuscript notes relating to the early fathers supposed to favour the year-day theory, of which he has freely availed himself, to

make his Dissertation as complete as possible. For the ready kindness evinced in this and other matters, he begs thus publicly to tender his obligations to that accomplished writer.

To his learned friend Dr. Tregelles he is much indebted for kind deeds and friendly counsel, which it were difficult to repay. By none has he been so much cheered in the prosecution of his labours.

Encouraged by the favourable opinions of scholars in this land, in Germany, and in America, whose names stand in the foremost rank of learning, it is matter of devout thankfulness to God, that the writer has been able to complete his arduous task. He has prosecuted his studies in the New Testament by day and by night, for several years, in the belief that though the work to which he had committed himself was indeed most difficult, it behoved him, while life and health remained, to do something for the illustration and defence of God's holy word, at a time when scepticism of a peculiar order prevails in the land. He can truly say, that he has tried to be impartial in his inquiries, divesting himself of preconceived notions as far as they might impede research. But it is one thing for weak man to purpose, and another to carry out his purposes. Imperfection and ignorance will cleave to all his performances. The author is quite sensible of the deficiencies belonging to his work. It might have been improved by longer time and more intense study. But life is short. With the means at his disposal, and the one talent God has given, he has done what he could. He fears that some things in the volumes may not be acceptable to theologians of a certain idiosyncrasy. Sorry will he be to find that he has not succeeded in giving them ample satisfaction. He must say, however, that he has no sympathy with the avowed advocates of systems, creeds, and parties. He did not write for those who are *made up* in all their opinions;

averse to learn, because they are wise in their own conceits; afraid to think, lest they should doubt; prone to censure, where they do not understand; to dogmatise, where they have not studied; to misrepresent, where they do not even take the trouble to read. He appeals to the honest lovers of truth—to the patient inquirers after God's will in the New Testament—to the anxious and humble student of books claiming to be sacred because of heavenly origin.

As the work has advanced, he has been forcibly reminded of the shortness of life, not only by death in his own dwelling, but by the departure of scholars with whom he has held much converse through works similar in scope to his own. The accomplished De Wette has been removed, the writer trusts and believes, to a better country; the amiable Neander, whom he had the privilege to know on earth, has entered on his reward; and in our own land, Dr. P. Smith, the kind friend, has followed them on high. May the Spirit of truth lead the writer and his readers into all truth, till they arrive at last amid THE PERFECT LIGHT where the feeble lamps of human science that glimmer around the path of the just in their pilgrimage state, are lost in an eternal day!

The valuable Indexes accompanying the present volume have been prepared by the Rev. Isaac Jennings of Ongar, to whom the writer feels greatly indebted for his seasonable assistance. Their completeness and accuracy leave nothing to be desired.

LANCASHIRE INDEPENDENT COLLEGE,
Manchester, 15 *May*, 1851.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

In examining this letter we shall attend to the following topics:—

I. The History of Timothy himself, as far as it can be gathered from the New Testament.
II. Time at which the Letter was written.
III. State of the Church when Paul left it under Timothy's superintendence.
IV. Object which the Writer had in view.
V. Contents of the Epistle.
VI. Agreement of the contents with the specified purposes of the Writer.
VII. Authenticity of the Epistle.

I. *The history of Timothy himself, as far as it can be gathered from the New Testament.*

The New Testament furnishes but few and scattered notices of Timothy's public life. He was a native of Derbe in Lycaonia, his father being a Greek, but his mother belonging to the Jewish persuasion (Acts xvi. 1, etc.; 2 Tim. i. 5). By the latter he was early instructed in the Old Testament Scriptures. Her name and that of his grandmother are mentioned, and the high praise is awarded to them of possessing unfeigned faith. Being truly

pious, they were anxious for the spiritual life of the child. When Paul came from Antioch in Syria the second time to Lystra, he found the youthful disciple; and, as the christians at Lystra and Derbe spoke well of him, recommending him to the affectionate confidence of the great Gentile missionary, the latter took him for his assistant. It is not certain whether he was converted by Paul at his first visit to Lystra and Derbe, though it is probable he was, from expressions applied to him in 1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 2; 1 Cor. iv. 17. "Timothy my own son in the faith." "Timothy my dearly beloved son." "Timotheus who is my beloved son, and faithful," etc. These terms may indeed be explained by the fact that Timothy was trained by Paul for the office of a religious teacher, but it is likely that they include the idea of his having been converted by the apostle's instrumentality. We refer his conversion, therefore, to the time specified in Acts xiv. 6, when Paul and Barnabas visited the cities of Derbe and Lystra.

From the time he became associated with the apostle of the Gentiles (Acts xvi. 3), he rendered important service in the cause of the Gospel, and was greatly beloved by Paul for his fidelity, affection, and zeal. The intimacy subsisting between them was of the most pleasing kind—the master regarding the disciple with affectionate solicitude, and relying on his co-operation with perfect confidence; the disciple looking up to the spiritual father with all the respect to which he was entitled. After being circumcised and set apart to the work of an evangelist by the elders of the church at Lystra, who, with the apostle, laid their hands on him, he travelled with the latter to Macedonia by Troas. He was left behind at Berea, joined Paul again at Athens, and was sent thence to Thessalonica. From Thessalonica he went to the apostle and assisted him at Corinth (Acts xviii. 5, comp. 1 Thes. iii. 6). At a subsequent period he was again at Ephesus (Acts xix. 22); and was despatched thence into Macedonia and Achaia before the apostle took his second journey from Ephesus into those regions (Acts xix. 22; 1 Cor. iv. 17; xvi. 10). When the second epistle to the Corinthians was written, he was with Paul in Macedonia (2 Cor. i. 1). At a later period, when the epistle to the Romans was composed at Corinth, Timothy was with the writer (Romans xvi. 21). On Paul's return through Macedonia, Timothy went

before him to Troas (Acts xx. 5). Whether he went with him to Jerusalem and Rome, or followed him thither, is uncertain; but he is mentioned in the epistles written at Rome during imprisonment. Thus he did not desert his master in adversity. Even then he remained at his side (Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 1; Philem. i.). Ecclesiastical tradition makes him first bishop of Ephesus, an idea which sprang up during *the hierarchical* period. The latter part of his history is quite unknown. He is said to have suffered martyrdom at Ephesus under Domitian or Nerva. It is not easy to understand the circumstances adverted to in the epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 23), or the precise time when the occurrence there indicated fell out. Some writers even dispute the fact that the person mentioned is identical with Paul's companion.*

II. *Time at which the letter was written.*

Timothy was at Ephesus when the epistle was addressed to him. Paul, intending to go to Macedonia from Ephesus, had left him there. This is evident from the third verse of the first chapter: "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine." We must therefore look at the times when the apostle visited Ephesus; for the passage now quoted shews that the epistle was written *soon after* he travelled from Ephesus towards or into Macedonia.

(*a*) The first occasion on which Paul visited Ephesus is noticed in Acts xviii. 19, after he had left Cenchrea: "And he came to Ephesus and left them there: but he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews." Departing from the city he visited Caesarea and Antioch, and travelled through Galatia and Phrygia. Now, he is supposed by Calvin, in his annotations on chapter iii. 14, to have written the present epistle while in the last mentioned locality. The writer hoped to see Timothy shortly (1 Tim. iii. 14): and it is stated accordingly that he visited Ephesus after passing through *the upper coasts* (Acts xix. 1). Thus the sojourn at Ephesus mentioned in Acts xviii. 19 is pronounced identical with that alluded to in 1 Tim. i. 3.

This view is wholly untenable. The epistle implies that a

* See Witsius's Miscellanea Sacra, vol. ii. p. 438 et seqq.

church had existed at Ephesus for a considerable time, a fact which does not agree with the history in Acts xviii. 19-21; xix. 1, etc. During the visit in question it could scarcely be said with truth that the church was organised. Besides, not a hint is dropped about Timothy being then left behind at Ephesus. Aquila and Priscilla were so left, for that is expressly stated. Had Timothy remained, the circumstance would have been mentioned, since he occupied a more prominent position in relation to the church than they. In short, it is decisive against this view that the apostle did not go from Ephesus into Macedonia; whereas it is stated he did so in 1 Tim. i. 3.

(*b*) The most common view is that which connects the composition of the present epistle with the apostle's second visit to Ephesus, mentioned in Acts xx. 1, compared with xix. 1-41. On this occasion he left the city and departed to go into Macedonia, in accordance with 1 Tim. i. 3. This hypothesis is held by Theodoret, Baronius, Estius, Petavius, Grotius, L. Cappellus, Blondel, Hammond, Salmasius, Lightfoot, Alstedt, Benson, Lardner, Michaelis, Zachariae, Hänlein, Planck, Hug, Schmidt, Heinrichs, Hemsen, Curtius, Anger, Doddridge, Burton, Townsend, and others.

The epistle accordingly is supposed to have been written while Paul was on his way to Macedonia, or at some place in it (Acts xx. 1, 2).

But considerable difficulties lie against the view in question.

1. The superscription of the second epistle to the Corinthians seems to prove, that at the time St. Paul is supposed by them to have written this epistle to Timothy, Timothy in truth was with St. Paul in Macedonia. Paul, as it is related in the Acts, left Ephesus "for to go into Macedonia." When he had got into Macedonia, he wrote his second epistle to the Corinthians. Concerning this point there exists little variety of opinion. It is plainly indicated by the contents of the epistle. It is also strongly implied that the epistle was written *soon* after the apostle's arrival in Macedonia; for he begins his letter by a train of reflection, referring to his persecutions in Asia as to recent transactions, as to dangers from which he had lately been delivered. But in the salutation with which the epistle opens, *Timothy was joined with*

St. Paul, and, consequently, could not at that time be "left behind at Ephesus." And as to the only solution of the difficulty which can be thought of, viz., that Timothy, though he was left behind at Ephesus upon St. Paul's departure from Asia, yet might follow him so soon after, as to come up with the apostle in Macedonia, before he wrote his epistle to the Corinthians; that supposition is inconsistent with the terms and tenor of the epistle throughout. For the writer speaks uniformly of his intention to return to Timothy at Ephesus, and not of his expecting Timothy to come to him in Macedonia: "These things write I unto thee, *hoping to come unto thee shortly:* but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself," chap. iii. 14, 15. "*Till I come*, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine," chap. iv. 13.[b]

Attempts have been made to remove the difficulties in this paragraph, but apparently without success. It is thought that Timothy might have followed the apostle into Macedonia, between the time of writing the present epistle and the second to the Corinthians. That is certainly *possible*. But in such a case the apostle must have been some time in Macedonia before writing to the Corinthians. He met with Titus *soon after* arriving in Macedonia, probably at Philippi. Hence we are required to believe, that he delayed writing after the arrival of Titus from Corinth; a thing quite improbable, considering the state of mind in which he was before meeting with the long-expected messenger, and the beginning of the Corinthian letter itself. It is natural to think, that Paul wrote to the Corinthians *immediately after* receiving the intelligence brought by Titus, or, which is the same, soon after his arrival in Macedonia. But, by the supposition in question, Paul could not have written immediately, else Timothy would not have had sufficient time to enable him to rejoin the apostle in Macedonia. The first place where he could have written the first epistle to Timothy after leaving Ephesus was Troas. Suppose then that he despatched the letter from it. He left it forthwith, and hastened forward to Macedonia. Timothy could not have received the epistle much sooner than Paul arrived in Macedonia. And soon after arriving there he wrote the second letter to the

[b] Paley, Horae Paulinae, chap. xi.

Corinthians, Timothy being with him. If, as others think, Paul wrote the first epistle to Timothy from Macedonia, the improbability that Timothy could have had time to rejoin him, after receiving at Ephesus the letter addressed to him, and before the second epistle to the Corinthians was written, is greatly increased. Besides, Timothy must have *done* something before leaving Ephesus, and *after* receiving the letter of instructions. It is most unlikely that he hurried away from the place after he got the epistle. The main business which he was appointed to perform could not have been over so soon; and the letter must have opened up various matters to his view which required immediate attention.

2. When Paul wrote the letter before us, he intended to return shortly to Ephesus (1 Tim. iii. 14; iv. 13). But there is no mention of another visit to Ephesus in the Acts or in the Epistles. He never expresses such a purpose or hope elsewhere, nor is there any hint of it being fulfilled, even though it has not been mentioned. It is of no avail to affirm, that some unforeseen accident detained him; because that is improbable by the side of other statements respecting his abiding in Greece, and journey to Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 6, 7; Acts xix. 21; xx. 16), statements made about the time when he is supposed to have spoken to Timothy of his intention to return soon to Ephesus.

Hemsen endeavours to shew, that there is no improbability or contradiction here. In iii. 14 he thinks that Paul expresses the hope that it might be in his power to return to Ephesus soon, for the purpose of assisting Timothy with his counsel and co-operation. But he was not perfectly decided in his mind to do so, for he says immediately after, that his journey might be deferred, and therefore he instructs Timothy *in writing* how to behave himself in the house of God. Thus, though the apostle entertained the hope of speedily revisiting Ephesus, he did not know whether he should be able to fulfil his intention. The other passage (iv. 13), according to Hemsen, expresses the same idea still more indefinitely. The critic justifies the apostle in speaking undecidedly by *the circumstances in which he was placed.* He was waiting for intelligence from Corinth by Titus. His spirit was uneasy about the state of affairs in that church. Till he heard from it he could not

tell whether it would be advisable to continue his journey to Corinth, or to return at once to Ephesus. He was doubtful as to the effects of his letter on the Corinthians, and quite undecided whether it might prove right to go forward, or to revisit Timothy.[c]

All this is unsatisfactory, though ingenious. If we look impartially at the words of iii. 14, they contain an *expectation* or *hope* (ἐλπίζων) of returning soon to Ephesus. The writer does not say, as Hemsen asserts, that he would *perhaps* return shortly, but, on the contrary, "hoping to come to thee *sooner*" (τάχιον) than you may need what I now write, on the supposition that τάχιον is the right reading. Nor does the language agree well with the idea that Paul may have intended, if possible, to visit Ephesus on his way to Jerusalem. Again, in iv. 13 it is written, "Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine," etc. Hence the apostle was not in so much doubt about returning, as Hemsen represents. It is thought, however, that he altered his mind in consequence of what he learned after writing to Timothy. Some suppose that the resolution not to visit Ephesus must have been formed before he left Macedonia, because it is written in Acts xx. 16, "Paul *had* determined to sail *by* Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia." But here again difficulties multiply. Suppose that Paul wrote to Timothy from Troas. *Soon after* arriving in Macedonia he met with Titus from Corinth. Before writing to the Corinthians after receiving intelligence from Titus, Timothy was with him. It is quite improbable that he changed his resolution of going back to Ephesus, before Timothy left that city. It is equally improbable that he formed the new resolution before hearing from Titus respecting Corinth. His altered purpose was connected with the one or the other. If with the former, there is not sufficient time for the formation of the resolution in Macedonia, before Timothy forsook Ephesus. If with the latter, the resolution was taken quite irrespectively of Timothy.

Hemsen, who connects the alteration of the apostle's mind with the intelligence received from Corinth by Titus, must be puzzled in attempting to explain the fact, that after Paul received such intelligence from Titus as induced him to be in no haste to con-

[c] Der Apostel Paulus, p. 351, et seqq.

tinue his journey without intermission to Corinth at that time, he did not go back to Ephesus. Granting his knowledge of Timothy's leaving the place, or granting even Timothy's presence with him in Macedonia, there was the greater need of his presence again, even for a short time, at Ephesus.

What new circumstances led the apostle, though deferring his visit to Corinth, to postpone indefinitely his visit to Ephesus also? He had left the youthful Timothy in critical circumstances, had written an epistle to guide him should his return be delayed; and yet without ever hinting at the possibility of his being *wholly prevented* from revisiting Ephesus, but merely indicating the likelihood of *delay*, he never returns to the place, as far as we are aware. He had set out from Ephesus, according to Hemsen, in great anxiety of mind respecting Corinth. His determination to proceed to it depended on what he should hear from Titus; and yet, after receiving Titus's account which induced him to delay visiting Corinth immediately, he forgets to return to Ephesus, as he had hoped to do.

3. Paul charges Timothy to abide at Ephesus till his return, for the purpose of conducting the affairs of the church in his absence, and of establishing it in the faith. He was intrusted by the apostle with a paternal oversight of it (1 Tim. iv. 13). According to the present hypothesis, however, he very soon abandoned the post assigned him, and went to Paul while the latter was still in Macedonia (2 Cor. i. 1). In this way the letter, written as a directory for Timothy in the apostle's absence, for the purpose of teaching him how to conduct the affairs of the Ephesian church, was rendered unnecessary. Its primary object was at once frustrated. This is exceedingly improbable.

Hug, Hemsen, and others, endeavour to remove this difficulty also. They try to discover a reason or reasons for Timothy's speedy abandonment of his post. They do not, however, go so far as to say, that the important business he was left to transact had been completed—that the society had been fully set in order. He must have abandoned the place before the various commissions with which he had been intrusted were executed. Some few indeed have supposed, that the duties which Timothy was to perform at Ephesus might have been speedily accomplished—so

speedily, as to allow him to follow the apostle into Macedonia very soon. But these writers endeavour to reduce the duties to a very small compass, narrowing them simply to this, that Timothy was left for the purpose of giving a solemn charge to certain persons there, to teach no other doctrine than that which Paul taught (i. 3). Or, if it is thought that officers also were to be appointed, he could have done that likewise very speedily. But the term *charge* should not be restricted to *one solemn charge*, as if that were its true sense here. It denotes *continuous activity* in enjoining a certain course. And then it is apparent, that some irregularity had got into the church. New office-bearers had to be appointed in place of the deposed. This may not have been a very easy task. Many other things had to be attended to, such as those relating to deaconesses, etc. In short, none who fairly examines the epistle will think it at all probable, that the duties which Timothy had to perform could have been done so speedily as to allow of his rejoining Paul in Macedonia before the latter wrote to the Corinthians.

Others call to their aid *unforeseen circumstances* for the sake of explaining the evangelist's speedy departure from the city. These circumstances are of course purely conjectural. Thus, Hug attributes it to the apostle's enemies, who were embittered against his accomplice as well as himself; while Planck[d] finds the counter-operations of the false teachers a sufficient reason for the abrupt abandonment of Ephesus. Hemsen, however, wisely refrains from specifying the particular circumstances. And indeed it is difficult to conceive what they could have been. They could not have been the dangers to which Timothy was exposed from false teachers in the church, or from enemies without. The church generally must have been loyal in its attachment to the apostle's associate. Nor is it likely that Paul himself recalled Timothy, as Curtius[e] supposes. He could not have done so at Troas, supposing him to have written the epistle there, else the intimation to follow him must have been sent by the person or persons who carried the epistle, an assumption opposed to what he had just written. And if he did so after arriving in Macedonia, in that case Timothy

[d] Bemerkungen ueber den ersten Paulin. Brief an d. Timoth., p. 92.

[e] De tempore quo prior Pauli ad Timotheum epistola exarata sit, etc., p. 64.

could scarcely have had sufficient time to arrive before Paul met with Titus and wrote to the Corinthians. Besides, the presence of Timothy in Macedonia would have been unnecessary when Paul had so many companions there as those mentioned in Acts xx. 4. Curtius's attempt to answer this is an utter failure. In short, an unknown cause, which it is difficult to discover, must be adduced for the purpose of removing a serious stumbling-block. But it cannot remove it. The obstacle still remains. It is utterly inconceivable that Timothy could have abandoned his important post so soon, leaving affairs in an incomplete state (though Paul took care to provide for that imperfect state by his assistant's instrumentality), and rendering a long letter, intended to be that assistant's guide in the administration of the church, quite superfluous.[f]

4. Timothy does not appear to have been at Ephesus when Paul left it for Macedonia; for he had been sent forward, shortly before the apostle left Ephesus, into Macedonia (Acts xix. 22).

In reply to this it has been assumed, that Timothy remained but a very short time in Macedonia, and returned to Ephesus before Paul left it. This supposes that he followed the apostle very speedily, after receiving commissions in this epistle which must have obliged him to remain for some time behind Paul. These commissions are suited to the idea of Timothy's stay at Ephesus, inasmuch as they could not have been executed in a very short space of time.[g]

According to Bertholdt, who feels the difficulty involved in 1 Tim. iii. 14 and iv. 13, the epistle was written in the time of Paul's return from Achaia to Macedonia (Acts xx. 3). The apostle was travelling from Corinth to Macedonia when he wrote it.[h] In this hypothesis Bertholdt follows Grotius.

But it does not need refutation, because it is opposed to the statements of Luke in Acts xx. 3, 4, 5: "And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Asia, Sopater of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and of Asia,

[f] Eichhorn, Einleitung, vol. iii. p. 343, et seq.

[g] See Schleiermacher, Einleit. ins N. Testament, p. 169.

[h] Einleitung, vol. vi. pp. 3606, 3607.

Tychicus and Trophimus. These going before, tarried for us at Troas." Here it is related that Timothy travelled along with certain others, and waited with them for Paul at Troas. Now Bertholdt supposes, that though Timothy left Corinth along with them, he took the direct way to Ephesus, and not to Macedonia, as Luke affirms. Thus the credibility of the history in Acts is sacrificed to make room for a singular hypothesis. In any case, the words in 1 Tim. i. 3 are opposed to it; for they imply that a previous admonition had been given to Timothy *to abide* at Ephesus, not that he had been *sent thither* by the apostle from Corinth or Philippi. Besides, at that time Paul could not express a hope of seeing Timothy soon (iii. 14).

" Untenable as is the hypothesis of Bertholdt, it has been adopted by Matthies,[1] who to obviate the insuperable objection to it contained in i. 3, adopts, after Paulus, a singular explanation of the words, viz., "as I besought thee to abide at Ephesus when thou didst travel (or wast on the point of travelling) from Achaia to Macedonia."[j] Thus πορευόμενος is connected with προσμεῖναι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ rather than παρεκάλεσα. But had the participle referred to Timothy, it should have been in the accusative case. The construction obviously demands its reference to *Paul*, not to Timothy. Besides, Ephesus was not in Macedonia, so that the exegesis, unnatural as it is, fails to remove the difficulty. Matthies indeed says, that Paul besought him to abide in *Ephesus* as the limit and resting-place of his journey to *Macedonia;* but this is far-fetched.

Thus no attempt to connect the abode of Paul at Ephesus and his journey thence into Macedonia with 1 Tim. i. 3 has been successful. This verse cannot be brought into harmony with the first visit to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 19); nor with the second (xix. 1-40), in the way already noticed.

Two suppositions remain. Either the journey in question has been omitted in the Acts, and must therefore be inserted at some convenient point; or it belongs to a period *posterior* to that which the history in the Acts extends to, *i. e.*, after Paul's imprisonment at Rome, with which the Acts close.

[1] Erklärung der Pastoralbriefe, p. 451, et seqq.

[j] Erklärung der Pastoralbriefe, p. 222, et seqq.

The former hypothesis is advocated by Mosheim, Schrader, and Wieseler. Let us advert to their views separately.

Mosheim[k] thinks, that the apostle took a journey into Macedonia soon after his second arrival at Ephesus (Acts xix. 1, etc.). From Acts xix. 8-10 he infers that Paul taught at least two years and three months at Ephesus. On comparing this with Acts xx. 31, he thinks the apostle was nine months absent. When he left the company of believers at Ephesus to go into Macedonia, they were not properly organised. During his absence the church had increased considerably in numbers, the errors referred to in our epistle had arisen, and Timothy had consulted the apostle in a letter, the reply to which is contained in the extant first epistle addressed to him.

The improbability of this hypothesis lies against *the mode* in which it is carried out by Mosheim in detail, rather than against itself simply. It is clear that he places the journey into Macedonia at too early a point of the Ephesian abode; and attributes to the church a more imperfect organisation than it really had. The society was furnished with elders. It had also deacons, and apparently deaconesses too. Hence the precepts addressed to Timothy do not relate to *the choice of officers for the first time*, but to the substitution of new ones in place of others; and to the due discharge of the duties involved in their office. It is evident, indeed, that the church was in a tolerably advanced stage of organisation when the epistle was written, and had been so even when Paul left it. False doctrine had crept into it and was beginning to spread. All this presupposes a longer time than Mosheim assumes. Nor is it likely that the apostle was absent for the space of nine months; for this does not agree well with Acts xx. 31. In the infancy of the society Paul would scarcely have left it so long. The chief difficulty, perhaps, in the way of adopting this opinion lies in 1 Tim. i. 3, a passage implying the appearance of false doctrine before Paul left Ephesus. He besought Timothy to abide there for the purpose of opposing its spread in the church. Hence it could not have made its first manifestation during the apostle's absence.

[k] Erklärung der Briefe Pauli an den Timotheus, p. 50, et seqq.

Schrader[l] agrees with Mosheim in assuming a visit of Paul to Macedonia during the second sojourn at Ephesus. He inserts it at Acts xix. 21. From Ephesus he assumes that Paul travelled to Macedonia, Corinth, Crete, Nicopolis, Jerusalem, Antioch, and back again through Galatia to Ephesus. The first epistle to Timothy was written from Nicopolis.

The state of the Ephesian church as it is described in the epistle before us, agrees with this hypothesis, because it presupposes a two years' stay at Ephesus before the journey to Macedonia was undertaken. It is very strange, however, that Luke does not speak of it and employ other statements in Acts xix. 21. And then in Schrader's opinion it occupies *two years*, whence the chronology of the Acts is seriously affected by it. Had it filled so large a period, and been of so much importance as it is in the critic's estimation, the historian could hardly have omitted it.

Wieseler[m] also places the journey to Macedonia within the three years' stay at Ephesus (Acts xix.). Luke omits it. But others are passed over by the historian, and therefore it need not be thought surprising that this one should be left unnoticed too. Such is the opinion of the chronologer. But he adopts in connection with it the untenable hypothesis of an unrecorded visit to Corinth. He makes the apostle travel from Ephesus to Corinth through *Macedonia*. This notion has been already examined and rejected.[n] Why the apostle went into Macedonia from Ephesus, cannot be discovered. But the visit in question could not have taken place towards the commencement of the three years' stay in Ephesus, as Mosheim supposes. The relations of the church, its advanced state of organisation, and the origin of the errors alluded to, require an abode of some length on the part of the apostle. Two years must have elapsed. Hence the date of the letter belongs to the beginning of the last, or third year, before the lost epistle to the Corinthians, and also the first now extant.

Huther[o] brings forward three objections to this hypothesis.

[l] Der Apostel Paulus, vol. i. p. 86, et seqq.

[m] Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters, pp. 286—315.

[n] Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. p. 213, et seqq.

[o] Kritisch exegetisches Handbuch ueber die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus, p. 17.

The first does not affect our view. It lies against that of Wieseler. The second, founded on Acts xx. 29, 30, is refuted in subsequent remarks respecting the state of the Ephesian church. The third, viz., that Paul was separated from Timothy *but a short time*, and after his return sent the latter away forthwith from Ephesus, which disagrees with the character of the epistle, is of no weight. Paul *intended* to be away from Ephesus only for a short time (iii. 14). He wrote when he hoped to come speedily to him. And in regard to sending him away, if the apostle at Ephesus himself thought it fit to send Timothy on an errand to some other place, the instructions were on permanent record for all times.

This hypothesis solves the difficulties, apparently in a satisfactory manner. For instance, it has been objected to the usual early date assigned, that it cannot have been the apostle's intention to return soon to Ephesus. There is good ground for this objection, though it has been said that Paul might very well expect to see Timothy at Ephesus again in his intended passage from Greece to Syria, after his visit to Corinth.[p] But this is not likely to have been the meaning of the apostle. He meant not simply *to touch*, but to *stay* at Ephesus. The difficulty vanishes according to the hypothesis of Wieseler. The objection in question does not at all affect that view, which is the most plausible yet proposed.

The only circumstance that appears at all to militate against it is the frequency with which it makes Paul visit Macedonia, in person or by deputies. Thus, during the present abode at Ephesus, he sent Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia, and remained himself (Acts xix. 22); and after leaving Ephesus, he went over all Macedonia, and gave much exhortation to the believers (Acts xx. 1, 2). The hypothesis adds one other visit to his personal and vicarious visits to Macedonia about this period. In this however there lies no great difficulty.

Paulus[q] thinks that the epistle was composed by Paul while he was in captivity at Caesarea. At this place he was visited by Timothy, who travelled thence to Ephesus on account of the false

[p] The Spirit admitted to the heavenly House: the Body refused a Grave. Two sermons by T. Binney, p. 84.

[q] Commentatio de tempore scriptæ prioris ad Timotheum atque ad Philippenses epistolæ Paulinæ, 1799.

teachers, for the purpose of counteracting their operations. After he had gone to Ephesus, the apostle addressed the present letter to him. No remarks are needed to refute this hypothesis. It rests on arbitrary assumptions easily detected; and has been demolished by Bertholdt and Hemsen, with a patience to which it is hardly entitled.

In consequence of the difficulties lying against most of the preceding hypotheses, many bring down the time of writing to a period posterior to that embraced by the history in the Acts of the Apostles. They place it after the apostle's release from his first imprisonment at Rome. So Theophylact, Oecumenius, Nicephorus Callisti, Usher, Pearson, Heidegger, Mill, Le Clerc, Tillemont, Cave, Fabricius, Basnage, Whitby, Rosenmüller, Mynster, Brentano, Wegscheider, Sandhagen, Hofmann, Schnappinger, Paley, Macknight, Feilmoser, Guerike, Böhl, Köhler, Flatt, Mack, Wurm, Neander, Baumgarten, Huther, Leo. With these agree the subscription of many MSS. ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας, *was written from Laodicea*, and the Peshito and Ethiopic versions.

The following arguments have been adduced in favour of this hypothesis:—

1. It appears from Philemon 22, and Phil. ii. 24, that Paul intended, when he had a prospect of being released, to go to Colosse and into Macedonia. If he fulfilled his intention of going to Colosse immediately after obtaining his freedom, it is likely he would visit Ephesus which was in the neighbourhood of Colosse, and proceed thence to Philippi.

It is difficult to perceive the validity of this so called argument. Indeed it possesses no weight. It takes for granted Paul's liberation, which is by no means an historical fact. There is enough in the passage of the Philippian letter to induce one to hesitate in adopting the opinion. Paul writes to the Philippians that he trusted in the Lord to send Timothy soon to them, and that he expected to visit them shortly in person. Here is nothing about Ephesus. Not a word is said regarding a visit to any other city than that of Philippi. Compare with it Paul's own words in Acts xx. 25: "And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my

face no more." How difficult is it to reconcile this language with *the supposed*, but unmentioned, *future* visit to Ephesus! The apostle tells the Ephesian elders that they should see his face no more. He asserts this solemnly. "*I know* that ye shall see my face no more." He is assured of it. He predicts it. And history so far confirms the statement as to give no hint of another visit paid by him to the believers at Ephesus. It was the apostle's *last* interview with the Ephesian elders.

In opposition to all this, we are informed, on no historical grounds whatever, that being released he went again to Ephesus. He was therefore mistaken in his solemn asseverations. They were uttered hastily. Events proved their incorrectness. Is it not possible, however, to conceive that he altered his intention? If he did so on other occasions, may he not have done so on this? We are referred for like changes of sentiment to Acts xvi. 7; xx. 3; 2 Cor. i. 15; ii. 12, 13: "After they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit suffered them not." "And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia." "And in this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a second benefit." "Furthermore, when I came to Troas to preach Christ's gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother: but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia." But these examples are scarcely analogous to the present one. The expressions are not similar. The writer speaks in them of changing his route. In the present instance he does not even say, *I hope*, or *trust in the Lord*, *I purpose*, *I am resolved*, but *I know*. It is a solemn declaration expressed without limitation. Böhl[r] indeed says, that οἶδα is not emphatic; but with the context καὶ νῦν ἰδού before us, it is impossible to believe this. Still we are told, that in this language Paul declared nothing but his own opinion dictated by his fears, and not by any suggestion of the Spirit. Hear Macknight's observations: "When he told the Ephesian elders that they and his other converts, among whom he had gone preaching the kingdom of God, should see his face no

[r] Ueber die Zeit der Abfassung und den Paulin. Charakter der Briefe an Tim. und Titus, p. 216.

more, as it was no point either of faith or practice which he spake, he may well be supposed to have declared nothing but his own opinion resulting from his fears."—"The apostle only declared his own persuasion, dictated by his fears and not by any suggestion of the Spirit."[3] How does the writer know that the persuasion was Paul's own opinion apart from the Spirit? Where did he obtain this information? He thinks it plain from what the apostle had said immediately before, "Behold I go bound in the spirit to Jerusalem, not knowing the things which shall befall me there. Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying, that bonds and afflictions abide me." Böhl reasons after the same manner. The Holy Ghost, it is alleged, revealed to him only that bonds and imprisonment awaited him, but He communicated no farther information, and therefore nothing about the issue of the captivity. Surely it is natural to take the same verb *know* in the same sense throughout the apostle's address to the Ephesian elders. He did not *know* the things about to befall him in Jerusalem—he *knew* that the Ephesians should see his face no more—he *knew* that grievous wolves should appear among the flock. Let it therefore be pronounced his own persuasion or opinion *in every case*, or let not his own opinion be separated from the influence of the Spirit in but one of them. Why should a distinction be assumed in one of them, and not in the other two? Surely if the Holy Spirit influenced him at all while he was uttering *the first* and *last* words where the verb *know* occurs, that Spirit did not cease to influence him in *the intermediate* words, where the same verb is presented. The assumption of a distinction is most arbitrary. And it is plainly incorrect to say with Macknight, that the declaration about seeing the Ephesians was dictated by *his fears;* for he affirms in the twenty-fourth verse: "But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus," etc.

As to the twenty-second verse of Philemon, it seems to have no connexion with a future visit to Ephesus. It relates to *Colosse*, the writer expressing a hope that he might visit it *again*. But

[3] Preface to 1 Timothy, sect. 2.

the solemn asseveration to which we have just alluded is opposed to the idea of another visit to Ephesus, even if he did go again to Colosse, which however is very improbable. The verse is at least irrelevant, when adduced in proof of a later date.

2. It is argued that the epistle could not have been written at least so early as the time specified in Acts xx. 29, 30, because Paul's address to the Ephesian church, there recorded, states that false teachers would appear after his departure; whereas their existence is manifestly implied in the epistle. They had already entered in among the flock when the letter before us was written.

This argument is very plausible. It may be doubted, however, whether it is based on a right perception of Paul's address on the one hand, or of the epistle on the other. It implies some misapprehension of both.

The answer to it will be materially aided by the prior examination of two points, viz.: The relation of the false teachers to the church at Ephesus, and, The peculiarities of their faith and practice.

The following are the passages relating to the false teachers:—

"As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine, neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies which minister questions, rather than godly edifying which is in faith; so do. Now the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned: from which some having swerved, have turned aside unto vain jangling; desiring to be teachers of the law; understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm . . . . . Holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck: of whom is Hymeneus and Alexander; whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme." Chap. i. 3-7; 19, 20.

"Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be

refused if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer . . . . . But refuse profane and old wives' fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness. For bodily exercise profiteth little: but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come. This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation. For therefore we both labour and suffer reproach, because we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe. These things command and teach." Chap. iv. 1-11.

"If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: from such withdraw thyself. But godliness with contentment is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. . . . . O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called; which some professing, have erred concerning the faith." Chap. vi. 3-10; 20, 21.

Did these false teachers belong to the church as members or office-bearers of it? Hemsen returns a negative answer to the question. He thinks that they had not found an entrance into the church and spread their opinions there. They were still *without*. But Timothy is enjoined to be on his guard against them. He is to watch their operations, and counteract the tendency of them. They had not yet obtained a footing among the converts; but danger was to be apprehended from them. If not carefully observed, they might insinuate their injurious doctrines into the

bosom of the church. They were quite disposed and ready to disseminate their tenets, but they had not yet done so publicly and openly. In the church at least they were neither members nor elders. All this is deduced from i. 3, where they are indefinitely described as τισί, *some;* and although we see from the following verses that they were Judaisers of some sort, yet their principles, doctrines, and operations, are not indicated more minutely than that. They are pointed at in general terms, such as are ill adapted to the idea of their existing within the church, and already diffusing there their pernicious views of christianity. Had *imminent* danger from them been apprehended, or had they manifested themselves as active promoters of dangerous principles within the circle of believers; or even if they had appeared openly in their right character at Ephesus, it is thought improbable that the apostle would have spoken of them in the indistinct manner he has done. He would have directed against them well-defined polemics, depicting them in colours so striking as to be at once recognised. But as he has not done so; as he describes them somewhat incidentally, and forthwith turns aside to other topics—inasmuch as they do not form the prominent subject of the letter, but move before the reader in shadowy dimness at intervals, it is difficult to believe that they existed within the christian society; or that they had come forth in public with their corrupting system; or that immediate and extensive danger was apprehended from them. Their operations had been hitherto preparatory and loose. They were not ready for systematic action, because they had no distinct apprehension of the very things they meant to teach. Yet they needed to be watched and warned. Danger was to be feared from them in the future. The christians required to be put on their guard against such Judaisers. Hence Timothy, in his ecclesiastical superintendence of the church, is enjoined to charge them not to give heed to idle, puerile superstitions, nor to teach any other doctrine than the true doctrine of the apostles. We learn from the nineteenth and twentieth verses, that while Paul himself was at Ephesus, some had been led astray by these false teachers, and were excommunicated in consequence. The same idea is implied in verse 21.

Again, in chap. iv. 1-11, it is said expressly, that some chris-

tians should apostatise in consequence of the false teachers, *in future times*, i.e. a period subsequent to that of Timothy himself. In like manner, it appears from vi. 3-10 that the false teachers belong to *the future* rather than *the present*. They are indistinctly noticed in passing; and the writer does not dwell on their character or opinions, as he would have done had they appeared in the church as false teachers. Their operations, silently and quietly carried on, were to bear fruit thereafter. As yet they had not affected the converts injuriously.

After this fashion does Hemsen argue that the false teachers did not stand in intimate or close relation to the Ephesian church. So far from being elders, they were not even members. They were Jews rather than Christians. They had *recently* begun to teach peculiar things. Their leaven had been acting in a great measure imperceptibly. But the apostle knew them. He was well aware of their opinions. He foresaw the full-fledged system which should afterwards arise out of the embryo principles. In the meantime, Timothy was enjoined to watch the fermenting leaven, and to prevent it, if possible, from pervading the church over which he was set.[t]

We cannot perceive the general correctness of this reasoning, however plausible it may appear. A careful perusal of the epistle does not support it. In some respects it is self-contradictory; in others it is very improbable. We derive the following inferences from the passages quoted:

These false teachers had appeared at Ephesus before Paul left it. This is plain from various passages, particularly from i. 20. In one place Hemsen himself admits as much.

Several belonging to the church, perhaps in most cases elders, had been led astray by them. This is implied in i. 3, where Timothy is enjoined to *charge* some "that they teach no other doctrine," etc. Had these persons stood aloof from the church, with what propriety could Timothy have been ordered to *charge* them respecting the matter of their teaching? Paul left him as superintendent of the church with its office-bearers. He intrusted him with the supreme management of all its affairs. Timothy's authority over it was paramount, because he supplied the place of

[t] Der Apostel Paulus, u. s. w. p. 362, et seqq.

an apostle. Hence the words, "that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine, neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies," etc., are appropriate only on the supposition of the persons, whom he was to charge about teaching, being teachers belonging to the church. He had not to do with persons external to the church at Ephesus, but with the society itself: "that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in *the house of God, which is the church of the living God*," etc. The church, then, was his sphere of action. The persons whom he was to charge regarding doctrine were for the most part elders. This agrees with i. 7: "desiring to be teachers of the law," etc.; and with i. 19-20: "holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck: of whom is Hymeneus and Alexander; whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme." Hemsen supposes that Hymeneus and Alexander were private members; but it is far more likely that they had been elders, whom Paul deemed it right to depose. The distinct notice of them favours the idea of their having held a conspicuous and influential position.

As to the passage iv. 1, etc., we see no reason for supposing that the phrase *latter times* denotes nothing but a period subsequent to Timothy's abode at Ephesus, as some understand it. It *includes* that chiefly, without excluding the time when Timothy was there. The divine Spirit, by means of the prophets speaking in the churches of Asia Minor, had uttered warnings respecting these seducing spiritual teachers; and doubtless they became more dangerous afterwards; but that does not forbid the idea of their existing then, and leading away some in the church at Ephesus. No doubt Hymeneus, Alexander, and other deposed office-bearers had been seduced. Others were in danger of following their example. The strongly marked characteristics in iv. 1, etc., are adduced for the purpose of shewing Timothy the hostile, anti-christian tendency against which the Spirit warned believers, that the evangelist might identify the partially developed, with the fully developed, form of it, and become alive to the great danger which he had to meet. The teachers here described, belonged both to Timothy's and to the succeeding time; the

Spirit pointing mainly to the latter, because in it they should appear in all their mischievous opposition to the simple faith of the gospel.

It is almost unnecessary to observe, that 1 Tim. iv. 1, etc., is not parallel with 2 Thess. ii. Neither should it be compared with 1 John ii. 18, and Revel. xx. It does not speak of the Papal communion as such. The Gnostics are referred to; and the Papacy is pointed at no farther than it has adopted and embodied into itself such pernicious principles as are here condemned. It is presumptuous to affirm that there can be no doubt of the Holy Spirit designing to designate the apostate church of Rome. It is more than presumptuous. It is not true.

In one respect the false teachers did, and in another they did not, belong to the church. The original ones, who having been Jews addicted to a certain kind of philosophy, professed to receive christianity, or attempted to unite it with their theosophic views, did not belong to the church. But they infected some persons who did. They procured adherents among the office-bearers, some of whom had been deposed in consequence. Others were then giving heed to the original false teachers. They were in the way of becoming distinctively such themselves. They were being led astray. They were partially false teachers of the same stamp themselves. But as yet they had not proceeded very far. They had not gone the length of Hymeneus and Alexander. They had not yet become the open, avowed, distinctive teachers of such tenets as had been propagated at first by the Judaisers. They had not yet developed and brought out fully the tenets for which they had evinced a strong partiality. They were false teachers in embryo. As soon as they became avowedly such, they could not be tolerated within the communion of the church. In every view of the subject, we cannot but infer from the epistle itself, that the spirit of false doctrine had already injured the Ephesian church. Some of its officers, having imbibed it fully and determinately, had been excommunicated; others were fast following their example. The pernicious influence had not yet been exerted *extensively* on the society; but there was great danger of its *becoming* so.

The preceding observations may perhaps be serviceable in

assisting us to answer various questions of importance. We shall see the bearing of them immediately on the true date of the epistle, and afterwards on its authenticity.

What were the peculiarities of their faith and practice?

It has just been stated, that they were Judaisers, maintaining the perpetual obligation of the Mosaic law. They pretended to possess a γνῶσις, or philosophy which penetrated into mysteries unknown to others, and despised a simple faith or πίστις. They also taught legends or idle stories respecting the origin and propagation of spirits. In consequence of these shadowy notions—the offspring of superstition and mysticism—they indulged in idle disputes, and led others into like jangling, which had no connexion with true godliness, but rather hindered its growth. Their philosophy took a theosophic, ascetic direction, inculcating abstinence from certain kinds of food, celibacy, outward mortifications and ceremonies. They belonged, therefore, to the same class as those described in the epistle to the Colossians, being characterised by a Judaising, theosophic, ascetic tendency. They were the progenitors of a section of the Gnostics in after times, who introduced extensive corruptions into christianity. They became dangerous enemies of the simple gospel of Christ, from whom it suffered severely. A false *gnosis* like theirs, arising out of Judaism, and taking the doctrines of christianity into union with itself, could not but pervert those doctrines, because they are incapable of union with it. They are averse to its embrace. They cannot harmonise with its simple purity. They have little sympathy with a devotion seated in the heart.

We differ from Grotius and others, who explain *the grievous wolves* to mean *cruel enemies* or *persecutors*, not *false teachers*. The subsequent context shews that dangerous teachers are indicated. Such false persons, according to the apostle, were to appear at Ephesus after his decease. Their great opponent being removed, they should then have full scope for their evil machinations. It is also stated, that false teachers *from within* the church were about to arise, who should speak perverse things, and draw away disciples after them.

The language of the epistle, supposing it to have been written during the three years' stay at Ephesus, may be brought into

harmony with the language of Paul to the elders at Miletus, by a careful attention to the import of both; and the comparatively brief interval between the respective dates. It will be seen, that the words employed in Acts xx. 29, 30, are much stronger than those of the epistle. Grievous wolves were to make their way into the church, after the apostle's decease. The epistle does not say, or imply, that they had done so when it was written. The false teachers had been in Ephesus. They had not been idle there, even before Paul left it. But the enormity of their real character was not then developed. They had not been manifested as *grievous wolves;* and especially *they had not openly appeared in the church.* They still stood without it, awed and counteracted by Paul and Timothy. The succeeding words, "also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them," also apply to a period subsequent to that of the epistle. There is nothing in the epistle to indicate that any of the elders had then proceeded so far, except such as Paul had deposed. Had they existed, Timothy would have been enjoined not to *charge*, but *to exclude* them. The apparent contradiction between the words of Paul, supposing the epistle to have been written earlier than the address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus, arises from applying the language of the address to *the first appearance* of false teachers in the church; whereas it properly refers to *their entering into it as ravenous wolves not sparing the flock*, and to the time when men in the church itself should go so far as to speak perverse things, and draw away disciples after them, thus distracting the society. *The epistle* shews that such characters were then active. They *had begun* to manifest themselves without the church. *The address*, speaking of them in stronger terms, implies that they had been going on for some time. They did not appear all at once in the light in which they are depicted in Acts xx. 29, 30. The teachers were hypocritical as well as false. They insinuated themselves gradually into the bosom of the church.

3. The state of the church, as evidenced by the letter, is historically intelligible only in case of a late date, because the polemics directed against the false teachers, shew that they had been for a while in the church, and had come forth openly with

their erroneous tenets. They had been active for a considerable time. In this manner Guerike,[u] Böhl,[v] and Heydenreich[w] reason. A careful perusal of the epistle does not justify the assertion that the false teachers belonged to the church, and had stepped forth there plainly in their true colours. Had they done so, the church would not have been in the state of organisation in which it appears. Disciples would have been led away. Apostasy would have taken place. Disorder and division would have existed in the society. The mode in which Paul alludes to them, not directly combating, but indirectly calling Timothy's attention to them, and warning him of the danger likely to arise from that quarter, is an evidence of the fact that they had not appeared much within the church. Had they done so, the apostle would scarcely have refrained from the severe, direct, tone employed in the Galatian epistle. They would have been excommunicated.

4. The state of the Ephesian church, as implied in the letter, is historically intelligible only in the case of a late date, because its well-developed organisation—the definite, complete constitution it had received—indicates the lapse of a considerable period since its origin. When the epistle was written, the society of believers had various office-bearers, not only elders and deacons, but deaconesses too. Emoluments were attached to the offices. False teachers, too, had made some impression on the church. Their injurious operations had been already felt in it. Some of the first office-bearers had even been deposed; and the affairs had become partially deranged. This demands a considerable time, much more, apparently, than is allowed by any other view.

The organisation of the Ephesian church, as described or implied in the epistle, must be attributed mainly to the apostle. He had resided at Ephesus for nearly three years, a period quite sufficient to account for the state in which the society was when he wrote to Timothy. Important changes may have taken place in it during that time. Some of the elders may have apostatised from the faith. Some disciples may have become corrupt. A false leaven may have crept into the church, which demanded

[u] Beiträge, u. s. w. p. 133.

[v] Ueber die Zeit, u. s. w. p. 193, et seq.

[w] Pastoralbriefe, u. s. w. vol. i. p. 50, et seq.

reform, as Guerike and Böhl think. The example of the Corinthian church, which had not existed so long, proves the correctness of these remarks. But even if the society remained in a tolerably united state, as we believe it did—if the germs of error within it were still partially undeveloped—if no radical disorder or extensive falling away had taken place—Paul's residence for so long a time at Ephesus explains this. There is no need to assume a longer period of existence for the church. Favoured with the presence of the great apostle, its organisation is at once explained.

5. In the first epistle to Timothy, the same persons, doctrines, and practices are reprobated, which are condemned in the second. The same commands, instructions, and encouragements are given to Timothy in the first epistle as in the second. The same remedies for the corruptions which had taken place among the Ephesians, are prescribed in the first epistle as in the second. And as in the second epistle, so in the first, everything is addressed to Timothy as superintendent, both of the teachers and of the laity, in the church at Ephesus. All this implies that the state of things among the Ephesians was the same when the two epistles were written. Hence, the first epistle was written only a few months before the second, and not long before the apostle's death. In this manner Macknight reasons.

If the first and second epistles be so like each other as is here represented, it is improbable that the one should have been written only a few months after the other. Why repeat the instructions, admonitions, and warnings, within so short a space of time? But if several years intervened, a necessity for the repetition might arise. If the state of matters continued substantially the same, it would require a reiteration of the like remonstrances. The apostle had foreseen that the false teachers would wax worse and worse. Their doctrines and practices would need continued reprobation. And they are condemned accordingly in more direct terms in the second epistle than in the first. They had become more mischievous, and therefore they are more forcibly reproved. Hence we are not surprised that the same remedies are prescribed for the same corruptions. One may agree with the commentator in thinking, that the state of matters was substantially the same, without coinciding with the inference he

deduces from it, viz., that the two epistles were separated by a very short interval of time. Whence arises the necessity for supposing that the state of matters was entirely changed at Ephesus in the space of a very few years? Is it not probable, that the false teachers continued their operations, notwithstanding Timothy's counteracting influence? And if they did, the state of matters in the church would not be materially altered, except that there would probably be a change in the number of elders and of members. The atmosphere of the world round about must have remained the same at Ephesus; and *that* had some influence on the church. Timothy applied the remedies recommended by the apostle. The very writing, therefore, of another epistle, so similar to the first, shews the continuance of like circumstances; and at the same time, the probability of several years intervening. Had a few months only elapsed, another epistle so like the former could not have been required, because Timothy could not have forgotten the precepts and counsels already given; nor could the remedies have had time for a fair trial. Had *a different* course of proceeding been recommended to the evangelist in the second epistle, it might have been thought that a few months only had elapsed; but as the same course is enjoined, it appears needful to separate the dates of the two letters by a few years to prevent the supposition of a superfluous work on the part of Paul. How consoling to Timothy must it have been to learn, that though he had not succeeded as he wished in managing the affairs of the church, and convincing or silencing the false teachers, like counsels were addressed to him again! He was recommended to persevere in the same course. His conduct was approved.

It should not be overlooked, that there are also various points of difference, along with the similarity pointed out by Macknight. These he has not mentioned. And yet they ought to be taken into account with the points of agreement, else a partial representation is given.

6. The preceding argument is thus presented in an extended form by Böhl and Guerike. There is so great a likeness in contents and phraseology between our epistle, the second to Timothy, and that to Titus, as shews that the three were composed shortly

after one another, and at a considerable distance of time from Paul's other epistles.

That there is great uncertainty in this mode of reasoning, will be apparent from the fact of the epistles written during the Roman captivity, presenting so few of the peculiarities belonging to the first epistle to Timothy. If the latter was written immediately after the apostle's release, as is alleged, why is it so unlike the Philippian epistle, for example, in diction and style, though so near it in point of date? Surely this circumstance is sufficient to shew that nearness or remoteness of time, in regard to composition, does not necessarily ensure similarity or dissimilarity of contents and phraseology. Neither does mere similarity of contents and phraseology argue contemporaneousness in writing. The peculiarities which run through the three epistles must be attributed to the relations in which the writer and his readers stood towards one another,—the relations in which Timothy and Titus stood to the churches they respectively superintended, and the feelings entertained for both by the apostle Paul. These relations and feelings were similar.

There is no doubt that the apostle's language varied according to the external circumstances of the parties addressed, the influences to which they were exposed, the duties they had to perform, the objects the writer had in view, the connexion subsisting between himself and the churches or individuals to whom he wrote. His phraseology was by no means stereotyped. It possessed a *flexibility* along with an *individuality*. One period of his life was not divided from another by a palpable line of demarcation between the epistles written in both respectively. One mode of expression cannot at once be assigned to one part of his life, and another to another. Critics may try to do so, but the attempt must be *arbitrarily* conducted.

In conformity with these observations it will be seen, that there is a much better way of explaining the peculiarities common in a good degree to the three epistles, than by nearness of composition merely. Timothy and Titus were Paul's assistants. Both were evangelists whom he loved. They occupied like posts. They were intrusted with the oversight of churches. They had to set in order christian societies, to fill up in them what was

wanting, to correct abuses, rebuke offenders, heal or prevent breaches. The difficulties they had to contend with were alike, because their spiritual functions were similar. Hence similar admonitions and counsels are addressed to them. That the relations thus sustained by the evangelists and the writer respectively, led to a similarity of contents and phraseology in the three epistles, is apparent from the fact, that the phraseology and contents are occasionally altered, when peculiar circumstances belonging to the churches of Crete and Ephesus, or to the personal character of their superintendents, called for it. There is *variety* amid uniformity —the variety arising from minor differences in the position and prospects of the two evangelists.

On the whole, we do not see the necessity of bringing down the date of the first epistle to Timothy till after the captivity. The difficulties lying against the hypothesis are greater than those in the way of an earlier date. It is not easy, for instance, to adopt and defend its correctness in full view of 1 Tim. iv. 12, from which passage it appears that, when the epistle was written, Timothy was in danger of being despised for his youth. Benson and Michaelis observe, that if we suppose the evangelist to have been twenty years of age when Paul took him to be his assistant, he would now be about twenty-seven. But if the epistle was written after the apostle's release from imprisonment, he was thirty-four or thirty-five, an age at which it was not likely he should be despised for his youth. It is certainly not too much to say, that Paul would not have chosen him for his assistant had he been younger than twenty.

To this it is replied, that the word *νεότης* is indefinite. The period to which it extended was vague and undefined. It was not fixed to any one age; nor were its limits accurately marked. The Greeks employed it with considerable latitude, as the Romans did the corresponding term *juvenis*. Others answer, that Servius Tullius in classing the Roman people, as Aulus Gellius relates, divided their age into three periods: *childhood* he limited to the age of seventeen; *youth* from that to forty-six; and *old age* from forty-six till the end of life. But it is surely a doubtful mode of proceeding to attribute to the apostle the Roman and Grecian usage of age-terms, without hesitation. It is far more natural to

suppose that he conformed to the usage of the Old Testament.[x] If so, *νεότης* cannot be extended beyond thirty. And it is singularly inconclusive to go back to the law of Servius Tullius, as if that were still adhered to throughout the Roman empire, or as if it were probable that the writer should adapt his language to that law, even if it were universally current. It is of no avail to refer the word in question, as others do, to the weighty charge undertaken by Timothy at Ephesus, in relation to which he is called *a young man*. One who had been twelve or fourteen years in the apostle's company, as the advocates of the late date must suppose the evangelist to have been, who had proved his fidelity on trying emergencies, who had been intrusted with important commissions, and was now constituted spiritual overseer of a large church requiring prudent management as well as decision; one who was thus no novice, being above thirty years of age, could scarcely be liable to the charge of comparative inexperience. And yet the apostle guards against the imputation of Timothy's being despised on account of his youth, as though it might probably be advanced.

In conformity with these remarks, are the words in iii. 15: "that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God," which imply the comparative youth and inexperience of Timothy. After the first Roman captivity, Timothy must have known well how to conduct himself in the house of God, having been associated with Paul for so long a time; but at the period we have supposed, he had little experience in the management of churches and the arrangement of their affairs.

Nor is it easy to reconcile with the late date the entire omission of all reference, direct or indirect, to the imprisonment or release from it, of the writer. Not the slightest allusion is found in the letter to his past fortunes, though they had been of the most gloomy character;[y] not even in places where an allusion to the divine assistance lately given him, might have been expected, as i. 12, 13, 16, 17; ii. 7; iv. 9, 10.

It is scarcely necessary to allude to the conjectures of Schnecken-

[x] See Curtius, pp. 96, 97.

[y] Ib. p. 98, et seq.

burger[z] and Böttger,[a] who, by assuming a corruption in the text of 1 Tim. i. 3, attempt to get rid of the difficulty. The former writer would have us read, *καθὼς παρεκάλεσά σε, προσμείνας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πορευόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἵνα παραγγείλῃς τισὶ μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, κ. τ. λ.*, or, *πορευόμενον εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἵνα, κ. τ. λ.* In like manner Böttger reads *προσμείνας*. Thus the entire journey of the apostle (Acts xx. 1), and the difficulties connected with it, disappear. But the remedy is a desperate one—too desperate to be adopted. It is totally unwarrantable to assume an alteration in the original text. Unsupported by evidence, such attempts must be summarily rejected.

What date then is to be assigned to our epistle? We are disposed to place it in the three years' abode of Paul at Ephesus (Acts xix.), A.D. 56. A journey to Macedonia and back to Ephesus is omitted by Luke in the Acts. This is the opinion of Wieseler, who puts it at the beginning of the third year's stay. There is no objection to this hypothesis, except that Luke omits it; and that Paul says to the Ephesian elders, "by the space of *three years* I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears." But Luke omits other journeys; and the greater part of three years may be fairly termed *three years* in round numbers. With the difficulties lying against the two rival hypotheses—difficulties that cannot be satisfactorily disposed of—we are inclined to regard this intermediate view as more plausible and probable.

The place where it was written cannot be determined with accuracy. Some think it was *on the way to*, others *in*, Macedonia. Some fix on *Troas*. Here all is conjecture.

According to the Coptic version, Paul sent it by *Titus*. If this were true, it could not have been written from Troas, but from Macedonia.

III. *State of the church when Paul left Timothy to superintend it.*

This may be inferred from the observations already made. The following particulars embrace the main circumstances which gave occasion to the epistle:—

[z] Beiträge zur Einleitung, u. s. w. p. 183.

[a] Beiträge zur historisch Kritischen Einleit. Vierte Abtheilung, p. 21.

1. There were false teachers, who were virtually Jews, though they professed christianity. These Judaising teachers enforced the Jewish law as necessary to christians; advocated a peculiar kind of philosophy or γνῶσις; laid great stress on pneumatological genealogies and traditions, raising many idle disputations about them; maintained the necessity of celibacy and of ascetic practices.

2. Some persons, chiefly elders in the church, had become infected with their tenets, and were beginning to advocate them.

3. Though the society had been organised during the apostle's abode at Ephesus, yet some officers had been deposed for false doctrine, and others had to be appointed in their place. *The entire arrangement* of the church may have been completed when Paul left the city, as some think; but there is no good reason for saying so. The society seems rather to have become partially deranged, chiefly perhaps from the necessary deposal of some officers, and the corruption of a false leaven beginning to pervade it. It is tolerably clear, that Timothy was commissioned to appoint several office-bearers, from iii. 14-16, compared with the preceding context to which the verses are an appendix.

4. The proper treatment of widows by the church, as far as their support was concerned, and the qualifications of such as were fit for the office of deaconess, had not been determined. (Chap. v.)

5. The rights of women in the church, and the proper position they should occupy in the public services of religion, were either imperfectly understood, or right views regarding them had given place to erroneous ones.

Heydenreich thinks, that the false teachers inculcated erroneous principles respecting christian freedom and equality, which excited christian slaves to insurrection. But this supposition is unnecessary. The paragraph in the sixth chapter, about the conduct of slaves, need not have been called forth by a spirit of discontent or insubordination among them. In addition to his correcting *existing* errors, the apostle guards against *possible* ones.

IV. *The writer's leading object.*

This may be gathered principally from i. 3, 4, and iii. 15.

The apostle wrote to Timothy to instruct him how to manage the affairs of the church in everything pertaining to its organisation, its offices, its preservation of pure doctrine and right discipline. He was to charge some to teach none other than apostolic doctrine, and to counteract every injurious influence. That the contents of the letter are accordant with this design, will appear from the following analysis :—

V. *Contents.*

The epistle presents no regular plan. No systematic arrangement is followed in it. It is irregular. The same topics are introduced at different places without any apparent reason for the abrupt mode in which they occur. Hence it is difficult to discover the connexion and proper sequence of parts, in many places of the letter. The order of topics is often perplexing, creating no small difficulty in interpretation, and exciting the prejudices of sceptical minds against the epistle's authenticity. The freedom, familiarity, and looseness of the epistolary style, are quite prominent in the composition. What induced Hug to speak of its excellent arrangement and orderly succession in regard to the subjects discussed, we cannot discover. Perhaps the epistle cannot be divided more conveniently than into six parts, coinciding with the six chapters of it. I. i. 3-20; II. ii. 1-15; III. iii. 1-16; IV. iv. 1-16; V. v. 1-25; VI. vi. 1-21.

I. After the inscription and salutation, the writer reminds Timothy of the commission he had been left at Ephesus to execute, viz., to oppose the false teachers by warning them to abide by the apostolic doctrine, to give no attention to idle and puerile superstitions which promote contention, but to keep in view the godly edification that faith produces. The end and aim of the divine law is kindness and good-will to man, from which such as turned aside involved themselves and others in irritating disputes, pretending to be teachers of the law, though they did not properly consider what they did, nor what was the grand design of the law. The Mosaic law was not to be urged on those who were looking for salvation through faith in Christ, but on those who still continued in sin, rejecting every other ground of salvation. That the law was not made to fetter the

righteous but the disobedient, is in accordance with the gospel of which Paul had been made an apostolic preacher, even after he had been an enemy and a persecutor—a thing that he could not think of without the highest gratitude. But inasmuch as he did not act with intentional hostility against God as God, he was mercifully pardoned—an example of Christ's long suffering—that future sinners might not be discouraged from coming to Him. The writer then breaks out abruptly into a strain of praise to God. He reminds Timothy that he had committed to him a work agreeably to certain divine indications regarding the fidelity and success of his future ministry; and he doubted not that he would preserve the purity of the christian faith and a good conscience, though some had made shipwreck of both, particularly Hymeneus and Alexander, whom the apostle had excommunicated.

II. Having spoken of doctrine, he now gives directions respecting the public worship of God. Here he prescribes public intercession for all men, especially for kings and all invested with authority. For God himself would have all to be saved and become christians. There is one and the same God for all, Jews and Gentiles—one and the same Mediator, who died as a ransom for all. Why then should men confine their charity to a few, since the Deity is benevolent in his purposes towards all? The mention of Christ's ransom for all, which was to be proclaimed in the world, leads him to speak of his own commission as an apostle of the Gentiles, and intimate that authority accompanied his injunctions, however some might question his calling. By virtue of this apostolic commission he orders, that *the men* should offer public prayer in every place of assembling, with holiness and charity; that *the women* should wear decent and modest apparel, abstaining from much finery and ornament in the public meetings; their chief glory being their good works. The women should *learn* but never *teach* in the church, and should always be in subjection, since the woman was created for the man, and led the man into transgression. Notwithstanding this inferior position, and her helping to seduce the man, he intimates that if she devote herself patiently and faithfully to the duties of her appropriate sphere, the way of eternal salvation is open to her as well as to the man.

III. After speaking of the behaviour of both sexes in public worship, the apostle comes to the persons who should conduct the services and regulate the affairs of the society, or, in other words, the office-bearers. He describes the qualifications and character they ought to possess. Elders are first introduced. In desiring an employment so good, an elder should be blameless, chaste, vigilant, sober, moderate, hospitable, capable of teaching, not given to wine, no striker, not eager for gain, patient, no brawler, not covetous, ruling his own household well, not a very recent convert to christianity lest he should grow proud. He should also have a good name among the people of the world. With regard to the deacons, they should be grave, honest, and sincere, not addicted to wine, not eager after gain, holding fast the gospel in a pure conscience. They also, as well as bishops, should be proved by time, so as not to be novices. Deaconesses should be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all their relations. The deacons should be chaste, and such as rule their families well; for those who conduct themselves well in the office obtain a good standing and great confidence in the faith. The next three verses (14-16) form an appendix or epilogue to the preceding directions, in which the apostle informs Timothy that he had written to him thus, expecting to visit him shortly; but that if he should fail to return as soon as he hoped, the evangelist might know how to act in the church, which is the pillar and ground of the truth. "And the mystery of godliness is confessedly great; consisting in God manifest in the person of Christ, vindicated by the Spirit, seen by angels, preached among the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received into glory."

IV. The writer returns to the subject of false teachers, but speaks chiefly of those who were to appear at a future time. By the spirit of prophecy he predicts that some should apostatise from the true faith, attach themselves to seducing spiritual influences and doctrines of diabolical origin, by means of the hypocrisy of lying speakers, with the mark of their guilt burnt in their consciences. These pernicious teachers should pretend to great purity, prohibit marriage, and enjoin abstinence from certain kinds of food. They should also enjoin self-imposed mortifications, as a mode of obtaining the divine favour. In refuting the second

error maintained by these parties, the apostle asserts, that every creature of God fit for eating is good, and not to be refused, if it be partaken of with thanksgiving, since it is dedicated by the word of God and prayer. Timothy is enjoined to remember this refutation of the erroneous doctrines referred to, to reject nursery tales in religion, and to occupy himself with *spiritual purity*, rather than with outward sanctity sought through bodily mortifications. He is reminded that the training of the body to penances is of no avail; but that holiness of heart has a blessing in both worlds annexed to it. For the obtaining of future happiness, we, says the apostle, labour and are reproached, because we have hope in the living God who offers salvation to all. These things Timothy was to teach; and to behave so that no man might despise his youth. He was to be an example to the christians, of charity, faith, and purity. By private study and public instruction he was to improve his spiritual gifts, and recommend the doctrine he had embraced.

V. This division contains directions relative to the management of the church. Timothy's prudence was to appear particularly in entreating aged persons in a filial manner to comply with their duty, in dealing with younger men in the spirit of affectionate familiarity, in treating the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters, with all purity. He was to provide for widows entirely friendless and desolate. Such of them as had children or nephews, were to be maintained by the latter. Such as were wholly desolate ought to trust in God and live a holy life; but she that lives in pleasure is dead to the cause of Christ. The writer naturally passes to the selection of widows for the office of deaconess. They were not to be chosen under sixty years of age, having been the wife of one man, and well spoken of for good and charitable deeds. *Younger widows* ought not to be selected to the office; for when they had become wanton against Christ, the spiritual bridegroom, they would marry again, contrary to the obligations under which deaconesses came. Hence Paul uses severe language respecting them. *They* were therefore to marry again, that they might bear and piously educate children, bringing no reproach on christianity by this course; for some of them had already forsaken the path of virtue. Should any believers have

widows related to them otherwise than as mothers or aunts, such members were to support them without applying to the church for relief. The elders who presided well and also taught christianity, deserved a double portion; the labourer being worthy of his reward. Timothy was not to listen to any accusation against an elder, unless it could be attested before two or three witnesses. Respecting ecclesiastical discipline generally, notorious sinners were to be rebuked publicly to deter others from offending. In this part of his duty the evangelist is solemnly charged to be impartial. In appointing bishops and deacons, he is warned against rashness and haste. And, that he might be a proper censor of the morality of others, he is directed to be free himself from inordinate longings after enjoyments, without however abstaining from the use of a little wine, or countenancing asceticism. The last two verses contain remarks about the different ways of ascertaining the true character and conduct of men, for the purpose of directing Timothy in his administration of discipline.

VI. In passing to the subject of christian slaves, he enjoins them to remain faithful in serving their heathen masters, lest reproach should be brought on the cause of Christ. If their masters were christians, they were not to be despised because they were brethren, but treated with all the more respect. Should the false teachers inculcate any other than the true doctrine, they are censured in the most direct terms by the apostle, as ignorant of the true christian doctrine, loving disputations, and falling in with the prejudices of their hearers, counting that to be godliness that brings them most worldly gain. In opposition to such persons he declares that godliness with contentment is indeed great gain; but the inordinate love of riches leads to destruction. "Do you therefore, O Timothy," says the writer, "avoid such things, and act with the uprightness you have hitherto manifested. I charge you in the most solemn manner to preserve the doctrine free from corruption, and to avoid reproach till the reappearance of Christ." Reverting to the point already touched on in the chapter, he enjoins the evangelist to remind such as were possessed of riches of their obligations to be generous and beneficent, in order that their wealth might turn to the best account, and they themselves at last obtain an everlasting inheritance. As he began with a

caution against the false teachers, he concludes with an allusion to them, enjoining Timothy to attend to the directions given, and to avoid their idle dreams. A benediction closes the letter.

VI. *Agreement of the contents with the specified purposes of the writer.*

Some readers of the epistle may ask, Is the object proposed by the writer consistent with the contents of his letter? De Wette replies in the negative. And it must be confessed by all but perfunctory inquirers, that there is apparent reason for the assertion. But a close inspection will probably dispel the unfavourable judgment pronounced by the learned critic, and vindicate the letter from various charges brought against it.

Let us see the view which De Wette takes of the apostle's object in writing to Timothy. According to him it was twofold. First, to counteract false teachers (i. 3). Secondly, to manage the affairs of the church generally till the apostle's return (iii. 15). Now, it is said that the actual contents of the epistle correspond very badly with such object, except the fifth chapter. The author does not adhere to it, but turns aside to unsuitable matter.[b]

This accusation against the writer of the epistle is a most serious one. It ought not to be advanced without the most careful and cautious investigation. Before proceeding to particulars, one or two remarks of a general character may be made.

The epistle professes to be from Paul to his intimate friend whom he had recently left at Ephesus. Now, it is certainly unreasonable to look for a formal, systematic disposition of materials in a letter written under such circumstances. Here, if any where, we should expect the freedom and familiarity of the epistolary style. It is not common, in a case of this kind, to dispose of the topic or topics introduced, in a systematic or exact method, like that of a *treatise*. The affection subsisting between the parties disdains artificial rules. It wanders from topic to topic with careless freedom. It prompts unstudied effusions, which the cold breath of a calculating logic has not time to freeze.

Again, *none* of Paul's epistles, if tried by the test of a strict

[b] Einleit. in das N. T. (fifth edition), pp. 299, 300; and Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, pp. 60, 61, etc. (second edition).

adherence to one particular object, will abide the trial. They are not laid out with studied skill. The author abounds in digressions. He takes excursions from the main topic proposed. He turns off into the collateral. Examine, for example, the second epistle to the Corinthians. Apply to it the test of a severe logic. Bind the writer down to any one object, or, if you will, to a twofold object, and see how he digresses, returns to the same particular, looks at the bearings of a truth, takes side views of it. Surely then it is but just to apply the same criterion to our epistle which belongs to the other Pauline letters. They should not be tried by different tests. Once more; it is possible to take an imperfect view of the object which a writer had in his epistle, at the very outset. What is *partially* his design may be made *wholly* so. What he meant to write *about*, but not *exclusively*, may be converted into *the sole* cause of his writing. He may be hemmed in after a fashion which his language does not justify. This has been done with the writer of the first epistle to Timothy. Whether De Wette has *partially* fallen into this error will be best seen hereafter. At present we pronounce it unreasonable to deal with an author in a way which his own language will not bear out. Do him full justice. Wrong him not. Do not force him to conform to a rule, except it can be *proved* that such a rule, *and nothing else*, is the guiding principle he meant to keep in view at all times.

Let us now come down to particulars.

(*a*) According to the object for which Timothy was left at Ephesus, as stated in i. 3, we should expect a searching strain of disputation against the false teachers, and useful directions how to combat them. But after their erroneous tenets (i. 4, 7) are designated in a very obscure manner, and an incidental refutation of them is given (8-10), the author loses sight of his subject, and comes as it were accidentally (ver. 19, etc.) to speak of others that had already fallen into false doctrine. Farther on (iv. 1, etc.) he again mentions the false teachers, whether future or present one cannot tell, and briefly refutes their erroneous asceticism (ver. 4), directing Timothy to lift up his voice against it (ver. 6), while he himself is warned against the like erroneous doctrine. Lastly, the discourse seems to revert to such false teachers as were mentioned in i. 3; but they are blamed for *their disposition*, not *their doctrine;*

and in opposition to their covetousness there is an edifying exhortation respecting contentment, meant to cheer Timothy himself (6-11), which is resumed at the seventeenth verse. To sum up the whole, a cursory, indistinct warning is again given against false doctrines. In this manner De Wette proceeds to reason.[c]

The remarks already made concerning the false teachers furnish a reply to the above paragraph. It is not said that Timothy was left in Ephesus *solely* for the purpose specified in i. 3; nor is it stated that the persons whom he was to charge were the heads of the false teachers, or that they really belonged to the party of the false teachers properly so called, *at that time*. They were elders who had been giving heed to the representations of the false teachers, and were partially infected with their doctrine. As yet they had not openly and avowedly joined the party. He gives Timothy directions how to deal with *persons in the church* whom the false teachers were beginning to influence. The evangelist accordingly was commissioned to charge them to take care of their doctrine, lest they should teach any other than the true. They had begun to diverge from the simplicity of the faith. They gave too much heed to the Judaisers. This is the reason why the writer alludes to the false teachers incidentally and indirectly—why he does not engage in direct polemics against them. His opposition to the errors noticed in the epistle is cursory, indefinite, partial, because they are usually viewed in connexion with the persons in the church who were but partially corrupted by them, rather than in connexion with their original, active promoters, who did not belong to the church. In iv. 1, etc., the persons who should continue to listen to the false teachers are spoken of along with the latter themselves, chiefly in relation to the future, because both were to be identical when the erroneous tenets should be fully developed. As yet they had not fairly appeared within the church's circle; though Hymeneus and Alexander had gone so far as to justify their exclusion from the communion of the visible society at Ephesus.

(*b*) The following is another disparaging paragraph connected with the present point of inquiry.—According to the object specified in iii. 15, one should expect in the epistle a treasure of appro-

[c] Exegetisches Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 61.

priate and truly valuable directions and counsels for the management of the church. But this very third chapter contains an enumeration of such qualifications in church-officers as any one could give of himself, with the exception perhaps of two (verses 2, 6). The injunctions relating to public prayers, and the proper deportment of women (ii. 1-10), are of no importance; the regulation found in ver. 11, etc., being the only exception. The fifth chapter contains what is most consonant with the object proposed, and most useful also; but in opposition to this, the rules of conduct respecting slaves (vi. 1, etc.) and the rich (v. 17-19), exhibit little or nothing which is peculiar.[d]

The standard by which the writer and his epistle are here judged is peculiarly severe as well as unreasonable. Modern ideas are transferred to the apostle Paul, and to Timothy his assistant. And yet how widely different are the circumstances! None well acquainted with the nature of evidence, and all that affects or modifies it, would adopt this course of reasoning. The knowledge, experience, and age of Timothy, with the particular state of the church at Ephesus, should be accurately known, before one ventures to utter the sentence that such directions and counsels as the epistle presents concerning office-bearers, the public behaviour of certain classes, the conducting of the worship, etc., are trifling, or such as any one could easily know without being taught or reminded by another. Let the amount of Timothy's knowledge be ascertained. Let his measure of experience in a similar situation be told. Let his age be shewn. And, on the other hand, let the state of the christian society itself be accurately described. As soon as this is done, it will be time enough to enter into an examination of the minute cavils just noticed. Till then it is most arbitrary to assume, with little hesitation, that certain directions or counsels are unnecessary, useless, trifling. In the light of modern times they may *appear* so to one who has spent a life-time in studying the collected writings of the New Testament; but that is no reason why they should *really have been so* eighteen hundred years ago, in the infancy of christianity, when it was beginning to affect the minds of different classes as a new institute of heaven; and when many important things about it must have been per-

[d] Exegetisches Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 61.

ceived in much the same light as his fellow-creatures appeared to the blind man with his eyes half opened by the Saviour. Here again, as is often the case with German divines, their own *subjectivity*, or a capricious standard formed out of modern philosophy and enlightenment, is applied to measure things remote in time, which can only be judged by the rule of their own proper period.

(*c*) It is farther alleged, that a variety of admonitions not directly *official* are unsuitable to the object proposed, because they assign to Timothy too low a position of intelligence[e] (i. 18, etc.; iv. 7, 12, etc.; vi. 11, etc.).

How easy it is to misapprehend Paul's counsels to his beloved friend Timothy! He addresses the latter as a father does his son. With affectionate, earnest simplicity does he turn his attention to such things as are most likely to affect his heart. And how little of human nature, in its best state frail and erring, does *he* understand, who, because Timothy is addressed in such language as: "This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy, according to the prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them mightest war a good warfare; holding faith and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck," thinks that he is placed too low in the scale of christian enlightenment! Surely it is a most salutary course to exhort even the advanced christian man to hold fast faith and a good conscience, amid the shipwreck of doctrine made by prominent individuals in the same church. Exhortations of this nature are never out of place. They are based on a correct knowledge of the human heart. Admonitions starting from the very point of attainment already reached, are not so common in Scripture as those which tend to stir up the mind, by bringing motives to bear on *the elementary* principles of faith and knowledge arrived at, lest *they* should be lost. The Christian is everywhere exhorted to go forward; but he is also warned against letting go what he has attained.

After these remarks it is needless to say anything in opposition to De Wette's assertion, that other exhortations and instructions addressed to the evangelist *not immediately official* are too general, and would be of no special use even to ordinary christians (iv. 7,

[e] Exegetisches Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 61.

etc., 12, etc.; v. 23; vi. 11). An example is given from iv. 7, etc.: "But refuse profane and old wives' fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness. For bodily exercise profiteth little: but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." Before adducing this passage, the critic should have considered *the things* meant by *βεβήλοι καὶ γραώδεις μύθοι*, whether cultivated minds at Ephesus had not embraced them, and whether outward sanctity sought through self-inflicted mortification has not been evinced by highly educated men in all ages. The profane and old wives' fables might present some tempting aspect even to such an one as Timothy; and the ascetic tendency is based on human nature. Hence the passage is applicable to such as the evangelist, who, in perfect accordance with it, is elsewhere enjoined to flee *youthful* lusts. What appears to us like nursery tales in religion, fit for children alone, and even what the apostle styled so, may not have seemed so very ridiculous to the youthful friend of Paul. Between the master and the disciple there was a wide interval of knowledge. And then it should be considered, that such epithets and descriptions as these alluded to may have been used by the writer with reference to *others*, more than Timothy himself. In speaking of certain matters to the latter, he may have had in view the correction and instruction of the office-bearers of the church, as well as of the superintendent set over them. The apostle, in short, may have purposed to speak in this way of individuals bearing a certain character, through his representative at Ephesus.

(*d*) It is affirmed that there is an absence in the epistle of all allusion to the apostle's relation to the Ephesian church (comp. Acts xx. 18, etc.). There is no weight in this objection when the object of the writer is considered. Paul intended to encourage, instruct, and support Timothy. It could not have served his purpose to introduce himself. He had just left Ephesus, where he had been with Timothy. The church and the evangelist were well acquainted with the relation he bore to the former. To have spoken, therefore, of his own connexion with the society of believers at Ephesus, would have been superfluous. Paul does not introduce himself, except he has good reason for doing so.

(*e*) Another objection urged against the epistle as a produc-

tion of the apostle Paul is the want of harmony and connexion in it.[f]

Here again a severe test is applied to it by De Wette, as though the digressions he discovers from the one object, the transitions from one part to another, the warnings against false doctrine, the admonitions, were marked by feebleness and incompetency on the part of the writer. But we do not agree with him in his opinion that *one object* is pursued, or was *meant to be* pursued throughout the epistle; and, therefore, the test by which he examines its contents is a partial one. Neither do we see any proof of the fact that the author was *unable* to distribute his materials in proper harmony and connexion. He has certainly not done so; but because of that fact must it be inferred that he lacked the ability? Did he *mean* to do so and fail? So De Wette appears to think. Where then is the evidence of his intention? *The fact* is obvious; but does *the mere fact* shew that he failed in what he endeavoured to do? Certainly not. He passes from topic to topic with the easy familiarity evinced in the letter of an affectionate friend to his friend, intent on the useful and practical; but we can find no evidence of his failure in the composition because he had not sufficient mental power. Hence we are not at all concerned about the charges advanced on this head; nor does the want of logical connexion said to be exemplified in ii. 1; iii. 15; iv. 8, prove the least stumbling-block to us. The writer does not address a church. He does not write a doctrinal epistle. He addresses an evangelist respecting a variety of matters, ecclesiastical as well as personal, with an affectionate solicitude which neglects rigid ratiocination.

We cannot, therefore, perceive the force of the statement, that the author does not write like Paul from the internal fulness and pressure of ideas and feelings. He treats of *the external* aspect of christianity rather than the doctrines; and it is unreasonable to look for similar ideas to those with which some of his epistles are pregnant. It is to this fancied poverty of mental furniture that De Wette attributes the borrowing from Pauline epistles, discovered in ii. 5, 7; and from other quarters in ii. 8; iii. 16; perhaps too, vi. 13, 15, etc. But it is not by any means clear that the writer has borrowed here. Of ii. 5, 7, we shall speak

[f] Exegetisches Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 62.

hereafter. In ii. 8, De Wette himself has not specified the source from which he supposes it to have been taken in whole or in part. Of iii. 16, we shall have occasion to speak again. To vi. 13, allusion will be made hereafter. And vi. 15, 16, may perhaps have been borrowed from a church hymn without the least disparagement to an apostle. To the same cause the critic assigns the things said by the author which are not quite appropriate or suitable. Our *subjectivity*, however, must here be opposed to *his*. His taste and judgment find the inappropriate and unsuitable where other men's perception cannot detect them. We fear that the learned commentator in question took a wrong position at the outset for viewing the epistle. It is no wonder, therefore, that his ideas of it are distorted; no wonder that his microscopic skill discovers peculiarities about the epistle which are quite foreign to its genius. We are fully persuaded that he has, after Schleiermacher, magnified its difficulties, misapprehended its scope, and exaggerated its disjointedness. Its parts he has subjected to a critical analysis, philosophical, severe, unjust. It should not be examined from a modern point of observation. Who the writer professes to be, to whom he is writing, for what purpose, in what circumstances, with what feelings, these and kindred considerations it is necessary to take into account *at first*, else the epistle will be misapprehended. Paul's epistles to churches *must* be different from his epistles to Timothy the evangelist and superintendent—how different we cannot exactly determine; but it has not yet been proved that they should not have been *so* different as the authentic Pauline and the pastoral letters.

VII. *Authenticity of the epistle.*

The preceding section respecting the agreement of the contents with the specified purpose of the writer properly belongs to this head, for the objections there stated lie against the authenticity; so far therefore the epistle's authenticity has been defended. The first scholar in modern times who *formally attacked* the authenticity of our epistle was Schleiermacher; and he has had many followers. The objections urged at *the present* time will be fully considered after the chief questions relating to the second epistle

to Timothy, and that to Titus, shall have been discussed. The three pastoral epistles present so much similarity that they must be attributed to one writer. Hence, though Schleiermacher rejected the first and retained the other two, very few critics have implicitly adopted his opinion. Almost all reject or retain the three together. And they are right in so doing. He who assails one, should consistently extend his opposition to all. They stand or fall together.

It is pleasing to observe, that not a few of these objections are already antiquated or abandoned. No person would *now* think of urging everything that was once relied on by Schleiermacher, Eichhorn, and Lücke. De Wette's objections too are becoming fewer. Some he has abandoned, others he has modified and softened. Sceptical as he is, we shall not do him injustice by attributing to him what he does not now hold; but the reader of Kitto's Cyclopaedia will be deceived if he imagines that some of the writers in it have been careful in this matter.

We shall therefore defer the consideration of the first epistle's authenticity till all three shall have been otherwise examined.

SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

HERE we propose to consider:—

I. THE TIME AND PLACE AT WHICH THE EPISTLE WAS WRITTEN.
II. THE PLACE WHERE TIMOTHY WAS.
III. OBJECT WHICH THE WRITER HAD IN VIEW.
IV. THE CONTENTS.
V. AGREEMENT OF THE CONTENTS WITH THE SPECIFIED PURPOSE OF THE WRITER.
VI. AUTHENTICITY.

I. *The time and place at which the epistle was written.*

It is apparent that the apostle was a prisoner at Rome when he wrote the present epistle (i. 8, 16, 17; ii. 9; iv. 6, 16). He was not in captivity at Caesarea as Oeder[g] and Böttger[h] conjecture, for this is contradicted by the words γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ (i. 17). The latter writer regards ἐν Ῥώμῃ as a gloss, because the expression stands in the way of his untenable hypothesis, and proposes to read ἐν ᾧ or ἔνθα in its place. It would appear likewise that he was in the state of imprisonment described in Acts xxviii. 17, etc., during which he wrote other letters, viz., those addressed to the Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Philemon; for we find—

1. That the circumstances of the apostle's imprisonment at Rome, when sent thither by Festus, and at the time of writing this epistle, are alike.

Luke says: "Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him" (Acts xxviii. 16). So also in the thirtieth verse: "Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and

[g] Conjecturarum de difficilioribus Novi Testamenti locis centuria, p. 607, et seqq.

[h] Beiträge, u. s. w. Vierte Abtheilung, p. 56.

received all that came in unto him." The apostle, after the custom of the Romans, was fastened to a soldier who had one end of the chain on his left hand, while Paul had the other end on his right hand. To this he refers in the second epistle to Timothy (i. 16), speaking of Onesiphorus: "he oft refreshed me and was not ashamed of my chain." He had said to the leading men among the Jews at Rome: "for the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain." We know also that when at Rome, "Paul dwelt in his own hired house, and received all who came in unto him." This accords with the statement in iv. 21, where salutations are sent to Timothy from various individuals, and from the church at Rome in general. There was therefore free access to the apostle when he wrote this epistle.

2. Luke was with him when he wrote the present letter (2 Tim. iv. 11). The same beloved physician is also mentioned in the epistles to the Colossians and Philemon, which were written during the Roman captivity.

3. Tychicus was with Paul on both occasions, and was sent to Ephesus. Hence it is inferred that he was present with the apostle during one and the same imprisonment (2 Tim. iv. 12; Ephes. vi. 21, 22).

4. Either Timothy was not with Paul at first, but was summoned to his side (2 Tim. iv. 9, 21; Coloss. i. 1; Philem. 1); or he had followed the apostle to Rome, had gone away afterwards, and is requested to come again. In both cases it is implied that Timothy was with him during some part of the imprisonment. Precisely the same argument applies to Mark.

5. The exhortation "flee youthful lusts" (ii. 22), was more suitable in the time of the Roman imprisonment noticed in Acts xxviii., than several years afterwards. Had twelve or fifteen years elapsed since Timothy's conversion, he could scarcely have been addressed after this fashion. Indeed, says Lardner,[1] this whole epistle is an admonition to Timothy, as a christian and a minister, better suiting the time of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome when sent thither from Judea, than any later time.

But though various particulars in the present epistle on the one hand, and in the four epistles which are generally allowed to have

[1] Works, 4to. edition, vol. iii. p. 309.

been written from Rome on the other, point to one and the same imprisonment, it must be admitted that *all* the circumstances, as indicated in both sources of information, are not alike. He may have been, and it is probable he was in the same captivity, but he was not at the *same point of time* in it. The captivity continued; but his situation in it was somewhat altered. This alteration is of such a kind as shows the present epistle to have been composed *after* the other four. Let us look at the change in his circumstances and prospects that we may know its precise character, as far as it can be gathered from the sacred records.

First, during the two years mentioned by Luke, he was permitted freely to preach the gospel as far as his chain permitted; and he did so without hindrance, boldly and faithfully (Ephes. vi. 19, 20; Col. iv. 3, 4; Philem. 10, 22; Phil. i. 7, 12-19; iv. 22). In conformity with this proclamation of the truth to many, he expresses his hope of being soon released, and even desires Philemon to prepare a lodging for him: "I trust in the Lord that I myself shall come shortly" (Phi. ii. 24). "Withal prepare me also a lodging: for I trust that through your prayers, I shall be given unto you" (Philem. 22). But when he wrote the present epistle he was treated as a malefactor in his chain (κακοῦργος, ii. 9), and his prospects were exceedingly gloomy. Not that we are to believe, with Macknight,[k] that "the heathen magistrates and priests, considering Paul as an atheist, because he denied the gods of the empire; very probably also supposing him to be one of the christians who, they said, had set fire to the city, confined him in close prison, with his hands and feet in fetters as a malefactor;" for this is purely conjectural, and disagrees with the twenty-first verse of the fourth chapter; but that his condition was altered for the worse. Indeed, his situation was so dangerous, that he expected to fall a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness," etc. (iv. 6, 7, 8).

Secondly, the number of his friends and companions about him had greatly decreased. In the epistle to the Philippians he says,

[k] Preface to Second Timothy, sect. 1.

that he intended to send Timothy shortly to them (ii. 19, 23), and accordingly Timothy was absent when he wrote the present letter. Demas, who was with him when he wrote to the Colossians (iv. 14) and to Philemon (24), and who may have been still at Rome when the Philippian letter was written, included among *the brethren* (Phil. iv. 21), had forsaken him at last out of love to the present life. Aristarchus was with the apostle when he wrote to the Colossians (iv. 10), and to Philemon (24). In the epistle to the Philippians he is not named, but may have been still at Rome among the brethren (iv. 21). But from 2 Timothy we see that he had gone away (iv. 11). Tychicus too, the bearer of the letters to the Ephesians and Colossians, had been sent away from Rome before this epistle to Timothy was written, for the aorist *ἀπέστειλα* is used (iv. 12). Wieseler indeed, after Baronius,[1] takes it here in the present time, as if the apostle meant to say, *I am sending*, implying that he was the bearer of the present letter; but this is quite improbable.[m] Thus from various causes the writer's friends had been scattered. Some he himself had sent away on different errands to the churches; others proved unfaithful. As danger drew nigh and the life of Paul was precarious, some forsook him. This was particularly the case with the christians of Asia Minor who came to him at Rome. In short, of all the assistants who accompanied him to Rome, or followed him thither, Luke alone was now with him. No wonder, therefore, that a feeling of desolateness came over his mind. In a situation which peculiarly called for the sympathy of friends, Luke alone ministered to him faithfully. Truly he may have been discouraged as he looked at the future. The prospects of the gospel at Rome were far from cheering. But yet he did not despair: "The Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom."

Thirdly, there is no account of his public appearance or defence before the emperor, either in the Acts of the Apostles, or in the four epistles written from Rome. And yet we should have expected the mention of it by Luke had it happened during the first two years of the imprisonment he notices, because he gives the

[1] Annales ad ann. 59, 10.

[m] Chronologie der apostolischen Zeitalters, p. 428.

apostle's public defences in other places. Yet this defence had taken place shortly before the composition of the present epistle.

Fourthly, in 2 Tim. i. 4, Timothy is reminded of the tears he had shed at his last parting with the writer. When he was sent to Philippi and the neighbouring parts (Phil. ii. 19-23), he had left Paul bound with a chain, and did not know whether he should ever see him again. The words *μεμνημένος σοῦ τῶν δακρύων*, *being mindful of thy tears*, do not refer to the occasion when Paul bade farewell to the elders at Ephesus, as narrated in Acts xx. 37, 38, but to Timothy's departure from Paul at Rome after the Philippian epistle was written, agreeably to the promise contained in that letter.[n] But, notwithstanding these circumstances, indicating as they do with tolerable certainty that the present epistle was written in Rome *after* the other four, many have inferred that it was written first. Such is the opinion of Baronius, Petavius, Estius, Lightfoot, Hammond, Cocceius, Witsius, Cave, Zachariae, Kleuker, Schmidt, Heinrichs, Rinck, Paulus, Matthies. Hug supposes, that it was preceded by the letter to the Ephesians alone; while Lardner imagines that it was sent away *along with* that to the Ephesians, or very soon after it. De Wette and Schrader too, in arguing against the authenticity, proceed on the assumption of its having been the first.[o]

The most plausible circumstance, perhaps, in favour of the view that it was first written is, that Timothy and Mark, who are requested to come to Rome (2 Tim. iv. 9, 11), were already there when the remaining epistles were composed (Coloss. i. 1; Philem. 1; Philipp. i. 1). But there is nothing improbable in the supposition that they followed the apostle to Rome, left him to go on different missions, and were still absent when the second letter to Timothy was written.

Let us now look at the circumstances supposed to present insuperable difficulty in the way of believing that the present letter was composed at any period of the writer's first captivity in Rome, and necessarily leading to the conclusion that he must have been released, and imprisoned again. It cannot be denied, that those who fix the date of the epistle in a second Roman captivity easily

[n] Hemsen, Der Apostel Paulus, p. 715.

[o] See Huther, u. s. w., p. 23.

get rid of difficulties, which present themselves to such as deny the historical truth of any other than that which Luke notices at the close of the Acts.

1. In 2 Tim. iv. 20, Paul says: "Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick." This could not have happened on the journey to Jerusalem, because Trophimus was with Paul at that city (Acts xxi. 29); and in the voyage from Caesarea to Italy, he did not touch at Miletus. Hence another voyage must be assumed, implying the apostle's release from imprisonment.

In order to obviate this difficulty, which at first sight does appear insuperable, Hug,[p] followed by Hemsen, proposes the translation "*they* left," instead of "*I* left." The nominative case *they* he refers to the delegates or messengers from churches sent to the apostle with supplies. It is easy to see that the context affords no countenance to this rendering of the verb *ἀπέλιπον*. Rather does it clearly suggest and favour the usual translation. We must believe that Paul himself, not the delegates of the churches, left Trophimus sick at Miletus. Nor will it do, with Baronius, Beza, Grotius, and others, to resort to conjecture, and read instead of *ἐν Μιλήτῳ*, *ἐν Μελίτῃ*, *i.e.* in *Melita* or *Malta*, for in *Miletus*. The received reading must be maintained, in opposition to conjectural emendations. Others have assumed that Miletus in *Crete* is meant, not in *Caria*. But this cannot be adopted, because Paul sailed along the south of Crete, whereas Miletus lies on the north coast of the island. The Carian Miletus, and none other, must be intended; for it is not possible, with Schrader,[q] to make the statement agree with Miletus in Crete. When Paul and his company took ship at Caesarea, they intended to go first to Adramyttium, touching at the towns of Asia on the coast as they went along, and consequently at Miletus in Caria (Acts xxvii. 2). But when they arrived at Myra in Lycia, the centurion found a ship sailing direct to Italy, into which he put the apostle. In the meantime Trophimus was sick. In consequence of his illness he was left at Myra, with the understanding that he should go forward to Miletus. Paul left him there with this impression. According to this interpretation, the apostle could say, 'I left

[p] Einleitung, Zweiter Theil, vierte Auflage, p. 359.

[q] Der Apostel Paulus, vol. i. p. 192 et seqq.

him sick at Miletus,' though he himself did not actually accompany him thither. He sailed for Italy, believing that Trophimus would proceed to Miletus as soon as convenient. Under these circumstances, and because the apostle really meant to go by Miletus at first, the language is appropriate. That the vessel did really touch at Miletus, and set Trophimus on shore there, in the time of that *slow sailing* mentioned in Acts xxvii. 7, as Lardner supposes, Michaelis has shewn to be impossible. Such as follow Lardner with implicit confidence in this respect are certainly in error. It is evident from Acts xxvii. 8, that the wind was north; and Cnidus was the most northerly place they could reach; consequently they could not have reached Miletus. The interval of time, also, between his being left at Miletus and the writing of the present epistle, is comparatively brief—*not five years*, as it is made by some who argue against the pertinency of the information now communicated to Timothy respecting Trophimus as a reason why he should hasten to Rome, on the ground of a long period having elapsed since Trophimus was left there sick.

2. In 2 Tim. iv. 20, Paul writes, "Erastus abode at Corinth." Such language implies that Paul passed through Corinth on his way to Rome, and there left Erastus. But the apostle had not been at Corinth for several years before his imprisonment at Rome. From Caesarea to Italy he did not pass through the capital of Achaia. Since his last visit to Corinth also, Timothy had been with him; so that he had no need to write to Timothy about that visit (Acts xx. 4).

This argument is sufficiently answered by taking ἔμεινε in the sense of *abode where he was*. Paul had expected and desired Erastus to come to Rome, but he continued at Corinth notwithstanding. For some reason or other, probably one unfavourable to the character of this person, he did not go to Rome. He disappointed the expectations of the apostle. He might have been of great use to him in the trial before the emperor. If he was identical with the chamberlain of the city (Romans xvi. 23), it is natural to believe that his presence and assistance might have been serviceable when Paul appeared before the imperial tribunal. Thus it is only necessary to suppose that the apostle had written or sent from Rome, requesting Erastus to leave Corinth, and go

to him, for the purpose of explaining the alleged difficulty. It would seem, too, that Timothy was aware of the fact of Paul having desired Erastus to visit him, which he might readily be, because he had been with the apostle at Rome. One thing is evident, that the apostle refers to the chamberlain's absence very briefly. He continued where he was, says the writer, instead of complying with my earnest wish.

This explanation, also, takes off the edge of the question, what would be the use of his reminding Timothy of the fact that Erastus remained at Corinth after so long an interval as five years? The five years between Paul's leaving Corinth, accompanied by Timothy, and his writing this present epistle, have no proper bearing on the question before us; since the verb *abode* does not necessarily imply that, Paul and Erastus being together, the latter chose to remain at Corinth.

It has been ignorantly asked, would the apostle have used the aorist, in case such had been the sense of ἔμεινε? Unquestionably he would, as it is the most appropriate tense; except it could be shewn that the apostle knew of his being still there, which he could hardly venture to affirm without being certain of the fact.

How natural was it for the apostle to introduce mention of Trophimus and Erastus, when he thought of the loneliness of his condition, and urged Timothy to come to him as speedily as possible! He had been disappointed in the case of both. But he blames them not, though it is quite possible to conceive that they had shrunk back through fear; but he excuses the one on account of a previous sickness, while of the other he states nothing more than the fact of his not going to Rome. Both had stayed away to the apostle's grief, and therefore it was the more necessary that Timothy should visit his beloved master.

3. Again, in 2 Tim. iv. 13, Paul writes to Timothy, "The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee; and the books, but especially the parchments." Here the visit to Troas referred to in Acts xx. 5-7 seems to be intended. If so, the articles must have been allowed to lie at Troas for the space of seven or eight years; but this is very improbable, as the books were manifestly of importance to the apostle.

The term rendered *cloak* (φελόνης or φαιλώνης) is ambiguous;

for it may denote *bookcase*, as well as *cloak* or *mantle*. Matthies[r] appeals to the context in favour of the former meaning; Bengelius[s] to the very same context in favour of the latter. If it signify *cloak*, then it is affirmed that the leaving it so long unused when it might have been useful, and the sending for it anxiously when it could be of little or no benefit, as the apostle's time of departure was at hand, is quite improbable. If it mean a travelling case for books, then it is thought equally improbable that the case and documents should be allowed to lie so long at Troas. We prefer the sense of *case*, in consequence of the subsequent context, notwithstanding Bengel's remark to the contrary, that then the books would not have been particularly specified. And it is much more likely that the documents in question were left on purpose with Carpus, than that they were forgotten till afterwards. They were of some use to him; and therefore they were left at Troas. We cannot perceive how the word ἀπέλιπον is opposed to this idea, as Huther affirms. In this way, all reasoning about Paul's being likely to need them long before, and having abundant opportunity of sending for them while he was at Caesarea, is irrelevant. Carpus's advantage was consulted rather than his own; but now the writer sent for them by Timothy. He had some special reason for having them in his possession again. The time sometimes assumed for the documents to lie with Carpus involves the hypothesis of a release from the Roman captivity, and a second imprisonment. They must have lain at Troas three years at least, perhaps five.

4. In chapter iv. 16, the apostle uses the following language: "At my first answer no man stood with me, but all forsook me." It is true that this *may* refer to a hearing which he had had before Nero, during the same imprisonment at Rome in which this second epistle was written; but the most natural interpretation is that he had had a hearing, and had been discharged; and that the imprisonment of which he speaks in this epistle was a second one. This seems to me to be confirmed by what he says in the next verse: "Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me and strengthened me; that by me the preaching might be fully known, and

[r] Erklärung der Pastoralbriefe, u. s. w., pp. 555, 556.

[s] Gnomon Novi Testamenti, p. 982.

that all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion." Here it appears (*a*) that he had been delivered on that occasion from death—"I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion," which is equivalent to saying that he was discharged; (*b*) that after that discharge he was permitted to preach the gospel—"that by me the preaching might be fully known;" (*c*) that he had been permitted after that to travel and preach—"and that all the Gentiles might hear," which is just such an expression as he would use on the supposition that he had been discharged, and been permitted to go abroad and preach the gospel extensively, and is *not* such an expression as he could have used if he had been imprisoned but once.[t]

In reply to this argument we remark, that it is more natural to suppose that the apostle's first public defence should take place during the imprisonment in which the second epistle was written. He would be less likely to refer to an occurrence that had happened during his *first* imprisonment, when writing in the middle or at the close of *the second.*

"I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion" is here assumed to be equivalent to "I was discharged." The language is metaphorical, denoting, that he was saved from death at the time. It is quite possible however to conceive, that though he was rescued from imminent peril on his first hearing, he was not set at liberty. As far as the words are concerned, he was still retained in custody. He was remanded. We need scarcely observe, that the lion does not mean *Nero*, as Greswell and others affirm, nor *Helius* the emperor's freedman; but, tropically, *very great peril.*

After this deliverance, he was allowed to preach. Though the sense of κήρυγμα be ambiguous, it is best on the whole to refer it to the preaching of the gospel. The sense of the clause is, "that by me the preaching of the gospel might be fulfilled or completed." Paul's work in making known the truth at Rome was not yet finished, and therefore he was spared a little longer. The expression "that all the Gentiles might hear," is here adduced for the purpose of shewing that Paul had been permitted, after his deliverance, to travel and preach extensively. But the language in question is quite consistent with the limitation of his subsequent

[t] Barnes, Introduction to the Second Epistle to Timothy, sect. 1.

preaching to Rome. Rome was the centre and metropolis of heathenism; many strangers were constantly there; and therefore all the Gentiles would come to know the gospel indirectly through Rome, as much as if the apostle had gone in person to Spain to announce it. Thus the passage we have been considering is capable of a natural interpretation, on the supposition that Paul was imprisoned but once in Rome. The eighteenth verse in particular clearly favours that view: "And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom: to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen." Such language connects the present imprisonment closely and immediately with that particular one during which he had been delivered from death; for it is immediately preceded by the words, "I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion."

5. In 2 Tim. iv. 12, Paul says: "I have sent Tychicus to Ephesus." This could not have been the occasion on which Tychicus carried the epistles to Ephesus and Colosse, because Timothy was at that time with Paul at Rome (Col. i. 1; Philem. 1), and Paul could not have mentioned this mission of Tychicus to Timothy, who was then absent. Hence another and later mission of Tychicus must be intended, one which took place during a subsequent imprisonment.[v]

We confess that we are unable to see the decisive force of this argument. Why could not Paul have mentioned this mission of Tychicus to Timothy who was absent? Suppose Timothy knew the fact already, is it unfit to be mentioned here? Paul, in speaking of his loneliness, enumerates various persons who had been with him, but were now absent, as a reason why Timothy should come to him. The language is equivalent to: *Tychicus, as you know, I sent away to Ephesus.*

6. It is alleged, that the situation of Paul when he wrote this epistle will not accord with his treatment as it appears in the Acts, nor with any period of the imprisonment there described.

This argument is virtually met by the fact, that the present epistle was written later in the captivity than the two years of which Luke gives an account. We have already seen that his circumstances had changed for the worse. He now suffered evil

[v] Burton on the Chronology of St. Paul's Epistles, Works, vol. iv. p. 100.

even unto bonds, *as a malefactor;* language implying that he had not exactly the same freedom as before, but *not* involving the idea of his being bound hands and feet in a close dungeon; so that Onesiphorus, on coming to Rome, had considerable difficulty in finding him out. The terms employed in reference to this stranger have been misunderstood. Whether Paul was in close confinement or not, it was necessary for Onesiphorus, on his arrival in Rome, to make some inquiries for him. "How else," says Lardner, "should any man find a stranger in a great city?"[w] The same chain is also introduced in relation to Onesiphorus, which is mentioned in the Acts, the chain by which Paul was bound to a single soldier.

7. In the epistle to the Philippians, Paul expresses a hope that he would soon visit them (ii. 24). This, it is alleged, will not agree with 2 Tim. iv. 6: "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." What *contradiction*—for such it is termed by Neudecker[x]—any commentator can find here, it is not easy to perceive. To the Philippians he expresses his hope or trust, but evidently speaks as if he were not certain of the issue. His expectations, it seems, were disappointed. This meaning the language admits of, since it is not the language of assured confidence respecting the future.

Thus the arguments alleged in favour of a second imprisonment are not strong enough for a basis to rest it on. And it is certainly unfavourable to the hypothesis, that the writer should never hint to Timothy the fact of having been assisted and befriended by the evangelist in his former imprisonment. He does not write to him as one from whom he had received important service in his imprisonment, but describes his solitary situation as an inducement for him to come to Rome. Is it not also strange, on this hypothesis, that so much should be *repeated* during the second imprisonment of what had happened in the first? We must assume a considerable similarity of circumstances in the case of both imprisonments; such as that, at each time, Timothy and Mark were not with the apostle at first, but joined him afterwards; that Luke was with him each time; and that, each time, Tychicus was sent

[w] Works, vol. iii. p. 305. Eichhorn's Einleit. vol. iii. p. 371.

[x] Einleitung, p. 558.

to Asia. We must also assume, says Hug, that Paul at both times, even in the latter part of Nero's reign, was permitted to receive friends during his confinement, to write letters, and despatch messengers. Nor is it at all likely, that the apostle would have survived the persecution of the christians under Nero, which took place immediately after the burning of the city. If in Rome, he was too conspicuous an individual not to be seized at once. If he was absent, and returned afterwards, he would scarcely have been dealt with in a way this second epistle leads us to suppose; for it is apparent that, even while writing it, he had considerable privileges. It is therefore most precarious, to place the composition of it after the burning of Rome, which took place on the 19th July, A.D. 64.

On the whole, it does not appear necessary to assume that the apostle was released from imprisonment, and took a journey through different places; calling at Troas where Carpus was, at Miletus, where he left Trophimus sick, and at Corinth, where Erastus stayed instead of departing to Rome. The difference of circumstances between his imprisonment referred to in this epistle, and that related in Acts xxviii. 30, 31, is explained by the fact, that the letter was written *after* the expiration of the two years, and *after* his first defence, when he had just been delivered from imminent peril, and expected shortly to be put to death. If there be no historical evidence, independent of the New Testament, for a second imprisonment, the present epistle to Timothy does not furnish sufficient ground for its assumption.

The historical evidence in favour of Paul's release from confinement has been already disposed of.[y] We considered the testimonies of Clement, of the author of the fragment on the Canon first published by Muratori, and of Eusebius; and we saw that Clement's words prove nothing; that the clause in the fragment on the Canon, *profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis*, affords no evidence when considered in the light of its context; and that Eusebius is the first who clearly asserts that the apostle was released from the imprisonment mentioned by Luke, and being incarcerated again was executed by order of Nero. The entire passage from Eusebius was given and commented on. It

[y] Vol. ii. p. 98 et seqq.

was shewn that the historian relied on the second epistle to Timothy alone; and that he knew of no prior writer who had spoken of the apostle's release, else he would have referred to him, as his custom is. This is apparent from the appendix subjoined to his examination of the matter: *ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν εἴρηται παρισταμένοις ὅτι μὴ καθ' ἣν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀνέγραψεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμῆς ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ Παύλου, τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτῷ συνεπεράνθη*: "Thus much we have said to shew that the martyrdom of the apostle did not take place at that period of his stay at Rome when Luke wrote his history."[z]

The tradition must have been little known to his contemporaries, or not generally believed by them; for he takes great pains to set it forth to them as true, adding the words just quoted. We learn from his language that he does not accede to the common opinion of his time. He had heard, from some quarter or other, that Paul suffered in a second captivity at Rome, and endeavours to prove it from the second epistle to Timothy. Whether it be *necessary* for the purpose of explaining two or three passages in the epistle, is exceedingly doubtful. We cannot suppose it to be so, and must therefore discard the idea of release and of a second imprisonment as *unhistorical*.

In view of all the circumstances, we assign the date of the letter to the year of our Lord 63, towards the end of it; thus looking on it as the last which the apostle wrote, not long before his martyrdom. Hence a melancholy but sublime interest attaches to it. It is the dying testimony of the noblest of the sons of men. Paul had made immense sacrifices for the gospel, having perilled his life once and again; and he is contented to die for it at last. He seals his declaration in favour of the truth with his blood. No wonder therefore that christians have always studied the document with intense earnestness, and listened to the last accents of the aged disciple with a cruel death before him, that they might contemplate his state of mind and heart, as the world receded from view. And where is there a higher example of moral sublimity than we find embodied in the language, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day;

[z] H. E. ii. 22.

and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing"? If the man who spoke thus on the eve of martyrdom be a fanatic, let me be such a fanatic,—is the involuntary exclamation of every true christian.

We conclude, then, that the epistle was composed before the winter of 63, thus allowing time enough to elapse after the spring of the year for the alteration in the writer's circumstances. Soon after, *i.e.*, at the commencement of 64, he was beheaded. Thus the burning of Rome, and the terrible circumstances that followed it, had not occurred.

Those who assume a second captivity place the composition of the present epistle in it, and bring it down therefore somewhat later than we have done. Among these may be mentioned Eusebius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, Cornelius a Lapide, Capellus, Usher, Pearson, Heidegger, Tillemont, S. Basnage, Sandhagen, Mill, Hottinger, Fabricius, Beausobre, Joachim Lange, Mosheim, Benson, Michaelis, Schmid, Hänlein, Bertholdt, Mynster, Heydenreich, Böhl, Guerike, Feilmaer, Schott, Flatt, Neander, Paley, Burton, Greswell, Macknight, Tomline, Rosenmüller, Baumgarten, Huther. To these may be added Koehler,[a] who, while placing the writing of the letter in the second Roman captivity, A.D. 67, strangely puts it between the first and second epistles to the Thessalonians.

II. *The place where Timothy was.*

The general opinion is, that Timothy was at Ephesus when the apostle addressed the present letter to him. That he was there, is inferred from the following particulars.

1. He salutes the household of Onesiphorus (iv. 19). Now Onesiphorus appears to have resided at Ephesus, because it is said in i. 18, "The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day: and in how many things he ministered unto me at Ephesus, thou knowest very well." Michaelis, however, asserts[b] that this is no proof of Onesiphorus being an inhabitant of Ephesus; for as he was a stranger at Rome when he ministered to Paul there, he may have been likewise a stranger at

[a] Versuch ueber die Abfassungszeit, u. s. w., pp. 150, 151.

[b] Introd. to the New Testament, translated by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 162.

Ephesus, when he shewed like kindness to Paul. But though the passage in question may not furnish a strictly *logical* proof of the position for which it is adduced, it affords at least a strong presumption in favour of it. It is more natural to infer from it that he was a resident in Ephesus, than that he was a stranger.

2. He also salutes Aquila and Priscilla, who resided some time at Ephesus, as we learn from Acts xviii. 18, 19, 26.

Michaelis takes exception to this circumstance also, affirming that it contains no proof of Timothy's being at Ephesus when the present epistle was written. It is true, indeed, that they had returned to Rome from Ephesus before Paul wrote to the Roman christians; and we are not informed whither they went when they left Rome again. Still, it is more probable that they would return to Ephesus than go elsewhere.

3. He advises Timothy to be on his guard against Alexander the coppersmith (iv. 15), the same person as the Alexander mentioned in Acts xix. 33, who was an Ephesian.

We allow to Michaelis that this does not *necessarily* prove Timothy to be at Ephesus when Paul wrote to him. And there is considerable uncertainty about the argument, because it is doubtful whether the Alexander here mentioned be the same as the Alexander spoken of in Acts xix. 33, and 1 Tim. i. 20. Many deny, while others assert, the identity. Apart, however, from the consideration of identity or diversity, it is likely that the person here spoken of belonged to Ephesus.

4. There is a great similarity between the errors which Timothy is enjoined to oppose, as they are spoken of in the first and second epistles. We are therefore led to believe that they prevailed in the same place, viz. Ephesus, as is certain from the first epistle.

Michaelis adduces two arguments against the opinion that Timothy was at Ephesus.

First, Paul says (iv. 12), "Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus." Hence, says he, we may argue that Timothy was not at Ephesus; for if he had been there, he would have known of the arrival of Tychicus without being informed of it by St. Paul.

Here it is tacitly assumed that Tychicus had arrived at Ephesus by the time the letter had arrived. But though the aorist *I have*

sent naturally means that he had been despatched before the letter, we know not what route he took, or what hindrances he had. For aught we know, he may not have arrived till after the letter. The apostle's anxiety that Timothy should come to him as speedily as possible would probably lead the bearer of the letter to take the most direct and speediest course from Rome to Timothy's place of abode; but we know not what messages to churches Tychicus may have had by the way.

The second argument is this. Paul writes: "Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick." Now, if Timothy had been at Ephesus, he must have known this fact without having been informed by St. Paul, as Miletus was not far distant, especially as Trophimus was an Ephesian (Acts xxi. 29). But we have no right to assume that the writer must omit circumstances already known to Timothy. There may have been good reasons for his mentioning various particulars with which the evangelist was already acquainted. Besides, Trophimus may have been at Miletum without Timothy knowing it.

Taking all circumstances into account, we think it quite probable that Timothy was at Ephesus when he was addressed by Paul in this second epistle. He must have been in Asia Minor, for this appears plainly from the reference to the conduct of the Asiatic christians who forsook him, and returned to their own country (i. 18); and no locality there has an equal claim to be considered the place of his abode, as Ephesus. Troas, which Neudecker fixes on,[c] has much less claim; for though favoured apparently by iv. 13, other circumstances are against it.

III. *The object which the writer had in view.*

The immediate purpose of the writer seems to have been to request Timothy to come to Rome, along with Mark, as speedily as possible. This is expressed *indirectly* at the commencement of the letter (verse 4), and *plainly* near its termination. But he accompanies the desire with a variety of exhortations, counsels, and encouragements, suitable to the evangelist's position as well as to the wants of the churches he served, and arising out of the writer's own situation. He could not tell whether he should live

[c] Einleitung, u. s. w., pp. 552, 553.

to see Timothy, and he felt that it would be his last letter. Hence he addresses him with a parent's affection, urging him by powerful motives to continue faithful and diligent in the discharge of his ministerial duties.

Had Paul wished merely to request Timothy's presence at Rome, it is not likely that he would have written a letter destined to be preserved till the end of time; for it was easy to send a verbal message to that effect. But being solicitous to have Timothy with him in his lonely condition, he takes advantage of the present opportunity to instruct and counsel him, that he might the more efficiently fulfil his office. The idea of impending death was deeply impressed on his mind, and he could not avoid speaking to Timothy in the character of an affectionate parent and aged counsellor, while requesting him to come to his side.

IV. *The contents.*

The epistle scarcely admits of any formal or proper division. Perhaps it may be most pertinently divided into the following parts:—

I. The introduction, containing the inscription and salutation, together with an affectionate expression of the writer's love and longing for Timothy, i. 1-5.

II. Various exhortations, admonitions, and encouragements, i. 6-iv. 8.

III. A request to come to Rome as soon as possible, accompanied by various particulars in the way of information, commissions, and salutations for the brethren in Asia Minor, iv. 9-22.

Perhaps the second division might be subdivided into such paragraphs as these: (*a*) Exhortations to Timothy to a vigorous, fearless, and faithful discharge of the duties belonging to his calling, i. 6-14. (*b*) Notices of the steadfast conduct of certain brethren, and the faithlessness of others, i. 15-18. (*c*) Exhortations to fortitude under afflictions and opposition, to maintenance of the pure gospel doctrine, and to personal holiness, ii. 1-26. (*d*) A prophecy indicating the approach of evil times, in which men should be eminently wicked and hypocritical, of whom Timothy is warned to beware, iii. 1-9. (*e*) Timothy is commended for his steadfastness in the faith, and encouraged to abide in it,

iii. 10-17. (*f*) An exhortation to be constant in his profession of the gospel, and faithful in evangelical labours, accompanied by the prediction of an approaching period marked by prevailing error, and of the apostle's impending death, iv. 1-8.

I. In the introduction, Paul asserts his apostleship, which was instituted for announcing the promise of eternal life. He expresses his affectionate concern for Timothy, assuring him that he continually prayed for him, remembered his tears at parting, and longed greatly to see him.

II. He exhorts him to be diligent and active in the exercise of the gracious gifts he had received at ordination; since God had not given christians fear of difficulty or danger, but the spirit of power, love, and a sound mind. Hence he was not to be ashamed of sufferings, nor of association with himself a prisoner, but to be partaker of afflictions by virtue of the power of God who calls and saves all true christians, according to His own gracious purpose designed for them from eternity, but now accomplished in the appearance of Jesus Christ, who took away the power and sting of death, and had appointed him to publish these glad tidings. Hence he suffered willingly, being fully persuaded that he should not fail of his reward.

He again exhorts Timothy to retain the form of sound doctrine, and to guard inviolable the sacred trust of the ministry. He reminds him that all the christians of Asia Minor had gone off from him in Rome, though to his honour he mentions the steady attachment of Onesiphorus who had lately visited him, for which the grateful apostle prays that God would abundantly reward him.

He presses him earnestly to steadfastness, and to teach the doctrine he had received from him to men who should faithfully teach it to others; to act and suffer like one who had devoted himself wholly to the work of an evangelist. For he must first labour and suffer, and then expect the reward. He refers him to the resurrection of Jesus Christ; his own example; and the christian hope, according to which they that are spiritually dead with Christ shall live with him, they that suffer shall reign with him. Timothy was to remind the teachers of christianity of the vanity of striving about names and words; while he was to watch over

his own teachings, and shun empty fables destructive of the spirit of piety, as appeared in the case of Hymeneus and Philetus, who had proceeded so far as to assert that the resurrection was past already. But that portion of professing christians which God had established should stand fast, the genuineness of their discipleship being known by a divine test. In the house of God there are true evangelical christians, as well as teachers of error; and not till a man purge himself from communion with false teachers and their follies, is he fit for the Master's use. To keep himself free, he advises Timothy to avoid youthful lusts; to follow righteousness, faith, charity, and peace; to shun foolish and unlearned questions. He must not dispute with, but oppose the teachers of error with patience and lenity, that, if possible, he might reclaim some of them.

Timothy is now informed that in the last days perilous times should come, marked by the appearance of men of the vilest character, pretending to religion, yet without virtue. Such were they who crept into houses and led away the weak, whom they pretended to instruct. These men resisted the truth, just as the magicians of Egypt withstood Moses. In contrast with them, he commends Timothy for following his doctrine, and copying after the fidelity, charity, and patience he had observed in the apostle, and had seen plain evidences of in the sufferings he had undergone—a treatment which all must expect who will be faithful in time of persecution. But impostors grow more degenerate, in order to avoid suffering. He recommends to Timothy the study of the Old Testament, with which he had been acquainted from infancy, and to which he was to add faith in Christ Jesus, because all Scripture is given by inspiration of God and profitable. Having such helps, he is solemnly charged, by the prospect of the final judgment, to use the greatest diligence in promoting the truth, and in opposing present, as well as preventing future corruptions. For such should certainly arise. The time was approaching when professing christians would not endure sound doctrine, but listen to every one offering instruction, however false his pretensions. There was therefore a necessity for him to be vigorous, like a faithful evangelist; especially considering that his father in the gospel was so near his martyrdom. And, as the mention of this

fact seemed likely to discourage Timothy, the apostle speaks of the faith and hope which were now his solace and support.

III. Paul begs of Timothy to hasten to Rome, because all his attendants had forsaken him except Luke. In his passage to the imperial city, the evangelist is desired to call at Troas, and bring with him some books, parchments, etc., which the apostle had left there. The writer warns him against Alexander, who had been the apostle's enemy, and informs him that at his first public defence all his friends and companions had forsaken him. But he was divinely delivered from imminent peril, that he might finish his work; and had no doubt that he should be preserved from every deed which he might be led to commit through want of steadfastness, and be conducted into the heavenly kingdom.

He salutes some of the christians, and informs Timothy of the circumstances of others. After mentioning the salutations of several believers at Rome, he concludes with a benediction.

V. *Agreement of the contents with the specified purpose of the writer.*

Some writers have directed minute attention to the contents of the epistle, for the purpose of shewing that they do not agree well with the writer's main object. They speak of the internal incongruity of the epistle, the actual contents of it standing in inexplicable contrariety to the specific purpose of the author. So Credner, Neudecker, and De Wette; the first two in a more incautious form than the last. But it is not difficult to perceive that they have totally misapprehended the matter. De Wette allows that the admonitions of the apostle, as well as the information respecting his condition at Rome preparatory to the distinct announcement of his object in writing, are not inconsistent with it; but he maintains notwithstanding, that many particulars are inserted which lead away entirely from that object. It is worth while to glance at the paragraphs and passages to which he takes exception, because they form a portion of the collective argument urged against the authenticity.

Here we remark again, that the arrangement of the letter, or rather its want of formal arrangement, is exactly adapted to the circumstances in which it is commonly supposed to have been

written. It has no appearance of studied, artificial disposition. The writer, on the contrary, speaks in the easy, artless manner of a friend giving counsels in the near prospect of death to one whom he loves. There is no attempt at regular order or sequence in the topics touched upon. Exhortations are broken off, and recommenced in other words. The writer diverges occasionally into collaterals. He is somewhat diffuse. Affection forbids him to think about method, and inspiration allows him to dispense with it. Hence he proceeds in a strain like that of earnest, solemn conversation; irregular and negligent, with repetitions and sudden transitions, but full of tenderness and solemnity. The aged apostle, on the eve of martyrdom, speaks to his spiritual son, counselling, warning, and instructing him to live and act as a workman having no reason to be ashamed. Whoever, therefore, looks for rigid adherence to one definite, specific object, not allowing any departure from it, does manifest violence to the writer, by confining him after a fashion which none of his other epistles will fairly justify. He demands of him somewhat of the mechanical, when he must have been in a frame of mind wholly averse to it. His heart must have been drawn out in no common degree by the circumstances in which he stood to the world and to Timothy; and the flowing forth of its tenderness obliterates the formal distinctions on which mere intellect sets a value.

De Wette directs attention to the obvious want of adaptation, which the letter presents, both to the person addressed and to the writer's object.

And first with regard to the person addressed.

At the time of the (first and only) captivity at Rome, Timothy had been about ten years in the ministry of the gospel, was at least thirty-five years of age, and his evangelical sentiments were sufficiently tested (1 Cor. iv. 17; Phil. ii. 19). Is it not absurd, therefore, that such a man should be warned, as a youth, against youthful lusts (ii. 22); should be reminded as a tyro whose faith is weak, and doctrine unsteady, of his pious education (i. 5), of the instruction he had received from the apostle (i. 13; ii. 1, etc.; iii. 14), of the use of Holy Scripture (iii. 15); that his capability of understanding a similitude should be called in question (ii. 7); and that he should be encouraged, in the manner of a dastard, to

a spirited renunciation of self on behalf of the gospel (i. 6, etc.; ii. 3, etc.; iv. 5)?[d]

In reply to these observations, let it be remembered that admonitions and counsels are repeated to Timothy out of paternal solicitude. Human nature at its best state is frail and imperfect. It is liable to err at all times. The well-tried principles of the evangelist did not exempt him from the possibility of fainthearted-ness; nor could warnings of the kind contained in the epistle be out of place, as dangers thickened around and friends shrank back through fear. Critical times were at hand. A severer test was about to be applied to the principles of christians. No matter therefore, though Timothy had proved faithful for a number of years: it was highly proper to prepare his mind for future trials. The exhortations in question involved no disparagement of his piety or fortitude, to say nothing of the fatherly anxiety which prompted such dying counsels.

We are disposed to demur to the assertion, that Timothy was thirty-five years of age, at the least, during the first captivity, allowing ten years to have elapsed since he was associated with Paul. And even if he were thirty-five, we should not at all consider the precept, *Flee youthful lusts*, to be *absurd*. But, indeed, it is most arbitrary to fix on an age, where all is uncertain, and on that precarious ground to assail the verse as inappropriate. Where the particular age of Timothy is unknown, the epithet *youthful*, implying that he was a young man, cannot be legitimately assailed.

In chap. i. 5, the writer excites Timothy to perseverance. He reminds him of his excellent ancestors, encouraging him not to swerve from the faith in which they had early instructed him. This does not imply that he was a tyro whose faith was weak and doctrine unsteady; it is an encouragement to follow the course marked out and exemplified by his ancestors.

Timothy's capacity to understand a metaphor is not called in question in ii. 7, if the verb *νόει* be rightly translated. It does not mean *understand*, but *think of, meditate upon*. The last clause shews, that Timothy had not yet attained to the understanding of all things (*σύνεσιν ἐν πᾶσι*). Who can be surprised at this?

[d] See Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 24.

Again, there is nothing strange in reminding Timothy of the instructions he had received from the apostle, or in specifying incidentally the use of the Holy Scriptures, which he had known from infancy. Neither do the encouragements contained in i. 6, etc.; ii. 3, etc.; iv. 5, imply that he was a dastard. If such were the case, the bravest christians, whom others have often exhorted to steadfastness in the time of danger, might be called cowardly. The stoutest hearts, the most advanced christians, need encouragement at times.

Were the principle on which this entire objection rests acted out in the christian world, many addresses given to steady christians should be dispensed with. But nothing would be more foolish than to omit discourses directed to believers, of an animating and encouraging character. Though they may have walked consistently for years, and have even laboured in the gospel, they require a stimulus. They must be reminded of their past professions, of the importance of maintaining apostolic doctrine in the midst of error, and stoutheartedness in the face of imminent dangers, for the gospel's sake.

It is farther affirmed that the allusion in iii. 11 to Acts xiii. 50; xiv. 2, 7, 19, is unsuitable, betraying another than the apostle. Would the apostle, asks Eichhorn,[e] in order to animate and confirm the fortitude of his friend, have mentioned merely the persecutions of which Timothy had not been an eye-witness, inasmuch as they occurred before his conversion? Would he have passed over in total silence the far more cruel ones to which he was subjected at Philippi, at Thessalonica, at Jerusalem, and which took place under Timothy's own eyes?

The persecutions at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra, were the first which are related in the Acts as befalling the apostle, in which Timothy had no part. The reason why he mentions them in particular is, because the evangelist's native place was in the vicinity of those cities, as Chrysostom long since remarked. De Wette's rejoinder to this is quite futile. So far, therefore, from the allusion indicating or betraying a later writer, it shews the authenticity of the letter. "Had the writer of the epistle," says Paley, "sought a coincidence with the history upon this head,

[e] Einleitung, u. s. w., vol. iii. p. 360.

and searched the Acts of the Apostles for the purpose, he would have sent us at once to Philippi and Thessalonica, where Paul suffered persecution, and where, from what is stated, it may easily be gathered that Timothy accompanied him, rather than have appealed to persecutions as known to Timothy, in the account of which persecutions Timothy's presence is not mentioned; it not being till after one entire chapter, and in the history of a journey three years future to this, that Timothy's name occurs in the Acts of the Apostles for the first time."[f]

In the second place, the letter, it is alleged, is not adapted to the writer's object. Here exception is taken to the following passages:—ii. 2, 14-26; iii. 14-iv. 2, which are aside from the object.[g] The object of the writer in the entire epistle is not announced till the ninth verse of the fourth chapter, where, as well as subsequently in the twenty-first verse, it is specifically announced. The idea which was present to the mind of the author throughout the letter, was to invite Timothy to join him at Rome.

Here De Wette sets out with a false standard. He has no right to assume that the *sole* object of the writer was to invite Timothy to Rome, or even that it was the *leading* object. Hence the passages he quotes, containing admonitions unconnected with the request to join him at Rome, are judged by an erroneous standard. It is idle to look for any necessary union between them and the request urged in iv. 9, 21. They were meant to be useful to Timothy in his ministerial labours, as the apostle was not certain whether he should live to see the evangelist. In this view, also, the prophetic glances into the future, and the polemic attacks to which De Wette objects (iii. 1-5; iv. 3, and ii. 16-21, 23; iii. 6-9, 13) are appropriate, especially as Timothy could not remain unaffected by the influences described in these passages. And if the epistle were designed for future ages as well as for the evangelist, it will be seen that they are highly pertinent. So, too, chapter iv. verse 8, need not be condemned because it contains an idea remote from the alleged purpose of the writer. And when fault is found with the mode of transition from iv. 6-8 to the invi-

[f] Horae Paulinae, chap. xii. No. 5.

[g] De Wette's Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 25.

tation to join the apostle at Rome, as though it were unsuitable, the writer is brought before a tribunal erected by a subtle philosophy, and therefore foreign to his character. It is sufficient that the idea of approaching death was before his mind as expressed in the verses, which forms an appropriate introduction to the words of the ninth verse. True it is, that the utterance given to the blessed feeling of a finished course rises far above the necessities of the present life; so that it would seem, if not superfluous, at least an abrupt descent to earthly wants still experienced; but the elevating anticipation of the *actual completion* of his career did not prevent him from being still in the body. He *valued* Timothy's sympathising *friendship;* he was *assured* of God's supporting *grace* even unto the end. Both feelings are consistent with each other in the holiest saint. Though a believer may be near his departure and perfectly certain of his final salvation; though he may exult in the approaching prospect of death, knowing that his course is *virtually* finished, yet, as long as it is not *absolutely* completed, the feelings of humanity are not extinguished. Man's help he needs not; but the christian man's friendship he prizes to the very last.

It is not needful to refer at any length to another passage, viz., i. 9, 10, which De Wette objects to as unsuitable, because the writer turns aside to a commonplace of general import. The insertion of the facts of christian salvation is pronounced superfluous in this place. Perhaps, however, a nearer inspection may shew appropriateness in the connexion. In the eighth verse, he exhorts Timothy not to be ashamed of the gospel, nor to shrink from enduring the afflictions inseparable from the maintenance of its doctrines, which leads him to speak of what the gospel has done for all, including himself and Timothy. The greatness of the benefit shews how much we owe to God. No sufferings are too much for the sake of such blessings. Hence the verses objected stand in natural connexion with the preceding one, all being intended for the evangelist's encouragement in the time of trial; and the *general* turn given to them makes them all the more valuable, since by that the epistle is adapted to christians in all ages.

Again, chap. i. ver. 13, 14, are excepted to as having no con-

nexion with the preceding or following, and no allusion to the invitation to join him at Rome.

Without stopping to inquire whether the looseness of junction affirmed really exist, it is sufficient to state, that there is no need to search for a close connexion between the different parts of the letter, nor a subordination of them all to the one object expressed in iv. 9. The drift and bearing of the whole epistle are misapprehended by such as apply the standard in question. Hence we are not at all concerned about the fault imputed to the epistle, viz., that it presents a great tendency to turn aside to commonplaces near or remote. No one object is so prominent in the epistle as that all parts are subservient to it. The writer employs the freedom of the epistolary style in addressing his son in the gospel, without troubling himself with a good grammatical or logical connexion. Even the most doctrinal letters of the apostle would scarcely bear the test applied to this familiar epistle fraught with practical counsels to his beloved friend; for in them there are digressions, as well as a want of good grammatical and logical connexion.

But we must allude to a self-contradictory statement to which De Wette calls attention, in iii. 9. "*But they shall proceed no farther:* for their folly shall be manifest unto all men, as theirs also was." The verse is meant to console Timothy, but it is opposed to the prediction of worse times (ver. 1, etc.), as well as to the thirteenth verse, and to ch. ii. 17. We deny that the prophecy contained in verses 1-8 is inconsistent in the least degree with the present verse. The writer foretels that grievous times should come in which many should have *the form* without *the power* of godliness; a statement in harmony with the consolatory assurance of the ninth verse.

In the thirteenth verse it is declared of evil men and seducers, *they shall wax worse and worse* (προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον); but this is somewhat different from the phrase before us (οὐ προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον), the true meaning of which is *they shall proceed no farther*. These evil men, after successfully carrying on a system of deception, were to arrive at a certain point at which their folly should be detected. Men would see their true character after it had obtained a certain development. They could not be always

successful. At a certain stage they should be effectually exposed in all their naked hypocrisy. But in the thirteenth verse it is affirmed respecting wicked men and impostors, that they should go on from worse to worse. This is the general law that holds good in the case of the vicious. Their progress is downward. They proceed from bad to worse.

There is thus a difference between the two passages quite compatible with their agreement. In iii. 9 the writer declares, that evil men should be able to go no farther in their *successful* career of vice, because mankind would at last discover their real character. They would be able to practise their imposture no longer, because others should become proof against them. Others would not allow them to go farther in their foolish, absurd course. But in iii. 13 they are spoken of in relation *to themselves*, not to others. Their natural course is specified quite irrespective of the opinions of others. The expression in ii. 16 is to be explained in the same way as in iii. 13. It alludes to the usual law of iniquity, not to the want of final success before the world.

The use of other Pauline epistles in i. 3, 7; ii. 20; iv. 6, etc., though clear to De Wette, is not so apparent to all. It is easy to make the assertion, but no proof of it is attempted. Because there is similarity in expression and idea, it should not be summarily inferred that there is *compilation.* Both may be independent of each other. In the present instance we shall wait till the assertion be sustained by good or plausible considerations. Till then it is a *mere assumption.*

In another place we shall notice the statement, that an ecclesiastical formula was employed in writing the words of ii. 8. It is well that De Wette has qualified it with a *perhaps;* for who should think of referring the origin of the phrase ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ, *of the seed of David*, to *a confession of faith*, because of the omission of an article before it?

VI. *Authenticity.*

In defending the agreement of the contents with the writer's purpose, a considerable number of objections against the authenticity have been given and refuted. The topic, however, will present itself again, in connexion with an examination of the three pastoral epistles together.

EPISTLE TO TITUS.

In the epistle to Titus the following topics exhaust all the observations which we intend to offer:—

I. The Scripture History of Titus.
II. Introduction of the Gospel into Crete.
III. Time and place of writing.
IV. Contents.
V. Occasion and Object of the Epistle.
VI. Adaptation of the contents to the Writer's purpose and the state of affairs in Crete.
VII. Authenticity.

I. *The Scripture history of Titus.*

Titus is not named in the Acts of the Apostles, though he was Paul's companion and fellow-labourer. We are left to gather a few fragmentary notices of him from Paul's epistles alone.

We learn that he was of Gentile origin. Both his parents were Greeks. None of them belonged to the Jewish persuasion, as in the case of Timothy whose mother was a Jewess. Hence Paul would not allow him to be circumcised, because the apostle discountenanced the idea that the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic law were essential to the salvation of the Gentiles; though in the case of Timothy he yielded to Jewish feelings, and caused the rite to be performed on him. What his native place was cannot be obtained. Antioch in Syria has the fairest claim to the distinction.

It is generally believed that he was converted through the apostle's instrumentality, because he is addressed as "Paul's own son after the common faith" (i. 4). At what time that event took place it is impossible to know more definitely, than that it was before the council at Jerusalem, fourteen years after Paul's conversion, A.D. 51.

The first notice of him in the New Testament represents him as with the apostle at Antioch, whence he accompanied him to Jerusalem (Galat. ii. 1, 2, 3). It is probable that he returned to Antioch along with the other brethren. What motive led him subsequently to visit Ephesus is not apparent. Paul may have sent for him, or he may have gone spontaneously. It is certain, however, that he was sent from Ephesus to Corinth (2 Cor. vii. 6, 13, 14; viii. 6, 16, 23; xii. 18) to observe the state of the church in that city, particularly the effect produced by Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. He was expected by the apostle after the latter had left Ephesus, at Troas. Having met Paul in Macedonia, he was despatched thence with the second epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. viii. 6, 16, 17, 23). He next appears at Rome; from which city he went to Dalmatia.

At what time he was with Paul in Crete and was left in the island, it is not easy to settle. There is great difficulty in inserting his visit to Crete into the known history of Paul.

The latter part of the evangelist's life is involved in obscurity. Tradition indeed asserts, that he was the first bishop of Crete; and that after preaching there and in the neighbouring islands, he died at an advanced age, in the island over whose spiritual interests he had long presided. Both his position in relation to churches, and his duties, were similar to those of Timothy at Ephesus; and as the latter is called an evangelist, theologians have good reason for styling the former an evangelist also.

II. *Introduction of the gospel into Crete.*

It is intimated by Philo,[h] that there were many Jews in Crete. Some of them appear to have embraced christianity as early as the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 1). No doubt these converts would make their countrymen in the island acquainted with the truth on their return; but as to the success they had, it is uncertain. Perhaps they were more useful in preparing the way for the apostle of the Gentiles and others, than in inducing numbers to embrace the new religion. But whatever progress was made by Jewish christians in converting others—whether they were the instruments of converting any Gentiles or not—it is manifest that

[h] Leg. ad Caium. Opp. ed. Mangey, vol. ii. p. 587.

the apostle's labours were followed by striking effects when he visited the island in company with Titus. Churches were founded in various cities. Societies were organised in most of the principal places of the island. But he could not stay long enough to superintend in person their complete settlement. Titus was left behind to finish what was to be done.

III. *Time and place of writing.*

There is great diversity of opinion as to the date of the epistle. We shall mention the different sentiments that have been entertained regarding it, in the order of time.

The only case in which there is any record of Paul's visiting Crete is when he made his voyage to Rome, as related in the twenty-seventh chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, when the ship he sailed in touched at one port of the island at least. It is obvious, however, that this could not have been the time referred to in the present epistle, when he put Titus in charge there; and we are not aware that any critic has identified the two visits of Paul, referred to in Acts xxvii. 7-15 and Titus i. 5, except Grotius. We do not adduce against the view in question, that Titus was not then with Paul. He may have been with him though Luke does not mention his name. The mere silence of the historian is not a sufficient argument against the supposition of Grotius. But when we consider that the apostle was a prisoner sailing to Rome, that it would require several weeks to preach and establish churches in the island, and that Luke says not a word of the planting of christianity at that time in Crete, though such is his custom, and he himself was with Paul; it is utterly improbable that the island could then have been the scene of missionary labour on the part of Paul for the first time. His stay was too short, and his situation as a prisoner too close, to allow of a missionary tour for the purpose of converting the Cretans to christianity. Doubtless they had become acquainted with the new religion already, having been visited by Paul and Titus on a previous occasion.

It will be apparent that the epistle could not have been written after the apostle was made a prisoner at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 30), because from that time he could not take the resolution of spending the following winter in Nicopolis. He had not

liberty to do so. Hence the date of the letter must be prior to Acts xxi. 30.

But might it not have been written in the interval between Paul's departure from Philippi, after the passover there was ended, and his arrival at Jerusalem on the feast of Pentecost? Within this space of time there is no room for placing it along with the voyage to Crete, for he was evidently in haste to be at Jerusalem by the time of the festival (Acts xx. 16). Indeed, the very days are numbered in several instances, marking the speed with which he travelled. Thus from Philippi he is said to have arrived at Troas in five days, and to have stayed there seven. Hence the composition of the letter is reduced, at the latest, to the sojourn of a few days at Philippi (Acts xx. 6). But it is most unlikely that the letter was written in Philippi itself, because Paul suspended his journey at that city merely during the continuance of the passover. Had not the passover occurred, he would not have stopped there.

We are thus brought, for the voyage to Crete and the composition of the letter, to the period between Paul's leaving Ephesus and his passing through Macedonia the second time, noticed by Luke, after now leaving Ephesus (Acts xx. 1-3). The epistle was written either in Macedonia after his return from Greece, or in his three months' abode in Greece, or during his Macedonian tour before coming into Greece. The latest space allowed is the journey from Greece through Macedonia to Philippi. But if he was in so great haste at Philippi, it is quite probable that he could not or would not compose the letter after he had left Greece while he travelled through Macedonia, especially as there would be great difficulty in proving the immediate antecedence of the voyage to Crete; so that we are brought to the three months' sojourn in Greece, probably at Corinth, as *the latest* point in the history recorded in the Acts, at which the voyage to Crete could have been undertaken and the letter written (Acts xx. 3).

1. Michaelis, Hales, and Townsend suppose that the epistle was written during the sojourn at Corinth of eighteen months, mentioned in Acts xviii. 1-18. In it they think that the apostle went to Crete, for the purpose of preaching the gospel there, where he left Titus. On returning from Crete to Corinth, he was driven

into Epirus by a storm, and wrote, either in Nicopolis or the vicinity, the present letter addressed to Titus. The succeeding winter he spent in Nicopolis, preached about that time as far as Illyricum, and returned to Corinth.

In relation to this hypothesis we remark,

First, that the verb ἐκάθισε (Acts xviii. 11), descriptive of Paul's residence at Corinth, is adverse to the idea of a voyage to Crete during that abode.

Secondly, it allows very little of the eighteen months to have been actually spent in Corinth. Both the epistles to the Thessalonians were written there on this occasion, which would require two or three months to have been passed in Corinth. Then Paul must have sailed to Crete in the spring or summer, and spent some time there, after which he passed the winter at Nicopolis on his return. In this manner it appears, that too little of the entire year and half was really passed in Corinth, to justify the expression ἐκάθισε ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἓξ, *he continued a year and six months.*

Thirdly. At the time in question, Titus is requested to send Apollos on his journey (Tit. iii. 13). But the latter was not converted at that time, nor acquainted with Paul. Hence he could not have then assisted Titus in Crete. It is asserted, indeed, by Michaelis and Townsend, that Apollos probably came to Corinth before Paul left it; but this is impossible, as the narrative in Acts demonstrates. The hypothesis obviously implies, that Apollos was known to Paul at the time, and had been instructed in the gospel; else he could not have been spoken of as he is in the present epistle, nor could he have been assisting Titus in Crete. Hence it becomes necessary to assume, that Apollos came to Corinth before Paul left it. But that is irreconcilable with the record in the Acts. It is stated that Paul, on leaving Corinth, sailed thence for Syria, taking with him Aquila and Priscilla. At Ephesus he left Aquila and Priscilla, but would not stop himself, because he was going to Jerusalem. After saluting the church there, he went down to Antioch, spent some time in it, and went over the countries of Galatia and Phrygia in order. It is at this point of the narrative that Apollos is mentioned for the first time. He came to Ephesus now. Aquila and Priscilla are introduced

for the first time as found by the apostle at Corinth, and taken thence to Ephesus; but not a word is said of Apollos being found at Corinth. We know, however, that Apollos was at Corinth (Acts xix. 1), having gone thither from Ephesus. The same passage informs us that, while he was there, Paul, having passed through the upper coasts, *i.e.* Galatia and Phrygia, came to Ephesus. Thus the narrative plainly shews,

That Apollos had not been in Corinth before Paul left it to go to Ephesus. Apollos did not come from Ephesus to Corinth before Paul left Corinth, else the latter would have instructed him in the christian religion; but, having been instructed at Ephesus by Aquila and Priscilla, after Paul had left Ephesus leaving Aquila and Priscilla there, he went to Corinth. Apollos arrived at Corinth after Paul had even left *Ephesus* to go to Jerusalem, had returned thence to Antioch, and was passing through Galatia and Phrygia. When Apollos was at Corinth Paul *returned* to Ephesus, subsequently to a tour through the upper coasts, *i. e.* Phrygia and Galatia. This statement shews,

That Paul did not meet with Apollos at Ephesus when the apostle left Aquila and Priscilla there. Apollos is not introduced at all before Paul left Ephesus for Jerusalem; and when the apostle returned to Ephesus, Apollos had gone to Corinth. Hug has wholly failed in proving that Paul and Apollos met at Ephesus.[1]

2. Hug thinks, that Paul after leaving Corinth went to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 19), stopping at Crete by the way. He wrote the letter in Ephesus, announcing his design of spending the winter at Nicopolis in Cilicia, after he had visited Jerusalem and Antioch. This intention he fulfilled. Hemsen follows Hug, but doubts whether Paul actually spent the winter at Nicopolis as he purposed.[j] The same view was suggested long ago in the continuation of Matthew Henry's commentary.

The advocates of this hypothesis intimate, that because Paul sailed for Syria and landed at Ephesus (Acts xviii. 18, 19), he either turned aside from the usual course, or was driven by stress of weather to make a digression. But there is no reason for believing that vessels meaning to reach Syria took any other

[1] Einleit. vol. ii. pp. 296, 297.

[j] Der Apostel Paulus, p. 198.

course at that time than straight across the Ægean Sea to Ephesus. It is wholly gratuitous to assume either a voluntary departure from the usual course, or a shipwreck on the Cretan coast. There is one consideration which is strongly opposed to the hypothesis in question. It has been already proved, that Paul and Apollos did not meet at Ephesus. The former had left it before the latter arrived. The advocates of the hypothesis in question must hold that they met at Ephesus, whence they sailed, the one to Syria, the other to Corinth by Crete; but we have already seen this to be impossible. Hence the view is untenable.

3. Others suppose, that the journey to Crete and the composition of the epistle must be inserted in the three years' abode at Ephesus (Acts xix. 1-41). This is the opinion of Schmidt, Anger, Burton, and Wieseler. It is maintained even by Cappellus and Witsius, who put the voyage to Crete after Acts xv. 41, when Paul, after the apostolic council at Jerusalem, went through Cilicia confirming the churches, and sailed thence to Crete in company with Silas and Titus. It is superfluous to shew the great improbability attaching to this hypothesis respecting the time of the visit to the island. That Titus was with Paul in Cilicia (Acts xv. 41), can never be shewn. There are reasons sufficient to render it all but certain that he was not known to the apostle at that time; and in any case, the visit to Crete must be placed considerably later than the time immediately succeeding Paul's Cilician tour (Acts xv. 41).

4. Baronius, Calov, Lightfoot, and Hammond suppose, that Paul made the voyage after he left Ephesus, before arriving in Greece. Baronius thinks that he went into Greece from Macedonia (Acts xx. 2), not by land but by sea; in which journey he sailed to Crete by the Ægean Sea. When he came into Greece he wrote the present epistle to Titus, either at Nicopolis or some place not far distant.

According to this view, Paul on leaving Macedonia went to Crete, came back to Greece, travelled to Epirus, wintered in Nicopolis, repaired to Achaia and passed some time there, whence he returned into Macedonia. All this must have occupied a considerable time, and yet Luke specifies no more than *three months* in Greece. But it is obvious that three months are not sufficient.

The hypothesis in question crowds too much into the narrative of Luke, much more than it will fairly receive. Other objections need not be urged, since it bears great improbability on the face of it.

Lardner agrees with Baronius, Hammond, and Lightfoot as to the time when the epistle was written, supposing that Paul was in Crete and Illyricum as well as in Macedonia after he left Ephesus. He dates it in the year 56; but does not attempt to trace conjecturally the order of the voyages. In another place he endeavours to shew, that between Paul's leaving Ephesus and his coming to Troas after the passover, there was the space of about two years. This, it must be admitted, allows sufficient time for the voyage into Crete and the wintering at Nicopolis; but those who take the trouble of studying the record carefully, and noting the probable times, will be convinced that a much shorter period elapsed between the two events than Lardner imagines. After Michaelis's[k] refutation of this view it is superfluous to dwell on it at any length.

5. Heinrichs, after Zachariae and Schmid, thinks that Paul made the voyage to Crete during the three months he passed in Greece (Acts xx. 2, 3). Having left Corinth and reached Troas, he wrote to Titus to meet him at Nicopolis ad Nessum. The same view is advocated by Matthies; but he supposes the epistle to have been written at Nicopolis in Epirus, or in its vicinity. We have already placed the composition of the letter at a time anterior to this. The hypothesis is inadmissible on various accounts.

First. It is quite improbable that he should have undertaken such a voyage in winter, when the sea was very dangerous.

Secondly. Before he had left Ephesus he had the idea of going to Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 4); and while at Corinth he still purposed to do so. Hence it is unlikely that he abandoned his design so soon after. It is certain also, that he did not pass the winter of this year at Nicopolis.

Thirdly. The three months' residence in Corinth embraced a period short enough for the locality itself. The epistles to the Corinthians shew, that his presence was much needed there (1 Cor. xvi. 6, 7).

6. Usher and Pearson supposed, that the voyage to Crete, and

[k] Introd. to N. T. by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 38, et seqq.

consequently the writing of the epistle, did not take place till after the apostle's release from imprisonment at Rome. In this opinion they have been followed by many; Mill, Benson, Heidegger, Tillemont, Basnage, Mynster, Feilmoser, Bertholdt, Böhl, Heydenreich, Koehler, Wurm, Neander, Mack, Guerike, Huther, Greswell, Paley.

We object to this, however, because there is no historical proof that Paul was liberated. It is a bare assumption, for which no good argument has yet been adduced either from history or the New Testament.

Some considerations adduced in favour of so late a date are irrelevant. Thus Neander calls attention to the fact, that while Luke in the Acts reports so fully and circumstantially the occurrences of the apostle's last voyage to Rome, and mentions his stay at Crete, he does not say a word (contrary to his usual practice in such cases) of the friendly reception given him by the christians there, or even of his meeting them at all. Hence he concludes, that no christian churches yet existed in the island, though that transient visit would naturally give rise to the intention of planting the gospel there.[1]

It is quite improbable that the christians in the island could have known of Paul's arrival beforehand; for the island lay away from the course of one sailing from Caesarea to Rome. The narrative in Acts xxvii. 7-16 intimates that the ship anchored in the Fair Havens, the port of the neighbouring city Lasaea; but it does not say that the apostle stopped in the island, or even that he disembarked at all.[m] In the city of Lasaca there *may have been* christians, but we have no reason for supposing there were such. And at that stormy season of the year, it is not likely that throughout the island they would hear of his unexpected visit.

The apostle's own language would lead us to believe that when he wrote to the Romans he had preached in Crete. From Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum he had fully preached the gospel of Christ (Romans xv. 19). Crete lay between, and may be fairly included in this extent of territory. Koehler's opinion,

[1] Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w. fourth edit. p. 543.

[m] See Böttger's Beiträge, Abtheil. 4, p. 4, note †††.

which nearly coincides with the late date assigned by Usher and others, viz. A. D. 63, is quite peculiar, because the letter is made to precede the Corinthian ones.[n] This writer's view of the chronology of the epistles generally is singular.

We are inclined to adopt the third opinion, which places the voyage to Crete and the subsequent writing of the epistle in the three years' abode at Ephesus. It seems that the apostle was really in Ephesus two years and three months; consequently nine months are at our disposal, in which both the journey into Macedonia noticed in 1 Tim. i. 3, and the present voyage to Crete, followed by the writing of the letter to Titus, may be conveniently put. Huther[o] objects to this date. He adduces four arguments against it. The first and fourth do not militate against our view, but are specially directed against Wieseler's, with which they seem to interfere. The supposed second journey to Corinth embarrasses the hypothesis of this theologian—a journey which we have already discarded. The second objection which Huther urges is this: Paul wrote to Titus that he should continue in Crete, till he would send Artemas and Tychicus to him, and then he should come to Nicopolis. According to our view Paul must have altered his mind, for afterwards he sent for him to Ephesus. And it is not probable that the apostle should have recalled Titus so soon from the sphere in which he had been recently placed.

But an alteration of the apostle's intention was no new thing. And as to withdrawing Titus so soon, that depended on circumstances which we cannot know. Surely it is possible to conceive of a reason sufficient to justify his removal.

Another objection made by the same commentator is the improbability of Paul's taking up his winter quarters in Nicopolis, a city where he had not been before, and in relation to which he knew not how he should be received.

But we cannot see that Paul's determination to winter at Nicopolis implies his previous presence there. And besides, so much of his history is lost, that he may even have visited the place before.

According to the present view the date is A. D. 57.

[n] Versuch, u. s. w. p. 96.

[o] Handbuch ueber die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus, p. 21.

The bearer or bearers cannot be determined. The old Syriac version names Zenas and Apollos. Ebedjesu mentions Epaphroditus. All is conjecture.

We have already seen, that Titus came with Paul from Jerusalem to Antioch, and followed him thence to Ephesus. They sailed from Ephesus to Crete, where Titus was left, and whence Paul returned to Ephesus. It is very difficult to find a later point of time in which Paul and Titus could have gone together to Crete.

We know also, that Apollos had been converted shortly before Paul came to Ephesus at this time. He was at Corinth when Paul *arrived at* Ephesus; and may or may not have come to Ephesus during the apostle's long stay there. It is true that Benson and Michaelis both assert, that he was at Ephesus when Paul wrote there the first epistle to the Corinthians; but the words in 1 Cor. xvi. 12 do not prove it. Aquila and Priscilla, who were now with Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 19), could furnish him with all requisite information regarding Apollos. He was *not at Corinth*, however, when Paul wrote to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 12). The latter had been urging him to go thither, but he was reluctant. When Paul wrote to Titus, Apollos seems to have been in Crete (iii. 13). Hence he requested Titus to give him assistance for his voyage, that he might proceed to Corinth. Thus the two letters, viz. the first to the Corinthians and that to Titus, appear to have been written about the same time.

As to Tychicus, who was with Paul at the time of writing to Titus (iii. 12), "he was a native of Asia Minor (Acts xx. 4), which affords an additional probability that the epistle was written from Ephesus."[p]

We suppose then, that the letter before us was composed after Paul had returned from Crete, in the third years' sojourn at Ephesus. It was written before the first epistle to the Corinthians, for in that letter he had the idea of going to Jerusalem on leaving Ephesus; and if the wintering at Nicopolis did not take place during those three years, as is probable, it did not take place at all. It was postponed indefinitely. Hence Luke takes no notice of the circumstance.

But what shall we say of Nicopolis? The situation of the

[p] Burton, Theolog. Works, vol. iv. p. 61.

city intended it is impossible to ascertain, since there were several cities of the name, in Egypt, in Armenia, Pontus, Bithynia, Thrace, and after this time, in Moesia and Palestine. Most writers assume the one in Epirus, in Greece, built by Augustus in honour of his victory over Anthony at Actium. It was the best known and most conspicuous at the time; the principal city of that name. Still this is not sufficient to determine it, since much depends on Titus's knowledge—on the city which would at once suggest itself to his mind. It was certainly more accordant with Paul's practice to choose a city of importance in preference to a town. The rest were too insignificant to be selected as his place of abode for an entire winter.

Why Luke omits all mention of the voyage to Crete we can only conjecture. Perhaps, as Anger[q] supposes, it occupied but a short time, a few weeks or a month. Weighty considerations induced him to hasten back to Ephesus. He made but a short visit to the island, and did not stop to put things in order connected with the churches. Hence he left Titus to set in order the things that were wanting, and to ordain elders in every city.

It is stated as a decided objection to this opinion by De Wette, that Paul says to the Ephesian elders: "Remember, that *by the space of three years* I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears." (Acts xx. 31.) But, as Dr. Burton[r] remarks, this language may have meant—Remember, that all the time which I passed in your city during those three years, I ceased not, etc. etc. The passage does not necessarily imply that every day and night of three years was passed in Ephesus itself.

IV. *Contents.*

The epistle may be divided into three parts.

I. The Introduction; i. 1-4.

II. The body of the letter consisting of various instructions; i. 5-iii. 11.

III. The conclusion; iii. 12-15.

The second may be subdivided into several paragraphs. The instructions it contains relate to the appointment of pastors or

[q] De temporum in Actis Apostol. ratione, p. 76.

[r] Theological Works, vol. iv. p. 59.

bishops in every city, whose qualifications are described, i. 5-9. The writer informs the evangelist that it would be necessary to oppose false teachers or Judaising christians in Crete, i. 10-16. In contrast with the false teachers he instructs him how to work, first, in exhorting and dealing with believers of various classes, ii. 1-iii. 7; subjoining in the second place, a few general precepts for the regulation of his conduct, iii. 8-11.

I. The inscription and salutation are contained in the first four verses.

II. The apostle reminds Titus of the reason why he was left in Crete, viz. to set in order the churches, and to appoint elders in every city. He then proceeds to describe the character of bishops, in directions corresponding very closely with those given to Timothy on the same subject (1 Tim. iii. 2-9). Among other qualifications required of them, they were to maintain the well-established truths of the gospel, and have ability to convince or silence opposers; for there were many disorderly persons and deceivers, especially the Judaising christians, who overturned whole families, teaching improper things through covetousness. The Cretans had a bad character. One of their own pagan prophets had described them as notoriously addicted to lying, luxury, and infamous lusts. Hence Paul enjoins Titus to use due severity in reproving them; and particularly to preserve them from the doctrine of the Judaisers. To the pure in heart, says he, all kinds of meat and drink are pure; but to the unbelieving, their heart and conscience are defiled. They have a theoretical knowledge of God, but lead wicked lives.

In opposition to their zeal for externals, while they were indifferent to purity of heart, Titus is exhorted to teach things agreeable to sound doctrine, viz. that the aged of both sexes should behave in a manner becoming the dignity of age and the obligations of christians; to teach the young to behave well, lest the word of God should be dishonoured. He was to exhort young men in particular to be sober-minded, shewing at the same time a pattern of good works in his own person; setting forth uncorrupt doctrine; using sound speech that the heathen adversary might be confounded, having no ground of accusation against him. He was to exhort slaves to be obedient to their masters,

with patience, meekness, and fidelity, that they might recommend the christian religion; for the grace of God, says the apostle, has appeared in the work of redemption, bringing salvation to all men whether free or slaves, Jews or Gentiles, teaching them to renounce every sin and to practise universal holiness, while they wait for the blessed appearing of the Saviour Jesus Christ, who offered himself a ransom for all, that he might purify and make them zealous of good works. These things Titus was to preach; rebuking with authority all such as deserved reproof, so that none could despise him.

The evangelist was to remind the professors of christianity to be submissive to their civil rulers; to speak evil of none, especially of magistrates; but to be gentle and meek. To enforce this, the apostle intimates, that those who were then christians were at one time foolish, disobedient, and wicked; and when the love of God the Saviour towards man appeared, they were not saved by deeds of righteousness, but by His own mercy, through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, whose influences were abundantly shed down on them—and this, that they might be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.

The doctrine just asserted was infallibly true, and Titus was bound to affirm it constantly, in order that believers might be careful to maintain good works. But he was to avoid foolish questions, genealogies, and disputes about the rituals of the law, because of their unprofitableness. The man that asserted corrupt opinions, and maintained corrupt practices, was to be excluded from the church, because he was perverse, and was even condemned by his own conscience.

III. A few personal notices are subjoined by way of conclusion. Among other particulars, Titus is ordered to provide suitable things for Zenas and Apollos on their journey; and to press the Cretans to be generous on all such occasions. After salutations from himself and them that were with him, he concludes with the benediction, Grace be with you all, Amen.

V. *Occasion and object.*

These will be apparent from what has been already said. The letter originated in the desire of instructing Titus respecting the

duties he had to perform among the Cretan churches, particularly the appointment of elders over those churches, and the combating of false teachers. Paul himself could not remain long enough in the island to complete the settlement of the churches, and therefore he wrote to his substitute there to inform him of the most necessary things he had to do. He also wished to see him before the winter.

VI. *Adaptation of the contents to the object of the writer, and the state of affairs in Crete.*

This is denied by De Wette, who refuses to admit—

(A) that the letter corresponds to the condition of affairs in the island;

(B) to the writer's object;

(C) to the relation sustained by the receiver of the epistle to the writer.

These are weighty charges, and great is the responsibility of him who makes them. Let us see whether they be well founded, or whether they do not proceed from the critic's subjective feelings. Neudecker, who, like De Wette, denies the authenticity of the letter, believes the contents to be in accordance with the author's purpose.

(A) The epistle does not correspond to the state of things in which it is said to have been composed.

(*a*) It is said to have been written soon after the planting of the churches, before they were completely organised; and yet the writer complains of the number of false teachers there, and their destructive activity (i. 10, etc.), in consequence of which, maintenance of the true doctrine was to be looked to in the choice of a presbyter (i. 9). How could such a reaction take place so soon in the bosom of the Cretan churches? Should it be supposed that the false teachers were strangers, who had intruded themselves into the midst of the believers in the island, they must have pursued their mischief for a considerable time; consequently, the epistle could not have been written soon after the planting of christianity in the country.[s]

Although it is quite probable that the epistle was written not

[s] De Wette, Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 1.

very long after the formation of churches in the island, and before they were completely organised, this does not necessarily involve the idea that christianity was unknown there till recently. When we consider the presence of Jews from Crete at Jerusalem on the memorable day of Pentecost, who returned to their own land as converts to the new religion, and Luke's silence respecting Paul's first visit to the island, it is not unreasonable to suppose that there were a considerable number of Jewish christians in the place when the apostle, accompanied by Titus, first went to it. He found that the gospel had been received by many Jews. It is very doubtful, whether any Gentiles had been converted; for we may well believe that the ideas of the Jewish converts returning from Jerusalem were not the most enlightened or liberal respecting the admission of Gentiles into the kingdom of Christ. Nor can it be conceived, that the Jewish adherents of christianity had formed separate societies, before the coming of Paul. They worshipped along with the Jews, and were strongly tinged with Jewish exclusiveness in consequence. Their ideas of christianity were indistinct, narrow, carnal. Hence, when the apostle of the Gentiles came, and met with a favourable reception from the Gentiles, the Jewish christians were not prepared to admit the universality of the gospel offer. They became active *Judaisers*. They saw that it was necessary either to renounce the peculiarities of Judaism wholly, and attach themselves to the free christianity of Paul; or to cling all the more closely to Jewish practices *in connexion with* their imperfect ideas of christianity as a spiritual system. We cannot determine, whether foreign Judaisers had come to the island. Such may have been there before Paul's arrival. But most of the false teachers to whom the apostle refers were doubtless settled inhabitants—leading Jewish christians belonging to the worshipping assemblies—roused by the startling principles of the great apostle into active opposition. This will account for the number of false teachers of whom the writer complains, as well as their dangerous activity. The apostle's preaching quickened and consolidated those Jewish ideas about christianity, which till then they had quietly entertained. It brought them out into destructive prominence, compressing them into a focus of antagonism to Paul's spiritual liberalism.

(*b*) The great success which Paul is said to have had in Crete implies such susceptibility on the part of the inhabitants for the gospel as he proclaimed it, that his accusation of the Cretans for their bad disposition (i. 12, etc.), grounded on foreign testimony, appears unjust, and the want of joyous and thankful acknowledgment of their reception of the gospel remarkable.[t]

We believe that there is no inconsistency between the bad character attributed to the Cretans, and the susceptibility of religious impression they evinced under Paul's preaching. The gospel often meets with signal success among the depraved and gross. It strikes them with instantaneous effect. They bow beneath it at once. On the contrary, such as have had some early instruction frequently become hardened against it. How often do those whose intellect is cultivated to a certain extent prove stubborn against its cordial reception! Their emotions have been so long pent up, that they are parched and arid. Such persons have therefore to be moved in the first instance in their intellectual powers, through which the active faculties come to be stirred for good. It is hard for christianity to do this ordinarily, because it commonly acts first on the feelings and passions. But men such as the Cretans were constitutionally and habitually, had lived in a state of vice, in which the passions and appetites were kept awake, though fearfully so, only to evil. The fact, however, that their feelings *were* alive and active, rendered it easier for the impulsive power of christianity to move them mightily. They were more readily turned round from following carnal propensities, to the pursuit of new and spiritual appetencies presented by the gospel. It is not necessary to inquire whether this be the law—the usual result, in cases of extensive conversion among a population; viz. that the sensual and grossly debased are roused, while the less sensual—the outwardly moral—are not so readily impressed. If the thing has happened in a few cases, or even in one, it is sufficient for our purpose. If it can be shewn, that multitudes who have been living wicked lives have been brought to receive the gospel in a single instance, having been utterly ignorant of it before and exceedingly vicious, *that* is enough for our purpose. It shews that the case of the Cretans is not without a parallel.

[t] De Wette, Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, pp. 1, 2.

Besides, the objection, if pushed to its legitimate consequences, would go to disprove the efficacy of God's grace in conversion. Whatever be the degraded condition of humanity, divine power can renew it. The Spirit gives a susceptibility of religious impression to the vilest sinners, and they become both docile and obedient. It will not do, therefore, to reason after this fashion. The power of the gospel can subdue the hardest hearts, converting them into flesh from stone. Whether Paul's preaching to the Cretans was accompanied or not with the miraculous, there was an inherent energy in it to transform the worst of men; for the Holy Spirit carried it home to the conscience with irresistible efficacy. The power of God and the wisdom of God were conspicuously seen in the results accomplished by His gospel, as spoken to the rude and barbarous Cretans.

The accusation or complaint made against the Cretans is not *based on* foreign testimony, but corroborated and confirmed by it. The omission on the part of the writer of all thankful acknowledgment of the welcome reception he had met with, is sufficiently explained by the fact that the letter is addressed to Titus, containing directions for his special use. Had it been directed to the believers and faithful brethren in Crete, the phenomenon would have been surprising. To Titus the thing would have been out of place. The evangelist was well aware of the apostle's joy at the extension of the gospel among the Cretans.

(*c*) The false teachers could not have appeared, and actively developed their principles, till after the apostle's departure; for while he was present, his reputation and influence must certainly have kept down everything else; and besides, he hardly continued so long as was required to see the antagonism itself appear. That antagonism, on the contrary, must have been unfolded in the presence and before the eyes of Titus. He must have been best acquainted with it and its authors. He must have given an account of it to the apostle. But, according to the epistle, it is Paul after he had left the island, who warns Titus living there, of the false teachers in it; and that, too, from an acquaintance with them which implies long observation (i. 10, etc., 16).[v]

Here are various assumptions, the truth of which is very ques-

[v] De Wette, Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 2.

tionable. It is affirmed, for example, that the false teachers could not have appeared till after the apostle's departure from the island. But we are disposed to deny this. Why could not the injurious influence proceeding from them have appeared before Paul left the place? His presence was not so overwhelming as to prevent the manifestation of similar errorists in other countries, for example in Galatia. The weight of his personal character might hinder the *development* and *maturity*, but it could not suppress the *existence* of such a spirit. The probability indeed is, that it appeared in the incipient stage immediately after the apostle preached the gospel to the Gentiles, and gathered from among them numerous converts. Hence he must have seen enough of it before his departure to enable him to foretel its genuine results. He knew enough of itself and its authors to anticipate the worst effects from it, unless it were vigorously resisted. Doubtless it was farther and fully developed after he went away, so that Titus would witness its daily growth. Yet Titus is warned against it. Why should not an *apostle* describe it to an *evangelist*—an inspired teacher to his substitute? It was important that he should do so. The relation between them *prompted* as well as *justified* the step. He knew its tendencies better than any other—far better than Titus. He had a more vivid apprehension of the danger accompanying it. Its subtleties he could minutely detect: he could accurately exhibit the bearings of it. Titus may have seen more of its actual manifestation in Crete; but he may have been less alive to its pernicious tendencies; for *outward observation* is often overbalanced in worth by a *philosophical perception* of the phenomena to which that observation is directed. But we need not be astonished at the knowledge here displayed by the apostle, nor suppose that he philosophised from a very limited perception of its outward characteristics. The acquaintance he shews is no more than was to be expected from one who had witnessed the same influence elsewhere, and had suffered so grievously from its agents. It was not a new thing to him. He had encountered it once and again. We cannot, therefore, allow the probability or truth of the assumptions involved in this objection, viz. that the antagonistic influence did not appear till after Paul left the island; that he got his knowledge of it from Titus, who was much better

acquainted with it than himself; and that the opposition made to it began when he was removed. Till these be *proved*, or at least rendered *probable*, instead of being *assumed*, the objection is devoid of weight. It is based on *unproved*, and we may add, *unprovable* suppositions.

(*d*) In relation to the moral and ecclesiastical condition of the Cretan christians, a longer existence of christianity among them is presupposed. For, in the first place, it is assumed as possible that a person who comes into requisition at the choice of elders should himself have a bad report touching his moral character, and should also have children who, though christians, bear an indifferent character (i. 6). In the second place, in the selection of elders Titus is commanded not to prefer such as the apostle had known to be peculiarly zealous, animated adherents of the gospel, possessing a lively faith, at the planting of the churches; or such as had hitherto approved themselves to Titus in the exhibition of these mental qualities; but he is recommended to look, when choosing bishops, chiefly to external blamelessness of conduct (i. 6); next, to other moral qualifications which are partly as much external, and which could qualify one for the office in question at the most, in an ecclesiastical state already well ordered. The last-mentioned requisite, namely, maintenance of sound doctrine, presupposes the existence of the heretical counter-influence already noticed.[w]

This objection is trivial: hence it will not be necessary to dwell long on it. The point of it lies in the fact, that the language of the sixth verse in the first chapter does not relate to the conduct of the person to be chosen a bishop *before his conversion to christianity*, but to his antecedent *christian* conversation; and that the bad report of his children possible is supposed to have been gained *since they became christians;* both circumstances implying the lapse of a considerable time since christianity was first planted in the island.

We admit that the good report borne to the person fit to be chosen a bishop, and to his children, relates to the period since they had embraced christianity. This presupposes the existence of christianity in the island for a time, without determining the length of that time. If the inhabitants had been turned from

[w] De Wette, Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 2.

heathenism for three months previously—and we cannot well suppose the time less—the phraseology would be applicable to them. It is quite possible that they might have forfeited their good name in that time. Having begun well, they might have speedily degenerated, or fallen into open sin.

With respect to the second part of the objection, we ask, How could Titus know the fittest persons for the office of bishop, but by their principles as manifested in action? How can any one not gifted with omniscience, or the faculty of discerning spirits, judge otherwise? Still, however, the qualifications enumerated are not all external. They are partly internal. Both internal qualifications, and the outward characteristics of them, are described. The former are implied in the epithets sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the truths of the gospel, that they might impart sound instruction. With regard to the things specified by De Wette, which Paul would probably have recommended as distinguishing marks of presbyters for newly-formed churches, they are perfectly compatible with the qualities he *does* mention. Both may be united in the same persons. Because the writer does not speak expressly of the one class of qualities, it cannot be logically inferred that he meant to exclude them. Doubtless he mentions the most suitable, considering all the circumstances of the case, such as Titus and others could best judge of; and they are certainly more nearly allied to the capacity for governing which elders should have, than those indicated by the critic.

(*e*) As the letter is said to have been written soon after the apostle was in Crete, it is remarkable that not an allusion appears in it to that which he did and met with there; not a single reference to his preaching; nothing testifying to the still fresh impressions he had received. The case is quite different in the first epistle to the Thessalonians. In accordance with this, the mention made of the moral spirit of the gospel (ii. 11, etc.), and the entire section (ii. 1-iii. 8), with the exception perhaps of iii. 1, is as general and pointless as if the Cretans had as yet no perception of practical christianity.[x]

This objection is easily rebutted. It is derived from the first epistle to the Thessalonians, between which and our present epistle

[x] De Wette, Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, pp. 2, 3.

it is presumed there should be a certain similarity. But an important circumstance has been overlooked, which totally destroys the validity of the argument. The epistle to the Thessalonians was addressed to "the church of the Thessalonians which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ:" the present epistle is addressed to Titus. It was not out of place to allude to what the writer had taught, and how he had acted, at Thessalonica; but it would have been out of place to allude to such things when he was writing to Titus, his representative in the island. The evangelist did not need to be reminded of them, inasmuch as he had been with the apostle, and knew them well already. Paul makes admirable use of the allusions to himself in the case of the Thessalonians, as his epistle evinces; but they could not have been of similar use to Titus, and do not therefore appear in the letter.

As to the section ii. 11, etc., where the moral tendency of the gospel is depicted, we admire it exceedingly. There is not a finer passage in the letter. That the section ii. i-iii. 8 is general must be admitted, but that it is *pointless* we deny. Paul writes to Titus in a confidential tone, and therefore his observations are miscellaneous, embracing various particulars without logical arrangement or method. And the passages here excepted to are as far as possible from shewing that the Cretans had no perception of practical christianity. Considering the recent conversion of the islanders, their ideas must indeed have been vague; but those islanders must have known something of its power, and felt it too. Even had they been converted to the christian religion long ago, such language would have been most appropriate. The practical result of christianity in the life and conduct must be perpetually urged on believers. They are prone to forget it, and therefore need the constant enforcement of the lesson. In part of the passage (ii. 2), cautions are given like those addressed to Timothy; so that we should consistently argue that the language of the latter is as vague as if *the Ephesians* had no perception of the practical power of christianity at the time Timothy received the first epistle. But, indeed, the language is addressed to Titus, not to the Cretans themselves; and general hints were all he needed: so that it is illogical to argue from want of point and minute specification, to

the state of knowledge possessed by the Cretan converts. Its *general character* is owing to the advanced stage of the evangelist's acquaintance with evangelical truth, which did not need particular descriptions of the moral tendency belonging to that truth.

(B) The epistle does not correspond to the object of the writer.

The object can only have been twofold, to give Titus instruction respecting the election of presbyters and combating the false teachers. But what is said on the first point (i. 5-9) is so unimportant, and so much a matter of course (with the exception perhaps of the expression "husband of one wife") that it could be of little assistance to Titus. The case is no better in relation to the other point. As the false teachers themselves are obscurely designated (i. 10-16; iii. 9), so nothing is presented against them adapted to be a suitable refutation. For this purpose no service is rendered by the vacillating remark about the clean and unclean (i. 15); by the superficial, obvious, moral regulations in which there is no principle (ii. 1-10; iii. 1, etc.), besides the mention of christianity's practical spirit (ii. 11-14); and by the somewhat more pertinent position, that practical doctrine is useful. To say about the heretics that what they are pursuing is foolish (i. 8, etc.) is quite too vague.[y]

There is no necessity for dissecting this objection minutely.

In the first place, it is *assumed* that the instructions respecting the character of bishops could be of little assistance to Titus because they are so trifling. But this is a bold assumption. What appears very plain *now* to persons accustomed to read the Scriptures, may not have been so to Titus. We can tell *now* what scriptural bishops should be; but whence has our knowledge been derived? Has it not been drawn mainly from this very epistle, and the parallel one to Timothy? Having had the benefit of the apostle's writings so long, and having become familiar with the special qualifications required of elders, it is at least rash for us to infer, that the instructions in question could have been of small or no benefit to Titus. As soon as it is ascertained what amount of knowledge the evangelist had acquired on the subject—what experience he had in that department—what practical sagacity he

[y] De Wette, Exegetisches Handbuch, ii. 5.

possessed—what judgment he uniformly exhibited—what materials he had to choose from—it will be time enough to draw a summary and sweeping conclusion respecting the superfluousness of such instructions. Till then, the thing must remain unproved. Nay, it is highly probable that the description of bishops addressed to Titus for his guidance was appropriate. Paul had commonly chosen elders himself, with the concurrence of the churches over which they were set. Titus had had no experience in the matter. He was a novice in relation to it. And the peculiar persons required in Crete were not perhaps easily obtained. With regard to the second point, there is *exaggeration* in the statement about the false teachers being vaguely depicted in the epistle. The traits which are mentioned constitute a portrait distinct enough as far as it extends. It is true that the portrait is not full or complete; but this arises from the fact that there was no need, in a letter addressed to a companion and disciple, to do more than draw a few lines of it, by way of shewing how dangerous the direction of the false system was. Had the author been writing to churches, the case would have been different. The heretical tendency of the principles inculcated would have been more fully insisted on, along with a more copious statement of the principles themselves. But he could well leave *the special* polemics demanded in the present case to Titus himself. He contents himself with noticing a few general things.

(c) It is denied lastly, that the letter corresponds to the relation sustained by the receiver of it to the writer.

The epistle was written either for Titus alone, or for the Cretan churches also. In the former case, its contents are unsuitable throughout. Unsuitable and superfluous are what is said in the inscription in attestation of the apostle, i. 1-3; unsuitable to an apostle's assistant the common moral regulations and practical truths, ii. 1-iii. 8. In the latter case, for which however no intimation appears in the epistle elsewhere, the severe statement about the Cretans in i. 12, etc., is not at all consistent with the didactic wisdom of the apostle.[z]

In reply to this we remark, that the epistle was written *in the first instance* for Titus himself. But it was also intended for

[z] De Wette, Exegetisches Handbuch, ii. 5.

future ages. It had not served its purpose when the evangelist died. It was meant to be of practical benefit to christians and christian ministers till the end of time. And even if it had been designed for the sole use of Titus, we should not admit that its contents are wholly unsuitable. The assertion that they are so is very bold. It is more than bold. It is reckless. It cannot be sustained by suitable evidence.

The introductory verses (i. 1-3) were not written to attest the apostle's office and character to Titus, for in that case they would have been superfluous. Nor were they meant so much to impress his mind with Paul's right to give him instruction, as to set forth his divine commission and authority to preach the gospel to Gentile as well as Jew, through Titus, to the Judaisers in Crete, and to succeeding ages. The third verse may have been intended for the Cretans. The same observation may be applied to ii. 1-iii. 8. Though the moral regulations and practical truths there stated *may have been* needless in the case of Titus, to whom they were sufficiently obvious, they are adapted to others who should come after him. But we are not prepared to allow, that they were superfluous even in the case of Titus; nor can it be proved that they were so without attributing to him *a degree of knowledge and wisdom* in ecclesiastical affairs which is merely *assumed*. The language of the twelfth verse expresses nothing more than a saying generally known and current, and Paul's mention of it may have been a stimulus to the Cretans.

VII. *Authenticity.*—The preceding topic virtually belongs to this head. But we proceed to consider it more fully along with the authenticity of the two Timothy-epistles.

Authenticity of the pastoral epistles.

That the pastoral epistles were written by the apostle Paul has been generally admitted. Their authenticity is attested by external and internal evidence of a very satisfactory nature.

Let us consider the external testimonies in their favour.

The earliest allusions to the pastoral epistles are found in Clement of Rome. Lardner has collected them with his usual industry.

They are the following:—

προσέλθωμεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐν ὁσιότητι ψυχῆς, ἁγνὰς καὶ ἀμιάντους χεῖρας αἴροντες πρὸς αὐτόν.[a] "Let us therefore come to him in holiness of soul, lifting up to him chaste and undefiled hands" (1 Tim. ii. 8).

. . . . . *τοῦτο ὁ ποιήσας, ἑαυτῷ μέγα κλέος ἐν Κυρίῳ περιποιήσεται, καὶ πᾶς τόπος δέξεται αὐτόν.*[b] . . . . . "He that shall do this will procure to himself great glory in the Lord, and every place will receive him" (1 Tim. iii. 13).

βλέπωμεν τί καλὸν, καὶ τί τερπνὸν καὶ προσδεκτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς.[c] "Let us consider what is good, and what agreeable, and acceptable before him that made us" (1 Tim. v. 4).

ἕτοιμοι εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν.[d] "Ye were ready unto every good work" (Titus iii. 1).

Such allusions however are uncertain. They are too distant from the supposed originals to be urged as evidence that Clement knew the pastoral epistles. But while we hesitate to employ Clement as a witness in favour of the existence of the pastoral epistles in his day, we cannot allow him to be adduced as an evidence against them. And yet Credner is inclined to do so, for he thinks it remarkable that Clement in his epistle says nothing about the dedication of a bishop or presbyter, on which so much stress is laid in the epistles to Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 14; v. 22; 2 Tim. i. 6), even in such paragraphs as 42, 44, 48, where he could scarcely refrain from speaking of it.[e]

One should be careful not to dictate to Clement the proper mode of treating his subject. Authors belonging to a period so remote should hardly be viewed in a modern light. Their manner of handling topics, their way of proof, the method in which they looked at a subject, were in many respects different from ours. What appears to us the best way should not be forced upon them as if they ought to see with *our* eyes. Free scope must be allowed them in the choice and treatment of their topics. Agreeably to this idea, it may appear strange that no allusion to Timothy occurs in the forty-second chapter, though a passage of Scripture

[a] Epist. i. ad Corinth. c. 29.
[b] Ibid. c. 54.
[c] Ibid. c. 7.
[d] Epist. i. ad Corinth. c. 2.
[e] Einleit. p. 450.

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is there quoted, probably Isaiah lx. 17 in an altered form. But indeed there is not much stress laid on the appointment or ordination of bishops and deacons in the epistles addressed to Timothy. The qualifications those office-bearers should possess are fully described; but the mere fact of having such is not insisted on. Had great importance been attached to their inauguration, in the pastoral epistles, we should have suspected those epistles of not belonging to the apostolic period; but as the case stands, all reason for such suspicion is removed. In the forty-fourth chapter there is no ground for alluding to the epistles to Timothy. Or, if it be thought so, there is equally valid ground for a reference to 1 Cor. ix. 7, etc., where gratitude and remuneration are inculcated towards teachers. Thus the argument proves too much, and therefore nothing.

Ignatius is the next writer who has been adduced as a witness for the existence of the pastoral epistles prior to his time. The passages in his epistles which allude to Timothy and Titus are alleged to be these :—

Καὶ Κρόκος δὲ . . . . . κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναψύξαι.[f] "Crocus . . . . has in all things refreshed me, as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ shall also refresh him" (2 Tim. i. 16-18).

Two or three other passages are sometimes quoted; but they have no visible connexion with the fancied originals. Indeed the one already adduced is very uncertain, especially when the state of the text in these epistles is considered.

We would not therefore rely in the slightest degree on Clement and Ignatius as witnesses for the early existence of the epistles under examination. It is *possible* that the places quoted by Lardner may contain allusions to Timothy and Titus; but it is not probable.

We come now to Polycarp, who in his epistle to the Philippians has the following:—

Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία· εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν, ὁπλισώμεθα τοῖς ὅπλοις τῆς δικαιοσύνης.[g] "The love of money is the beginning of all evils. Knowing therefore that as we

[f] Ad Ephes. c. 2. [g] Ad Philippens. c. 4.

brought nothing into the world, so neither can we carry anything out," etc. (1 Tim. vi. 7, 10).

Again:—Pro omnibus sanctis orate. Orate etiam pro regibus et potestatibus et principibus.[h] "Pray for all the saints: pray also for kings and powers and princes" (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2).

καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγεῖραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, εἴγε πιστεύομεν.[i] "According as he has promised us that he will raise us up from the dead, and that if we walk worthy of him, we shall also reign with him" (2 Tim. ii. 11, 12).

οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἠγάπησαν αἰῶνα.[k] "For they loved not this present world" (2 Tim. iv. 10).

The first of these passages is the most direct, agreeing more closely in ideas and expression with the supposed original than the alleged quotations in Clement and Ignatius from the pastoral epistles.

But Schleiermacher[l] has objected to it, because, though Polycarp proceeds immediately after to speak of women and widows, there is not the slightest trace of a quotation from 1 Timothy, the only part of the New Testament containing regulations about such persons. Hence the conclusion is drawn, that Polycarp knew nothing of the first epistle to Timothy, else he could not have avoided allusion to it in the present connexion. Baur[m] destroys the validity of Polycarp's testimony in another way. Polycarp died A. D. 167; and if he wrote his epistle ten or fifteen years before his death, it was older than the first epistle to Timothy, the writer of which willingly took two sentences from a document claiming to be and regarded as *apostolic*. This is certainly a most convenient way of setting aside Polycarp's testimony on behalf of the existence of the pastoral epistles at a very early period. But it requires *proof* that Polycarp's epistle belongs to the middle of the second century. The thirteenth chapter of it shews that it was written soon after the martyrdom of Ignatius. Now the

[h] Ad Philippens. c. 12.

[i] Ibid. c. 5.

[k] Ibid. c. 9.

[l] Ueber den sogenannten ersten Brief des Paulus, u. s. w. pp. 17, 18.

[m] Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe des Apostels Paulus, u. s. w. p. 138.

death of the latter belongs either to A. D. 107, as Hefele and others think; or to 116, as Pearson supposes. In the former case, Polycarp's epistle was composed A. D. 108, in which year Lardner places it; in the latter, in A. D. 117. Some indeed deny that there is any evidence whatever of the epistle being written *soon after* Ignatius's death. Yet the end of the thirteenth chapter, compared with the ninth, clearly indicates that the writer was then ignorant of the circumstances attending Ignatius's martyrdom.

What now is to be said in reply to Schleiermacher? Are we to infer the non-existence of the first epistle to Timothy from a want of reference in Polycarp's letter to the regulations respecting women and widows in that epistle? Surely this were a rash conclusion. The coincidence between Polycarp's words and those in 1 Tim. vi. 7, 10, is too close to be accidental, and is best explained by the father's acquaintance with the pastoral epistle in question. He quoted from memory, and therefore the quotation is not made *verbatim;* but there is enough of likeness to shew that the one was derived from the other. It is of no avail to say, by way of lessening the force of the reasoning, that the two propositions contained in the passage have the form of proverbs, and may therefore have been current in the mouths of many in the way they are given by Polycarp; for after every deduction of this sort has been made, it is *more likely* that the source of it is to be found in the Timothy-epistle than elsewhere. There is a *presumption* in favour of this conclusion.[n]

Eusebius[o] adduces, as is alleged, from a work of Justin Martyr, the words: τὸ μέγα τῆς θεοσεβείας μυστήριον, which point to 1 Tim. iii. 16. But this can hardly be considered a proper evidence that Justin was acquainted with the Timothy-epistles. It may be used *against* as well as *for* their authenticity.[p] We believe also, that the words said to be cited do not belong to the citation. They *follow* but are not *a part* of it. Hence they are unsuitable for the purpose for which they have been often adduced.[q]

[n] See Baumgarten, p. 27 et seqq.

[o] H. E. iii. 26.

[p] Scharling, Die neuesten Untersuchungen ueber die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe, u. s. w. pp. 37, 38.

[q] See Huther, u. s. w. p. 35, note.

The same historian introduces Hegesippus in this manner:[r]— *ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ διηγούμενος τὰ κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους, ἐπιλέγει . . . . . ὡς δὲ ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος, παρεληλύθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη . . . . . τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύστασις, διὰ τῆς τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης, οἱ καὶ : . . . τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τὴν ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν ἀντικηρύττειν ἐπεχείρουν.* "The same author relating the events of the times also says, when the sacred choir of the apostles became extinct, and that generation had passed away, then the combination of impious error arose by the fraud of false teachers, who also attempted to preach their science falsely so called, against the gospel of truth."

Here Hegesippus terms false doctrine *ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις*, a phrase taken from 1 Tim. vi. 20; and *false teachers*, *ἑτεροδιδάσκαλοι* (1 Tim.vi. 3). He was therefore acquainted with the epistle.

From the passage we learn, that Hegesippus, a Jewish christian of Palestine, remarked in his church history, that the church in Trajan's time was like a pure unspotted virgin; while those who attempted to corrupt the true gospel skulked in dark retreats. But after the sacred choir of the apostles became extinct, then arose the conspiracy of impious error by the deceitfulness of false teachers (*διὰ τῆς τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης*). Since none of the apostles was left, imposture ventured without shame to set forth false science, against the preaching of the truth (*τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τὴν ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν ἀντικηρύττειν*).

The question principally turns on the expression *τὴν ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν*, in connexion with *ἑτεροδιδάσκαλοι*. Were these phrases taken from the pastoral epistles? Or, on the contrary, did Hegesippus employ them because false doctrine—especially the gnostic—was thus designated very commonly in the middle of the second century, independently of those epistles? Did he use the current phraseology of his day without knowing of the pastoral epistles? Baur admits that the coincidence of language could not be accidental. Either Hegesippus had our epistles before him; or the author of the latter had Hegesippus's work before him. The Tübingen theologian adopts the opinion, that Hegesippus's work was the original, because,—

[r] H. E. iii. 32.

The ancient historian attributes the origin of heresies and their ingress into the pure church to a post-apostolic period. The *science falsely so called* unveiled itself openly when none of the apostles was left. Hence the testimony of Hegesippus militates against the *apostolic* origin of our epistles, since they describe heresy as *existing* at the time of their composition and not merely as *future.* The historian knowing their testimony could not have contradicted them by the statement he makes.

Another reason for the same conclusion is founded by Baur on the alleged fact, that Hegesippus was inclined to Ebionitism, and therefore he would scarcely have appropriated anything from an epistle purporting to be Paul's.[8]

All this is plausible, but it is also fallacious.

For, the truth of Hegesippus's statement respecting the first breaking forth of heresies may well be questioned. Was the church wholly pure up to the death of the apostles? Were there no forms of gnosticism in the apostolic period? Do the epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, and the writings of John contain no notice of heretical tendencies? Assuredly they do. All such assertions, therefore, as this of Hegesippus, proceed from a doctrinal bias, and are contrary to historical truth. They are obviously one-sided. The same idea is found in writers of the third and following centuries. It was then usual to compare the church in the earliest period of her existence to a pure virgin, and to regard the descriptions given of erroneous doctrine as *predictions* of *future* heresies. Now those who did so were acquainted with the pastoral epistles. They read and studied *all* Paul's writings. Hence the same idea in Hegesippus cannot prove his ignorance of the pastoral epistles, or their non-existence in his time. He may have had it equally with writers who succeeded, without detriment to the authenticity of the Timothy-epistles. Besides, what Hegesippus really states is, not that *the science falsely so called* did not appear till after the apostles' death, but that it did not appear till then with *naked head*, i. e. openly. Formerly it had lurked in obscure corners. This agrees with 1 Tim. iv. 1, etc., regarding the false teachers. And as to his Ebionitism, it is not at all clear. He was a Jewish christian, but a moderate

[8] Paulus der Apostel Jesus Christi, u. s. w., pp. 494, 495.

one, regarding the Pauline doctrine as reconcilable with the gospel of Christ. From his sentiments it is altogether probable, that he was not well acquainted with Paul's writings; but there is no reason for believing that he neglected them wholly. He read them, perhaps without much attention, and retained reminiscences of them. But not holding Paul to be a proper *apostle*, he did not pay such respect to his compositions as they deserved. Had he given much attention to them, he would have appealed to the pastoral epistles, containing, as they do, predictions concerning the very heresies prevalent in his day; just as Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria have done. The fact that he did not take this course shews, that he knew little about the epistles in question, and therefore the phrases ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις, and ἑτεροδιδάσκαλος, the latter of which Schleiermacher thought so peculiar as to affirm hastily that it occurred nowhere, though ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν in the first epistle to Timothy presupposes it, were remembered by Hegesippus from reading the epistle in which they occur. This is confirmed by the context, in which the historian uses the words ὑγιὴς κανὼν τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος, (the sound canon of the saving gospel), which bears a resemblance to the ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία (sound doctrine) of 1 Tim. i. 10, a phrase objected to by Schleiermacher.[t]

Thus we have seen that Baur's application of the passage in Hegesippus to prove the non-existence of the pastoral epistles in the middle of the second century is invalid, because it would prove too much. It would also demonstrate, that succeeding writers were equally ignorant of the same epistles, contrary to historical facts.

As the coincidence of phraseology could scarcely be accidental, we can only come to the conclusion that the first epistle to Timothy furnished Hegesippus with the peculiar terms employed. To say that the writer of the pastoral epistles took them from Hegesippus's work, is to run in the face of all probability.

Two passages are quoted from Athenagoras by Lardner,[u] the one referring to 1 Tim. v. 1, 2, the other to 1 Tim. vi. 16; but the allusions are so distant that no weight whatever can be attached to them. The places cannot be regarded in the light of

[t] Scharling, pp. 38-41.

[u] Works, 4to. ed. vol. i. p. 380.

witnesses for Athenagoras's acquaintance with the first epistle to Timothy.

Theophilus of Antioch writes, *ἔτι μὲν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις, καὶ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, κελευει ἡμῖν (ἡμᾶς) θεῖος λόγος ὅπως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν.*[v]

"Moreover, concerning our being subject to principalities and powers, and praying for them, the divine word commands us to be thus subject to them and to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life" (1 Tim. ii. 2; Titus iii. 1). The resemblance between this passage and those in Timothy and Titus is apparent. Besides, the writer appeals to *ὁ θεῖος λόγος*, *the divine word*. Hence it is justly regarded as an evidence for the pastoral epistles.

Two other passages are quoted by Lardner as containing allusions to the epistle to Titus, ii. 11, 12, and iii. 5, 6; but they are too doubtful to bear close examination.

With Theophilus terminates the series of obscure witnesses in favour of the epistle's authenticity. If it be thought that the external evidence now adduced is meagre and unsatisfactory, let it be considered that the Pauline epistles generally, with the exception of the first to the Corinthians, and in one particular that to the Romans, are attested by no better witnesses down to the middle of the second century. The pastoral epistles stand on the same level with several others unquestionably belonging to the apostle. If they be rejected for *this* reason, let others be rejected in like manner. Hence Schleiermacher and Eichhorn are not consistent; nor is Baur himself wholly so; though he has carried out the principle to a very great length.[w]

Irenaeus says: *ἐπεὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παραπεμπόμενοί τινες, ἐπεισάγουσι λόγους ψευδεῖς καὶ γενεαλογίας ματαίας, αἵτινες ζητήσεις μᾶλλον παρέχουσι, καθὼς ὁ ἀπόστολός φησιν, ἢ οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει.*[x]

"Whereas some rejecting the truth bring in lying words, and vain genealogies, which minister questions, as the apostle says, rather than godly edifying which is in faith" (1 Tim. i. 4).

[v] Ad Autolyc. iii. 14. [w] Scharling, p. 45.

[x] Contra Haeres. i. prooem.

Again: *τούτου τοῦ Λίνου Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολαῖς μέμνηται.*[y]

Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in the epistle to Timothy" (2 Tim. iv. 21).

In another place he says: *καὶ Παῦλος ἔφησεν· αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . . . παραιτοῦ.*[z]

As Paul says: "A man that is an heretic . . . . reject" (Titus iii. 10).

Clement of Alexandria quotes the epistle as Paul's. Thus he writes: *περὶ ἧς ὁ ἀπόστολος γράφων, ὦ Τιμόθεέ, φησιν, τὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον, ἐκτρεπόμενος τὰς βεβήλους κενοφωνίας, κ. τ. λ.*[a]

"Of which the apostle writing says: O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings and oppositions of science," etc. (1 Tim. vi. 20).

Again: *ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολῇ ὁ γενναῖος διατάσσεται Παῦλος.*[b]

"In the second epistle to Timothy the noble Paul commands," etc.

In another place he writes: *οἱ δὲ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρῆτα . . . . οὗ μέμνηται ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τίτον ἐπιστολῇ λέγων οὕτως, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ, κ. τ. λ.*[c]

"Others speak of Epimenides the Cretan . . . . . whom the apostle Paul has mentioned in the epistle to Titus, speaking thus: The Cretans are always liars," etc. (Titus i. 12).

Tertullian's testimony is equally explicit. He writes thus: Et hoc verbo usus est Paulus ad Timotheum: "O Timothee, depositum custodi." Et rursus: "Bonum depositum serva."[d]

"And this word Paul has used writing to Timothy: O Timothy keep that which is committed to thy trust. And again: that good thing which was committed to thee, keep" (1 Tim. vi. 20; and 2 Tim.).

And again: Nec diutius de isto, si idem et Paulus, qui et alibi haereses inter carnalia crimina enumerat, scribens ad Galatas, et qui suggerit, hominum haercticum post primam correptionem recusandum, quod perversus sit ejusmodi et delinquat, ut a semetipso damnatus.[e]

[y] Contra Haeres. iii. 3, sect. 3. [z] Ibid. iii. 3, sect. 4.
[a] Stromata, lib. ii. p. 383. [b] Ibid. iii. p. 448. [c] Ibid. i. p. 299.
[d] De praescript. haeret. c. 25. [e] Ibid. c. 6.

"But of this no more need be said, if it be the same Paul, who writing to the Galatians, reckons heresies among the works of the flesh, and who directs Titus to reject a man that is an heretic, after the first admonition; knowing that he that is such an one is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself" (Titus iii. 10, 11).

We need not follow these ancient testimonies farther. The epistles are in the old Syriac version, and in the fragment on the canon published by Muratori. Hence Eusebius afterwards admitted them into the list of the ὁμολογούμενα, or books generally received as divine.

The earliest external evidence against the epistles is that of Marcion, for according to Tertullian they were wanting in his canon. Three explanations of this fact are possible.

First, they may not have been in existence at the time when he lived, *i. e.* in the first half of the second century.

Secondly, he may not have known of their existence.

Thirdly, it is possible that they were disliked by him.

First, to conclude that they were not in existence because not mentioned in Marcion's canon, would be drawing too sweeping a conclusion. The argument would prove too much, for he seems to have recognised but one Gospel. We might therefore prove the supposititious character of three Gospels in the same method. And then there are testimonies to the existence of the epistles from men nearly contemporary with Marcion. To say nothing of Polycarp, Theophilus was very soon after. Irenaeus is another witness more unexceptionable. Tatian himself, of whom we shall speak again, received one of them, viz. the epistle to Titus. Besides, those fathers who speak of Marcion omitting the letters in question, such as Tertullian and Jerome, do not let fall the remotest hint of the epistles being wanting in his day; though that explanation of their omission in his canon would have readily suggested itself to the mind. They believed that he omitted them for some other reason; for they use such terms as *recusavit* (Tertullian) and *repudiavit* (Jerome), the former of which cannot be neutralised by the remark of Baur, that it contains nothing but an *inference* drawn by Tertullian; since Jerome repeats the same idea, making the same objection to Marcion.

Secondly, it is possible that Marcion may not have known of their existence, because they were originally addressed to private persons, and as such, had not come into general circulation. But this is quite improbable, because the short epistle addressed to Philemon was in his canon. Besides, testimonies if not prior to, at least nearly contemporary with Marcion, shew that the pastoral epistles were current. We must therefore arrive at the conclusion,

Thirdly, that he excluded them from his canon for certain reasons. It may be that he judged them unpauline in their character, though this is doubtful. It may be that they contained things contrary to his opinions, prejudices, or feelings. This was probably the true reason for his rejection of them. They did not agree with his creed. Too strongly impregnated with antignostic element, they virtually condemned his distinguishing principles. We know that he arbitrarily rejected other books; why should he not do the same with these? His subjective ideas led him to deal summarily with epistles and parts of epistles; why should he not do the same thing here? It is altogether probable that he discarded them solely on doctrinal grounds, as De Wette candidly admits.

Eichhorn indeed asserts, that if Marcion had been acquainted with the pastoral epistles, there was nothing in his system to prevent him from making use of them. It is even alleged that he might have aptly employed them in support of his theological views.[f] This is certainly a rash statement on the part of Eichhorn. The utmost that can be conceded is, that Marcion might have admitted the epistle to Titus, as Tatian afterwards did, and expunged the two passages 2 Tim. ii. 8, 18, which must have been obnoxious to him. But he was not so critically discriminative as this; and therefore the three were rejected summarily and together.

Still Baur[g] tries to shew that Marcion's omission of these epistles is an evidence against their existence. In this respect he is unsuccessful. It is true that the heretic *may not* have proceeded with his *apostolicon*, or division of the New Testament containing the epistolary books, in the same manner as he did with his *evangelion*, or division of the New Testament containing the Gospels. It is

[f] Einleit. ins N. T. vol. iii. p. 383.

[g] Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe, u. s. w. p. 140.

possible that he did not adopt the same procedure in the case of both. Yet where there is nothing on the opposite side, there is *a presumption* in favour of the same treatment. No value can be attached to the criticism of a man like Marcion, who was guided so much by *the subjective.*[h]

It was a thing to be expected, that the Marcionites generally would reject the epistles. Following their head in other respects, they followed him in this particular also. The canon of the master was *their* canon. Other gnostics too, Basilides, and the anti-jewish class generally, as we are informed by Jerome, agreed with Marcion in this respect.

Tatian occupies a peculiar position. He rejected the two addressed to Timothy, but admitted that to Titus. It could not have been that the former did not exist at the time; since they are quoted by the almost contemporary writers Theophilus and Irenaeus, if not by preceding fathers. Neither could it have been because they were unknown to him. The connexion between the Timothy and Titus-epistles, their close correspondence in contents and form, is adverse to both suppositions. He must therefore have retained the one and rejected the other two for some reason or reasons satisfactory to himself. Matthies supposes, that the epistle to Titus, being first written, came soonest into general circulation, and was earlier acknowledged as an authentic document of Paul's than the other two. This is very doubtful. Perhaps he saw that the contents of it were less *antignostic* than those of the Timothy-epistles. It is less distinctively opposed to the peculiar errors afterwards embodied in gnosticism; and therefore he separated it from its companions. Whatever may have been his reason, it is apparent that the isolation in question is opposed to the most ancient testimony, as well as to every sound principle of criticism. There can be no valid ground for putting one into the class of *authentic*, and the other two into the class of *unauthentic*. The three stand or fall together.[i]

Other heretics, besides Marcion and his followers and Tatian, rejected the epistles to Timothy, as two incidental observations made by Jerome and Clement of Alexandria prove.[k] Some re-

[h] Scharling, p. 52, et seqq.

[i] Ibid. pp. 58, 59.

[k] Praefat. Hieronymi in Ep. ad Tit.—Clementis Strom. ii. 11.

jected the second epistle to Timothy because of the passage in iii. 8 respecting Jannes and Jambres.[l] But this fact is entitled to no weight.

It must not be supposed, however, that the heretics of the second century universally rejected our epistles. Several who lived after Marcion and Tatian received them. In a treatise usually appended to the works of Clement of Alexandria, but which proceeded from a disciple of Theodotus (about A.D. 190), 1 Tim. ii. 5 is quoted.[m] In another place we find the expression φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον (1 Tim. vi. 16) applied to the Son. We learn too from Tertullian,[n] that some false teachers, towards the close of the second century, appealed to passages in the pastoral epistles (1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 14) to support their own claims to an *esoteric* and *exoteric* instruction in christianity.[o]

On the whole, the early heretical opposition to the present epistles is far too weak to be put over against the early ecclesiastical testimonies already adduced. It cannot be believed that the opposition proceeded from and was directed by critical principles. Rather was it prompted by doctrinal prejudices. It may be conjectured, as indeed it has been, that these letters were not generally received and used till *after* the other Pauline writings; but this perhaps is to attribute too great enlightenment to the heretical parties. It may be that they hesitated about receiving them as Pauline, because an unquestionably authentic character had not yet been acquired by them in the eyes of all. But it is more probable that the Gnostics were less scrupulous. Their prejudices were offended. The polemical aspect of the epistles, as far as it reached, looked towards them. *Their* opinions were pointed at.

It is difficult to state separately the various phenomena presented by the epistles, which demonstrate their Pauline origin. Indeed, the conviction that the apostle himself wrote them is only weakened by looking at their features apart. They must be read over, each epistle by itself; and when examined singly, they should be laid together and compared as three productions proceeding from one and the same person. In that case the impression will be strong, we think, in the mind of an impartial inquirer,

[l] Origen ad Matth. xxvii. 9.

[m] Hug's Introd. by Fosdick, p. 37.

[n] De praescript. c. 25.

[o] Scharling, p. 60; Baumgarten, p. 38.

that they were written by the apostle Paul. But if only isolated peculiarities belonging to them be considered; or if all the phenomena be viewed singly, suspicions may be raised respecting their authenticity. Much depends on the point of view from which one looks at them. If that be properly chosen, their authenticity will appear in the most favourable light; if otherwise, their true character will suffer.

We shall not attempt, therefore, to adduce the various internal evidences furnished by the letters themselves in favour of their apostolic origin. It appears most strikingly to those who try to explain the particular time after the death of Paul, when one person introduced the letters as Paul's, as well as the particular object, circumstances, and motives that prompted him to write them. His object was not *anti-jewish.* It was not *anti-gnostic.* It was not *hierarchical.* It was not to diffuse certain principles and ideas. Every one of these is exposed to strong objections, which need not be stated at present. The epistles would certainly have presented a different aspect in whole or in part, had the writer's object coincided with any of those just mentioned.

How well does everything agree with the apostle's doctrine and diction! How artless, how simple, and yet how characteristic! The aged apostle writes to his friends affectionately; and his counsels naturally partake of *the practical.* What imitator would have ventured to create so great historical difficulties as the epistles give rise to? Very striking is the picture of himself and his feelings in prospect of martyrdom. No imitator would have placed such a sentence as "the cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, especially the parchments," just after the affecting language: "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing."

Let us now consider the objections made to the authenticity of the pastoral epistles.

The first modern writer who expressed doubts about the authen-

ticity of any of the pastoral epistles was Evanson, who pronounced the epistle to Titus supposititious. Several years after, Schmid, in his Introduction to the New Testament, threw out strong suspicions respecting the authenticity of the first epistle to Timothy. Soon after him, Schleiermacher published a small treatise[p] with the express purpose of proving that the epistle in question was not written by Paul. He did not, however, question the authenticity either of the epistle to Titus, as a writer in Kitto's Cyclopaedia incorrectly affirms, or of the second epistle to Timothy, as has been ignorantly asserted. And he *remained* unconvinced by the arguments of Eichhorn and De Wette against both letters, as his Introduction published after his death clearly shews. This production need not be characterised. It bears unmistakeable marks of the author's ability and acuteness; but, at the same time, of his deficiency in calm, comprehensive, philosophical judgment applied to evidence. Several writers appeared against it, such as Planck, Wegscheider, and Beckhaus, who did good service to the cause of truth by defending the epistle. But though they were successful in the main, they could not prevent the rise of other doubters. The work of Schleiermacher sowed the seeds of scepticism which produced abundant fruit, notwithstanding the able publications directed against it. Thus the celebrated Eichhorn saw, that Schleiermacher's remarks were of more extensive application than their author perceived, and proceeded to carry them out to their legitimate consequences by denying the authenticity of the second epistle to Timothy and that to Titus. He was followed by De Wette, Schrader, and virtually by Schott. Against these, numerous defenders of the authenticity stepped forth, such as Bertholdt, Hug, Süskind, Curtius, Van den Es, Guerike, Wolf, Böhl, Feilmoser, Kling, Heydenreich, Mack.

It is no part of our purpose to chronicle the chief arguments employed by Schleiermacher against the first epistle, or those of its defenders. A good summary of them may be found in Bertholdt, Credner, and Matthies. Neither is it needful to state Eichhorn's arguments against all the epistles, some of them having

[p] Ueber den sogenannten ersten Brief des Paulus an den Timotheus. Ein kritischen Sendschreiben an I. C. Gass. Berlin, 1807. 8vo.

become antiquated, and others having been put in a better shape by succeeding writers on the same side of the question.

But the question was not yet settled. Various writers of no mean note still hesitated, doubting particularly about the first epistle, such as Loeffler, Neander, and Usteri, followed by Credner with a peculiar theory of his own, which he has since abandoned for the simple denial of the authenticity of the three epistles.[q] It is not worth while, therefore, to speak minutely of Credner's view given in his Introduction, since it displays nothing but ingenuity in perverseness, and has been since abandoned. Neudecker, as usual, follows Credner. Reuterdahl had already appeared on the side of the doubters in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1834.

About the same time with Credner, or rather the year before, Baur[r] came boldly forth against the pastoral epistles, not only impugning their authenticity with the sharpened weapons of former authors, but attempting the new task of tracing the time and historical circumstances in which they arose, as well as the writer's purpose in composing them. He was opposed by Baumgarten,[s] by Böttger[t] in a peculiar way, and in part by Matthies.[v] But they produced no effect on the mind of the Tübingen professor, since he adheres to the same view in his later book on the Pauline epistles. Some men are unable to appreciate evidence fairly. They will not see aright.

Baur was followed by Mayerhoff and Schwegler, who denied in like manner the authenticity of the pastoral epistles. That the former should take this course, is quite consistent with his scepticism in relation to the Colossian epistle; and the latter, as is well known, walks in the steps of the Tübingen master.

We shall now consider and examine the objections presented by De Wette, which are moderate compared with those of Baur. They are likely to be entertained by the more sober scholars of

[q] Das N. T. nach Zweck, Ursprung, Inhalt, u. s. w.

[r] Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe des Apostels Paulus, u. s. w.

[s] Die Aechtheit der Pastoralbriefe mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den neuesten Angriff von Herrn Dr. Baur.

[t] Beiträge zur historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Paulinischen Briefe, u. s. w., Abtheilungen 4 und 5.

[v] Erklärung der Pastoralbriefe mit besonderer Beziehung auf Authentie, u. s. w.

Germany; while it may be confidently predicted that the Tübingen scepticism will find no favour, except from *extreme* men, in whom calm reasoning has no place. In discussing the objections urged by De Wette, the ablest representative of that class of critics whose doubts are likely to remain longest afloat, we shall *indicate* the extraordinary course pursued by Baur and his adherents;—indicate, we say; for it would be of no use to detail Baur's arguments, with the chief points insisted on by Baumgarten and Böttger against him. An abstract of all the considerations he urges, accompanied by a reply to each, could not be attended with benefit. When his views are too far ahead of the great majority of Rationalists in his own land, they are not likely to be adopted by any one in Great Britain. They are dying away without finding advocates even there; for they are too glaringly improbable in themselves to meet with acceptance, except among a few speculative spirits whose sober judgment has been put to sleep by a critical ingenuity wild, unbridled, daringly perverse.

This rapid glance at the attacks which have been made on the pastoral letters, and the defenders of them, must suffice. A *full history* of them would only exhibit a picture of aberration on the one hand, and much labour thrown away on the other. It could not possibly repay the time spent in drawing it up.

The following are the points put forward by De Wette.

1. The historical difficulties connected with the three epistles constitute an element in the united argument. The settlement of the time and place at which they were respectively written is attended with very great perplexity; so great, it is alleged, that it cannot be resolved. The compositions before us cannot be inserted in the life and history of Paul. Every position assigned them is liable to valid objections.[w]

It must be freely conceded, that there *do* exist considerable difficulties in determining the time and place of each letter. Yet their appearance is not strange. Luke does not give a complete history of Paul in the Acts, and the apostle's own epistles furnish nothing more than a few supplementary hints. When we take into account the remoteness of the period, the manifold relations

[w] Einleitung, u. s. w., fifth edition, sections 152 d, 153 c, 154 c.

sustained by the apostle, connected as he was with so many lands and churches, in addition to the want of fulness characteristic of the only authentic record of his public life now existing, it is natural to expect that some perplexity should be felt in settling times and places. The present difficulties, however, are not *insuperable.* They are such as may be obviated, if not wholly, in a great degree at least. While they are certainly considerable, they are not such as render the insertion of the epistles in particular places of the apostolic history *impossible.* If, therefore, this argument were stronger than it really is, if the alleged difficulties were more pressing than they are—the epistle's authenticity is not *disproved,* as long as the intercalation of them is not *necessarily excluded.* There are no irreconcilable contradictions between what is certain, and the unknown times and places at which the letters first appeared. If some writers place them where they *do* cause such opposition, they have no good reason for doing so. They err in this respect. We allow then that there *are* difficulties, but we cannot call them *insuperable.* In the case of the first epistle to Timothy, and that to Titus, they are not greater than those connected with the Galatian epistle. It is remarkable indeed that the origin of Paul's numerous letters can be settled so satisfactorily in most cases. If a few out of the whole number give trouble to critics, they can only be dealt with according to the probabilities of each individual case. We insist on this, that the historical difficulties urged, and exaggerated too by De Wette and others, are not such as to *necessitate* the rejection of the Pauline origin of the pastoral epistles. They do not prove that these productions *could not* have emanated from Paul at any time of his life. We have already attempted to shew the most probable periods associated with the origin of each letter, and need not enter farther into the present objection. A later writer than Paul would have avoided these perplexities, lest he should be detected by means of them. No forger would have made the letters so difficult of insertion in the known history of the apostle.

In like manner *exegetical* difficulties have been adduced. These are various. Some of them affect the general contents, as if the latter were incongruous with the manifest object of the writer, or the relation existing between him and the person addressed. We

have already referred to this objection as it affects the epistles individually, endeavouring to shew that it has no weight. Too much has been made of it since Schleiermacher applied his critical ingenuity to the one epistle. These exegetical difficulties are materially lessened by a right interpretation of particular passages, along with a proper view of the respective positions occupied by the writer and the persons addressed.

2. It is asserted, that the three epistles, when viewed together, present the strongest proofs of their not having proceeded from the apostle Paul, inasmuch as they are distinguished from his other writings by a peculiar *usus loquendi* common to all, or to two of them at least.

The following peculiar phrases and terms appear in them. In the salutation, *χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη*, 1 Tim. i. 2. 2 Tim. i. 2. Titus i. 4 (elsewhere *χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη*). *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος*, 1 Tim. i. 15; iii. 1; iv. 9. 2 Tim. ii. 11. Titus iii. 8. *εὐσέβεια, εὐσεβῶς*, 1 Tim. ii. 2; iii. 16; iv. 7, 8; vi. 3, 6, 11. 2 Tim. iii. 5, 12. Titus i. 1; ii. 12. *διδασκαλία ὑγιαίνουσα*, 1 Tim. i. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 3. Titus i. 9; ii. 1. *λόγοι ὑγιαίνοντες*, 1 Tim. vi. 3. 2 Tim. i. 13. *λόγος ὑγιής*, Titus ii. 8. *ὑγιαίνειν ἐν τῇ πίστει*, Titus i. 13; ii. 2. The opposite is *νοσεῖν*, 1 Tim. vi. 4, and *γάγγραινα*, 2 Tim. ii. 17. *μύθοι*, 1 Tim. i. 4; iv. 7. 2 Tim. iv. 4. Titus i. 14. *ζητήσεις*, 1 Tim. i. 4; vi. 4. 2 Tim. ii. 23. Titus iii. 9. *γενεαλογίαι*, 1 Tim. i. 4. Titus iii. 9. *ματαιολογία*, 1 Tim. i. 6. *ματαιολόγος*, Titus i. 10. *λογομαχίαι*, 1 Tim. vi. 4. *λογομαχεῖν*, 2 Tim. ii. 14. *κενοφωνίαι*, 1 Tim. vi. 20. 2 Tim. ii. 16. *ἐπιφάνεια*, 1 Tim. vi. 14. 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8. Titus ii. 13, instead of *παρουσία*. *σωτήρ* (of God), 1 Tim. i. 1; ii. 13; iv. 10. Titus i. 3; ii. 10. *παραθήκη*, 1 Tim. vi. 20. 2 Tim. i. 12, 14. *σωφρονισμός*, 2 Tim. i. 7. *σωφρόνως*, Titus ii. 12. *σώφρων*, 1 Tim. iii. 2. Titus i. 8; ii. 2, 5. *σωφρονεῖν*, Titus ii. 6. *παραιτεῖσθαι*, 1 Tim. iv. 7; v. 11. 2 Tim. ii. 23. Titus iii. 10. *περιΐστασθαι*, 2 Tim. ii. 16. Tit. iii. 9. *ἀστοχεῖν*, 1 Tim. i. 6; vi. 21. 2 Tim. ii. 18. *τυφοῦσθαι*, 1 Tim. iii. 6; vi. 4. 2 Tim. iii. 4. *ἀρνεῖσθαι*, 1 Tim. v. 8. 2 Tim. ii. 12, etc.; iii. 5. Titus i. 16; ii. 12. *δεσπότης* (instead of *κύριος*), 1 Tim. vi. 1, etc. 2 Tim. ii. 21. Titus ii. 9. *προσέχειν*, 1 Tim. i. 4; iii. 8; iv. 1, 13. Titus i. 14. *ὑπομιμνήσκειν*, 2 Tim. ii. 14. Titus iii. 1. *ἀποτρέπεσθαι, ἐκ-*

τρεπτ. 2 Tim. iii. 5. 1 Tim. vi. 21. διαβεβαιοῦσθαι περί τινος, 1 Tim. i. 7. Titus iii. 8. ἀνόσιος, 1 Tim. i. 9. 2 Tim. iii. 2. βέβηλος, 1 Tim. i. 9; iv. 7; vi. 20. 2 Tim. ii. 16. The use of κατά, 2 Tim. i. 1. Titus i. 1.[x]

In this collection, De Wette has made a discriminating use of the phrases and terms to which attention was directed by Schleiermacher, Eichhorn, Schott, Mayerhoff, and others.

Nothing can be more uncertain than the method of reasoning here adopted. We are far from denying that it has its weight in certain circumstances and with certain limitations; but when these are overlooked, error must necessarily ensue. It is rash to draw a conclusion solely from such premises. To constitute the argumentation in question valid, or to give it a reasonable claim on the notice of the critic, a variety of circumstances should concur. Here it is taken too much by itself, apart from the particulars that invest it with value. The difference in question between Paul's other epistles and the present may be amply explained by difference of design, leading to the treatment of different topics; difference of the parties addressed, of the relations sustained by the writer to those parties, and the general circumstances, objective and subjective, affecting both at the time of writing. In the present case, we cannot urge the difference which *age* makes in the style of the same writer, because it will not apply to the three epistles. But we may surely adduce the states of mind and heart characterising the apostle, in various circumstances. He had not addressed Timothy the evangelist before, in letters intended for his special direction. The same remark applies to Titus. Paul had written to *churches*, not to *individuals having the pastoral oversight and regulation of churches.* We might therefore expect a departure from his usual phraseology, at least to a certain extent. Indeed this was unavoidable. The circumstances of the case in relation to both evangelists demanded it.

The unreasonableness of the objection in question will be apparent, when we see that it cuts off all idea of variety, or progress, by restricting the apostle to one unvarying diction. No matter what may be the outward exigencies or inward promptings of a richly-stored mind like his, he must be confined to one set of

[x] Einleit. u. s. w., sect. 155 d; and Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, pp. 116, 117.

phrases and a stereotype style. Surely this is most unjust in regard to any inspired writer. Its injustice is readily felt and acknowledged in the case of an uninspired author. Not less is it in the instance of a sacred writer, whose inspiration superintended and controlled the exercise of the mental powers, *without suspending it.*

Besides, the pastoral epistles, though undoubtedly presenting many peculiarities, are not materially unlike other productions unquestionably Pauline, in their ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. The first epistle to Timothy is said to exhibit 81, the second 63, the epistle to Titus 44; but in the epistle to the Galatians occur 57, in that to the Philippians 54, and in the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians together 143. Hence we might consistently argue from the same data against the authenticity of the letters to the Philippians, Galatians, Ephesians, or Colossians.[y] The futility of the argument, therefore, needs no farther exhibition. If it could be proved that the peculiar phrases and terms of these epistles *could not have been written* by the apostle at the time alleged, the objection would be formidable; but as long as this is not done, it can never be shewn that he was not the author of the epistles, with all their unusual phenomena of expression. What? was the apostle's stock of words and modes of expression exhausted before he wrote these epistles? Must he repeat what he had already used? Had he no new ideas to communicate, demanding for their expression new words and combinations of words? So it is virtually maintained by such as dwell upon this particular. But in doing so, they dishonour Paul in overlooking his mental opulence. The character of his mind was neither barren nor monotonous. We have no fear of producing these ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in array before the philosophical critic. Let him scan them narrowly. Let him give them their due importance in the scale of evidence affecting authorship, and then pronounce his verdict. Surely he will wonder at the use now made of them, and suspect that such as adduce them for the *purpose* of impugning the authorship are unable to estimate the intrinsic worth of evidence.

3. Another peculiarity belonging to the three letters before us, is a proneness to turn aside from what pertains to the object of

[y] Mynster, Kleine theologischen Schriften, p. 223.

each, to general truths or commonplaces (1 Tim. i. 15; ii. 4-6; iii. 16; iv. 8-10. 2 Tim. i. 9, etc.; ii. 11-13, 19-21; iii. 12-16. Titus ii. 11-14; iii. 3-7). Even that which is said by way of refutation or encouragement appears in this form (1 Tim. i. 8-10; iv. 4, etc.; vi. 6-10. 2 Tim. ii. 4-6. Titus i. 15). After these digressions or general instructions, a return to the subject, or a conclusion and resting-point, is usually sought in an admonition or advice addressed to the receiver of the epistle (1 Tim. iii. 14, etc.; iv. 6, 11; vi. 2, 5, 11. 2 Tim. ii. 7, 14; iii. 5. Titus ii. 15; iii. 8).[z]

The circumstances in which Timothy and Titus stood were peculiar. No other epistle arose out of the like. Admonitions, counsels, encouragements, and warnings, were addressed to them. This was the writer's primary object. But the original purpose did not exclude another, of wider application. Instead of giving *particular*, *individual* precepts throughout—such as were suited to them alone—the author aimed at universal maxims, applicable to many besides Timothy and Titus. He made his compositions as general as possible, that they might be adapted to a wider sphere; so much so that the *general* appears to be the rule, the *particular* the exception. Or, the individual relations of the two evangelists are subordinated to general relations, which affect all ministers of the gospel. It would therefore be more correct to say, that the epistles before us exhibit general rules or principles, in their application to individual relations and circumstances. But whether the general be the rule, and the particular the exception, or the contrary, it is easy to discover the wisdom of the writer in disposing his materials. Had the particular and local prevailed throughout, the epistles would have been comparatively useless to succeeding times. Had the general prevailed throughout, Timothy and Titus would have failed to derive special benefit from them. In this case, the original purpose of writing would have been defeated. Hence the general and particular are blended together, or connected with one another; the latter consisting in the application of general maxims, and the former exemplified in individual examples.

If the object of each epistle be viewed as embracing *nothing*

[z] Exegetisches Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 117.

more than the encouragement and admonition of the two evangelists, deviations into the general may be spoken of as digressions from the proper scope, and be considered partial defects. But this is a mere *assumption*. It is tolerably certain that these letters were meant to serve a wider circle than the precise parties to whom they were first sent. This holds good with respect to Paul's other epistles. And if the true object was an enlarged adaptation, not only to the evangelists, but to many ecclesiastical men after them, those *turnings aside* to the enunciation of general truths are in strict accordance with the comprehensive purpose which the apostle, or the Spirit, had in view. The three epistles are certainly distinguished from Paul's by the particular now adverted to; but the cause of it existed in both cases. The peculiarity itself assumes a form somewhat different in the unquestionably authentic Pauline epistles, and in the pastoral ones, because of diversity in the parties addressed, and the subjects treated of. This different *form* of a peculiarity originating in the *one cause*, may be called a *peculiarity itself* in the pastoral epistles, distinguishing them from the others; but it is far from indicating *diversity of authorship*. It is not a defect, that the writer frequently turns to general truths, but an excellence. It is essentially connected with the subjects and parties touched on. Out of such diversity, indeed, it arises. And it arises naturally. The general and particular are *dovetailed into*, rather than *attached to* one another. The junction of them indicates no effort or labour on the writer's part. Thus the *turnings aside*, as they are termed, evidently with the view of shewing that they are not such as should be expected in unquestionably Pauline epistles, are the very things that prove the epistles worthy of an apostolic author. But for them, the productions would have ill comported with the far-seeing wisdom of Paul. They are the rule, rather than the exception, and are therefore no digressions. They *entered into* the writer's object. They formed a necessary element in it.

4. Another peculiarity common to the three letters, consists in certain ideas and views advanced. On the one hand, the writer gives excessive prominence to the moral aspect of life; while on the other, the doctrinal or abstract view of christianity is held forth in excess. The former is connected with an assertion of

merit: the latter presents the doctrinal element in excess. The peculiarity of the three epistles as here described consists in setting forth two aspects, the one of christian life, the other of christianity itself, in a manner unlike that of Paul, because the practical and the doctrinal are overdrawn. The apostle would have avoided the exaggeration in question, as he has done in his authentic epistles.[a]

In reply to this objection we remark, that the pastoral epistles are less doctrinal than Paul's other letters, because they contain practical suggestions and counsels addressed to evangelists who had the superintendence of churches. Such persons did not need to be taught distinctive doctrines. They were already preachers of the gospel, and knew the evangelical principles of salvation and sanctification. Their personal and public conduct in the new spheres assigned them by the apostle, was the main topic to which the writer had to direct attention. *Christianity* was not a new thing to them; but the *duties* of the important position they were placed in, were unusual. It is a mistake to suppose, that the practical lessons of these epistles inculcate aught *inconsistent with* the undoubted writings of Paul, or *exaggerated* in tone. Good works are certainly recommended. Moral duties are urged. Christianity is enjoined in its practical aspect. But no merit is attached to good works in themselves; nor are they spoken of in such a way as fails to agree exactly with the doctrine of grace, taught elsewhere by the apostle, as may be seen from a comparison of the practical portions belonging to some of his other epistles. In 2 Tim. iv. 8, a passage to which De Wette makes special reference, alleging that it is almost in contradiction to the Pauline doctrine of grace, the writer arrogates to himself and his doings no merit, but ascribes the reward to the Lord Jesus Christ, the righteous judge. And with respect to 1 Tim. i. 8, etc., where it is affirmed by the objector that an apology is presented for the law, involving the admission that it has a moral use, there is no incongruity between it and Paul's sentiments. The admission made *respecting* the law that it is excellent and useful for the purposes it was designed for, is the same idea which he inculcates in the epistle to the Romans, vii. 12. That the law was meant

[a] Einleitung, u. s. w., sect. 155 b; and Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 117.

to serve a most important end, when used rightly, is an unquestionable element in the Pauline theology.

Again, it may be safely affirmed, that the doctrinal element of christianity, as here exhibited, accords with Paul's sentiments. Every impartial reader will have no difficulty in perceiving this. There is nothing peculiar in the abstract view of redemption presented in Titus ii. 11, etc.; iii. 4, etc.; 2 Tim. i. 10; nor in the representation of it in Titus i. 3, where it is regarded as the work of God as well as of Christ. The Father *provided*, the Son *effected* the atonement. Nor is any undue or unusual value put upon the Holy Scriptures, in 2 Tim. iii. 15, etc. As to the *universalism*, it is acknowledged by De Wette to be Pauline. The reason why it does not appear here in *polemical* opposition to the narrow notions of the Jews, is, because the writer did not intend the present epistles to be polemical productions directed mainly against Judaisers; but epistles of counsel and exhortation to Timothy and Titus.

5. The most prominent, distinguishing peculiarity of the three epistles is the polemical opposition to certain false teachers, who appear in all, though not always the *same*, yet at least *similar* characters, being partly Judaising (Titus i. 10, 14; 2 Tim. ii. 23; iv. 4; 1 Tim. i. 4, 7), partly anti-judaising (2 Tim. ii. 18; 1 Tim. iv. 3) Gnostics. Now it is possible to conceive that the apostle had already discovered and combated the germ of the gnostic heresy, as he has really combated similar opponents in the Colossian epistle; it is also probable, that a gnosticism had run its first stage before that of the second century; but the passages 1 Tim. vi. 20; Titus iii. 10, point to a time when it had already attained a certain development; and the idea of *heresy* was a familiar one, especially as there are many traces of later times in the epistles before us (1 Tim. iii. 1; v. 9; vi. 17).[b]

Nothing but a right interpretation of the paragraphs alluded to can dissipate the erroneous conclusion here deduced from them. The critic makes as much concession as he can; he approaches the confines of the truth—he allows it "not impossible" that the apostle had detected and combated the germ of the gnostic tendency, just as he had opposed similar enemies of christianity in the

[b] Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 118.

Colossian epistle—it is even probable with him that Gnosticism had gone through its first stadium before the second century, as Böttger had proved;[c] but yet he is unwilling to abandon the topic of these errorists without deducing from it an argument against the apostolic origin of the pastoral epistles. Two passages he thinks betray a period in which gnosticism was partly developed, the idea of *heresy* being then a current one; and three others shew that they were not written so early as Paul's time, because they involve allusions to later circumstances and institutions. Let us therefore look at the passages themselves. Perhaps they do not sustain the inference derived from them. Before doing so, however, we wish to remark that the epistles in question *may* contain indirect allusions to certain tendencies which did not appear so early as the apostle's time, without allowing the necessary and negative conclusion that the writer could not have been Paul. We know his mode of refuting error. He laid hold of it by the roots. He overthrew it fundamentally, glancing at kindred aberrations, and shewing its various ramifications. He was able to point out the genuine tendencies of a false principle, which, though not apparent at the time of writing, should undoubtedly manifest themselves. Whatever had its origin in any fundamental error he could detect and expose, though unseen by other eyes than his own.

The truth of these observations is attested by various phenomena in the first epistle to the Corinthians, some of which have been already noticed. In consequence of the method of establishing truth and refuting error just alluded to, it is easy to conceive that Paul might write the present epistles, and indicate at the same time certain doctrinal developments which should soon shoot forth from the radical principle alluded to. Apart from the gift of prophecy, he could perceive the natural direction and results of anti-evangelical opinions.

But it is not necessary in the present case to have recourse to the philosophical insight or prophetic sagacity of the apostle. The principles here combated appear to be neither those which were distinctively termed *gnostic*, nor the peculiar positions of Marcion, but the seed or germs out of which both were afterwards

[c] Beiträge, v., p. 133 et seqq.

developed. These germs of future heresy had appeared in the apostolic age. They were of a motley character, having sprung out of the human mind under a variety of circumstances and influences. They possessed little coherence. But they were the incipient manifestations of principles which formed the essence of later corrupt *systems*.

As it is of some consequence to the interpreter to have a right apprehension of the false teachers alluded to in the epistles before us, we shall briefly indicate their peculiarities. They were *Judaisers*, that is, they maintained the perpetual obligation of the Mosaic law (1 Tim. i. 9). Hence perhaps they abstained from certain kinds of food, and followed a practical tendency.

But they were also addicted to theosophy. They entertained a peculiar philosophy or science, on which they prided themselves. Accordingly, they indulged in idle speculations regarding the world of spirits, their origin, propagation, etc. (1 Tim. i. 4; Titus iii. 9). In conformity with such theosophy they laid down many ascetic precepts (1 Tim. iv. 8; Titus i. 14), followed various abstinences, and prescribed celibacy (1 Tim. iv. 3). From their theoretical tendency, it was to be expected that their mode of interpretation should be the mystical or allegorical, so that historical facts were sometimes explained away by a spiritual or allegorising process, such as the fact of the resurrection (2 Tim. ii. 18). Doubtless their *science* applied to the Old Testament and the ceremonial law, led to arbitrary explanations (Titus iii. 9, *μάχαις νομικαῖς*, 1 Tim. i. 7, 8, etc.).

From these observations it appears, that the teachers in question manifested the general tendency to theosophy which had evolved itself out of Judaism at the time of Christ's coming. One form of it was *Essenism;* and *Gnosticism*, properly so called, embodied the same mental direction. But neither the Essenes nor the Gnostics are the proper subjects of apostolic condemnation. The general delineation given shews, that the peculiar errors had not been shaped as yet into definite systems, as they came to be in the second century. It conveys an erroneous impression, too, to call them *anti-judaising* gnostics in part; for they adhered to the Old Testament, but explained it allegorically. Their recommendation of celibacy formed a part of their philosophy or science,

and was evidently of oriental origin; matter being held essentially evil. Because they advocated principles theoretical and principles practical which formed an incongruous mixture, they should scarcely be designated *Jewish* and *anti-jewish* at the same time.

In 1 Tim. vi. 20, we read: "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called." Here, in consequence of the appellation τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, it is regarded as very probable by De Wette, after Baur, that the author uses "a distinctive appellation, denoting a current, definite religious tendency and mode of teaching," viz. the so-called *gnosis*. It would therefore appear, that some professing christians had embraced a false philosophy dignified with the fine name of *science*, and opposed to the truth. But it is difficult to ascertain precisely what *the science* in question was. It may refer to gnosticism, as some suppose; though many commentators deny the allusion. We think it probable, on the whole, that it does refer to the *germ* of a Judaising gnosticism; but that the appellation involves a developed, definite tendency, such as gnosticism was in the first half of the second century, cannot be established. Indeed, there is nothing in the phraseology forbidding its application to the time of the apostle. We know that such a science or philosophy existed at the origin of christianity, among cultivated Jews at Alexandria and in Asia Minor. It had been developed out of the Jewish system. It may have been at Ephesus before Christ was preached there, as we have reason to believe it was at Colosse. After Paul's labours had been attended with success in the former place, Jews who adopted the christian religion endeavoured to bring their theosophy into union with it. Hence it may be believed, that the apostle used such an expression when writing to Timothy at Ephesus—an expression which aptly represents the *science* of the Judaisers, though it may not have been the identical one which they themselves applied to it.

It is surely a hasty, unusual mode of proceeding to conclude at once that the word γνῶσις denotes what Baur affirms, and then to infer that the development of gnosticism, so assumed, belonged to a much later than the apostolic period. The expression is very obscure; and because of its ambiguity nothing certain can be

built on it. Granting the probability to be in favour of an allusion to Gnosticism, it should be proved that the seeds of that system did not exist in the time of Paul; or if they did, that the expression is inapplicable to them before the second century. Baur, on whom De Wette relies, has not proceeded in this way of calm argumentation. He has put his own opinion into the text, without shewing that the text fairly and necessarily bears it.

Again, in Titus iii. 10 we find the following: "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition reject." Here it is asserted that *αἱρετικός* is a later word, and the idea denoted by it a later one. It points to a time when the opposition between orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the christian church became prominent. It is affirmed that the term in question signifies a person causing or belonging to a *αἵρεσις*, which latter term is not used by Paul with reference to doctrine, according to De Wette.

The true original meaning of *αἵρεσις* is *sect* or *division;* and of course *αἱρετικός* is one who promotes a division, sect, or party. This he may do from various causes. He may maintain *corrupt practices*, and on the strength of them form *a faction* in the church; or he may entertain *erroneous doctrine*, and on that ground become the author of a party. We know that corrupt practices spring from corrupt opinions; and therefore the term cannot properly be restricted to one, who, maintaining some religious custom, peculiar rite, or unusual practice, becomes by that means the originator of a faction. As long as opinions and practice are inseparable, the word must mean one *who forms a party from any cause whatever;* the context determining whether doctrine or practice be the immediate cause. Where Paul uses *αἵρεσις*, the term denotes *the men* composing a sect, not their opinions. He does not, however, speak of the cause or causes of sect-making. He classes *heresies* among the works of the flesh, without specifying any particular thing, about which, when professing christians quarrel and divide, they form a sect or party. Hence doctrine is *not elsewhere excluded* as lying at the foundation of sect-making. If so, it should not be excluded here. If *αἵρεσις* signify a *faction* or *sect*, composed of such as renounce communion with others for any reason whatever, *αἱρετικός* will mean a sect-*maker* or *promoter*, one who makes or promotes division. He may do so by adopting

corrupt opinions, or practices, or both. In the present instance, the allusion seems to be to both, mainly to doctrine. It is idle to say, that because the very term is nowhere else used by Paul, it expresses a new and later idea; for the same idea lies in the corresponding *αἵρεσις*, which is Pauline.

We are happy to find, that this interpretation agrees with that given by Dr. Campbell. "*Αἱρετικὸς ἄνθρωπος*," says he, "must mean one who is the founder of a sect, or at least has the disposition to create *αἱρέσεις* or sects, in the community, and may properly be rendered *a factious man.* This version perfectly coincides with the scope of the place, and suits the uniform import of the term *αἱρέσεις*, from which it is derived. The admonition here given to Titus is the same, though differently expressed, with what he had given to the Romans, when he said, *Mark them which cause divisions*, *διχοστασίας ποιοῦντας*, make parties or factions, *and avoid them*, Rom. xvi. 17."[d]

It is our decided conviction, that these two passages constitute a very precarious basis on which to found so important a conclusion. Their right interpretation does not support it. Their evidence does not sustain the developed state of early Gnosticism for which De Wette pleads.

It remains for us to look at the three passages which are thought to corroborate and confirm, if not to prove independently, the same conclusion.

1 Tim. iii. 1: "This is a true saying, If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work." The ambitious striving after the office of elder here implied, betrays a later period of composition.

This is an idea *put into* the text, not *fairly deduced* from it. The verb *ὀρέγεται* does not necessarily imply such ambitious aim; and even if it did, the later composition would not logically follow. The premises and conclusion are not closely connected.

1 Tim. v. 9: "Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old, having been the wife," etc., etc.

The meaning of this verse is too ambiguous to afford support to the hypothesis in question. Till the right interpretation of it be settled, it is vain to adduce it as proof of a later origin than

[d] Preliminary Dissertations to the Four Gospels, Diss. ix.

the apostolic age. De Wette takes it in the sense affixed to it by Chrysostom, Grotius, Mosheim, Nitzsch, Heydenreich, Leo, Flatt, etc., which favours perhaps the later origin of the epistle. But there are two other modes of understanding it, for which much has been said. We do not agree with his interpretation of the verse. Even if we did, the logical sequence of his inference could not be allowed. He has followed Schleiermacher too implicitly in this point as in others, not attending to the fact that Schleiermacher gives a different meaning to the passage from that which *he* follows, making it refer to the deaconesses of the second century.

Since Schleiermacher, Baur[e] lays great stress on the present passage, adducing it as the clearest proof that the epistle cannot belong to the apostolic period, in which there was no such ecclesiastical institute. Before examining his remarks on it, let us see the sense of the entire paragraph.

From the third till the eighth verse, the writer speaks of the honour and duty which should be shown to widows. Those entirely friendless and desolate (*widows indeed*) are to be provided for; but if any have children or nephews, the latter should take care of their relatives, that the church may not be burdened with their support. All this is in perfect harmony with apostolic precept and usage, nor can there be a doubt that the Greek word χήρα means *widow* and nothing else, as is proved by the fourth verse.

From the ninth till the fifteenth verse, the sacred author seems to speak of another class of widows, viz., of such as held some office in the church. This is inferred from the expression *taken into the number* (καταλεγέσθω), *chosen, selected*, which does not mean here, *taken into the list of widows to be supported out of the church's funds*, as it is explained by many, but, *chosen to some official duty*. This is apparent from various considerations, especially from the eleventh verse.[f] The qualifications specified, viz., that the widow should be sixty years of age, and have been the wife of one husband, are strange on the supposition that destitute *widows alone* are meant, irrespective of church-duties to

[e] Paulus Der Apostel, u. s. w., p. 497.

[f] See De Wette, Exeget. Handbuch, ii. 5, pp. 97, 98.

be performed, and merely with regard to alms from the church. Thus the expression χήρα, *widow*, is taken in the same sense throughout the chapter—in its natural acceptation.

Baur, however, attributes to it the ecclesiastical meaning it bore in the second century, according to which it includes not merely *widows*, but unmarried females, and even *virgins;* and Ignatius is quoted in proof of this usage of the term in the second century.[g] But the passage in Ignatius has long been suspected of interpolation,[h] and it occurs in one of the four epistles, which, after Cureton's researches, can be attributed to him with much less probability than before. Having found that an extended meaning belongs to the word in the second century, he tries to shew that it has the same in the passage before us. Thus the epistle is brought down to the second century, because it speaks of an institute which had no existence in the apostolic period—an institute embracing female servants of the church or deaconesses, consisting not solely of widows but of virgins. But what evidence does Baur adduce to shew that the second-century sense of χήρα is found in the present chapter? He states the following considerations.

(*a*) If χήραι in verses 11 and 14 be actual widows, the writer gives two precepts directly opposed to one another. According to 11 and 14 the younger widows should marry again. According to 9, a second marriage, if they should again become widows, shuts them out from ecclesiastical *viduatus* or widowhood.

Those who understand the phrase *having been the wife of one man* to mean, *having been faithful and true during her married life*, get rid of all difficulty by that means; for then a second marriage is not censured in the ninth verse, as it is recommended in the fourteenth. But we cannot adopt that interpretation. It is not natural. It is better to explain the words literally and simply as denoting, a widow *who had married but once.*[i] Does the apostle therefore mean to condemn second marriages? He does not intimate either here or elsewhere that they are improper. On the contrary, he was a friend to marriage. Still he maintains that a widow who should be taken into the list of deaconesses should not be a widow a second time. Men commonly entertain

[g] Epist. ad Smyrn., c. 13. [h] See Baumgarten, p. 74.

[i] See Huther, u. s. w., p. 169 and p. 117.

a greater respect for such a widow than for one who has been married twice. The distinction of *ecclesiastical widowhood* (viduatus) was a rare one, and young widows by marrying again excluded themselves from the possibility of obtaining it; but the apostle thinks it better that those younger widows should, *as a general rule*, marry again.

(*b*) If the χῆραι in verses 12 and 14, be actual widows, then the younger widows include all under sixty years of age as contrasted with the older ones (ver. 9). But in that case, how do *the general* observations (11-14) suit such persons? How do they suit all widows under sixty? The whole passage leads us to think simply of younger marriageable persons; and the sense of it will be clearer, if νεωτέρας χήρας be not construed together as is usual, but if νεωτέρας be taken as the subject, χήρας as the predicate, and παραιτοῦ as the opposite of καταλεγέσθω. The entire sentence will then run thus: "take not younger persons of the female sex into the catalogue of χῆραι, because they are of an age in which they cannot be trusted, for when they become wanton against Christ they will marry."

It is difficult to perceive, how the sense attributed to νεωτέραι by Baur, makes the verses 11-14 more appropriate. He refers it to younger *females*, whereas we refer it to younger *widows*. That which is thought to make the verses unsuitable in the case of widows under sixty, applies both to them and to virgins. It continues in them as much as in virgins till the sixtieth year. Should Baur restrict νεωτέραι to females of an age not reaching up to fifty-nine by a considerable number of years, and so endeavour to make the difficulty greater, we reply, that the contrast between καταλεγέσθω and παραιτοῦ involves a contrast between ἔτη ἑξήκοντα and νεωτέραι; or, in other words, shews that the νεωτέραι include all under sixty years.[k]

As to the simple verb γαμεῖν in verse 14, *marry*, not *marry again*, that does not necessarily militate against our view; for in 1 Cor. vii. 39, the same verb is used of a second marriage.[l]

Deaconesses were not unknown to the apostolic time. Phebe was a deaconess in the church at Cenchrea.[m]

[k] See Huther, p. 46, et seqq. [l] See Baumgarten, pp. 65-76.
[m] See Böttger's Beiträge, v., pp. 65-76.

1 Tim. vi. 17: "Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not highminded, nor trust in uncertain riches," etc. The christians belonging to the Corinthian church were for the most part poor (1 Cor. i. 26); and the same thing was true of the churches everywhere. The passage therefore implies a wider diffusion of christianity, and consequently a later period, particularly when we consider that the rich are warned against pride.

This objection is most trivial. The words of 1 Cor. i. 26 do not exclude the idea of *some* rich men being in the church at Corinth. And it is illogical to infer that the church at Ephesus consisted of the poor because the church at Corinth was composed of such. It is sufficient that there were *some* rich members in the church at Ephesus when this epistle was written; and who shall assert that there were not?

In looking back at these five passages, we must express our surprise at the fact of their being used to remove the epistles in which they occur out of the apostolic period. For this they are inadequate. It is preposterous to apply them to a purpose for which they were not intended, and which they cannot legitimately subserve.

6. According to 1 Tim. i. 20 we must assume, that this epistle was written later than the second to Timothy. The heretic Hymeneus, whose error is mentioned in 2 Tim. ii. 17, etc., as one apparently new and unknown to Timothy, appears in the present verse as judged and excommunicated.[n]

It is easy to see how this observation respecting the priority of the second epistle to Timothy tells against the authenticity of both; since the former was composed shortly before the apostle's death, and is considered the last of all he wrote, which it could not be if another was written after.

The objection assumes too much. It is not *certain* whether the Hymeneus spoken of in both epistles be the same person. Supposing however their *identity* as probable, the conclusion does not necessarily follow. In the first epistle it is mentioned that he was excluded from the church; in the second that he held an erroneous doctrine. Now, though Paul says that he held an erroneous view of the resurrection, that *may have been*

[n] Exegetisches Handbuch, ii. 5, p. 118.

a new error and unknown to Timothy, notwithstanding what is stated about him in the first epistle. One error leads to another. Having been excommunicated for one, he adopted another after it. It is quite unwarranted by the expression τινὲς (2 Tim. ii. 18) to infer with Matthies, after Schleiermacher, that Hymeneus belonged to the church.

In connexion with this assumption of the priority of the second epistle to the first it has been maintained, that there are manifest traces of the latter's compilation from it and the epistle to Titus, or, at least, of its dependence on the other two. It was not composed quite independently of them.°

In reply to this assertion (for it cannot be called argument), it is sufficient to say, that it lacks proof. Schleiermacher fancied that he discovered marks of the first epistle being made up out of the two authentic (in his view) epistles of 2 Timothy and Titus, because of the passage 1 Tim. i. 20, where the writer makes a mistake; because of certain parallels, such as 1 Tim. iii., with Titus i. 6, etc.; and also because of the inferior composition and style. But it is now admitted by De Wette, that Schleiermacher *exaggerated* the inferior character of the letter, judging of it harshly because he did not enter profoundly enough into the study of it. There may be a slight difference between the manner of writing and the diction observable in the first epistle compared with the other two. It may be somewhat inferior, though the inferiority is not very perceptible. But to assert, that the alleged inferiority constitutes a reason or part of a reason for holding the compilation of the one out of the other two, is much more than can be made good. Even Baur will not admit the correctness of Schleiermacher's position respecting the worse composition. The notion of a certain relation of dependence on 2 Timothy and Titus is held by Baur and De Wette, though the latter ascribes the three to one author in consequence of the substantial likeness between them; and then proceeds to set forth his own hypothesis to account for the appearance of dependence—an hypothesis purely conjectural and utterly improbable. We repeat, that the one passage respecting Hymeneus, 1 Tim. i. 20, does not sustain the priority of the second epistle to the first; and that is the only

° Exegetisches Handbuch, p. 119.

particular yet adduced on behalf of the prior composition which claims the attention of critics. Such as try to shew the earlier origin of 1 Timothy from a comparison of its language, style, distribution of materials, coherence of parts, or any other internal phenomenon belonging to it, with the internal character of 2 Timothy alone, or of 2 Timothy and the letter to Titus together, lose their labour. The single passage 2 Tim. iv. 6-8 is more than sufficient to outweigh the shadowy considerations adduced by De Wette.

7. A judge of Paul's manner of writing, in addition to diversity in the stock of words and other things already noticed, will find much that betrays the imitator who does not write out of the living fulness of the apostolic spirit, and is unable to exhaust almost every subject he touches. Many times (1 Tim. ii. 1; iii. 15; iv. 8; 2 Tim. i. 3-5; iv. 6; compare verses 5, 7; iv. 18; iii. 9; compare verses 1, etc., 13; ii. 17) a good logical connexion is wanting. Things borrowed from Paul's letters and commonly applied badly, are found in 1 Tim. ii. 5 (compare Hebrews viii. 6; ix. 15; xii. 24) and 7; 2 Tim. i. 3, 7; ii. 20; iv. 6, etc. Even church formulas appear to have been used, 1 Tim. iii. 16; vi. 13, 15; 2 Tim. ii. 8. In 1 Tim. v. 18, the Gospel of Luke is probably quoted as *γραφή*. To the apostle's doctrine and mode of thinking are foreign, besides other things, what is said about marriage, 1 Tim. ii. 15; iv. 3; v. 14; compare iii. 14, 12; v. 10 (see on the other side 1 Cor. vii. 8, etc., 25, etc., etc.); the designation of Christ as mediator, 1 Tim. ii. 5; the self-exculpation, 1 Tim. i. 13; and the self-exaltation, 2 Tim. iv. 8.[p]

The want of a good logical connexion in several places may be admitted, without the least detriment to the epistle's authenticity. Paul was not solicitous about logical sequence. And the present epistles did not call for it. They are not doctrinal but practical. But even in the places specified, a connecting thread is not wanting. There is an association of ideas linking one thing naturally to another.

With regard to topics quite different, logical connexion should not be looked for. One is finished; another is taken up. Why should blame be attached to a writer when he passes from one

[p] Einleitung, u. s. w., sect. 155 d.

subject to another, because there is not a close coherence between them? In this case the charge is most unreasonable.

Besides, examples of similar transitions are found in Paul's acknowledged epistles. There he passes in like manner from the particular to the general, and applies general positions to individual cases. The reader has only to compare Romans i. 13-16 with verse 17; vi. 11 with the preceding context; 1 Cor. iv. 20 with the surrounding context; and vi. 11 with what goes before, to see parallels to various examples here adduced. The only exceptions which the observations now made scarcely meet, appear in 1 Tim. ii. 7; iii. 1; iii. 15; v. 17, 18, where the mode of transition is quite peculiar, so much so that Neander thinks it not Pauline. We doubt whether it can be paralleled in the apostle's epistles; but we cannot pronounce it unworthy of him, or such as he could not have written in the circumstances implied. It is certainly unusual, abrupt, remarkable.

It is difficult to perceive what the things are which have been borrowed, as is alleged, from the Pauline letters.

The first text quoted under this head is 1 Tim. ii. 5: "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." Here it is alleged by Schleiermacher, that the writer borrowed from passages in the epistle to the Hebrews. But the observation is impotent against those who believe in the Pauline authorship of the epistle to the Hebrews, and its priority of date to the present. De Wette denies the Pauline origin of the epistle to the Hebrews, and therefore adduces unwittingly the text in question under such a head as this. He follows Schleiermacher, who draws attention to the fact that the term μεσίτης (1 Tim. ii. 5) involves the idea of a covenant (διαθήκη), and is too abrupt without that idea in the context. Preparation should be made for it by the use of διαθήκη (covenant); or at least by a direct expression of the notion contained in the term *covenant*.

It must be conceded, that the apostle does not apply μεσίτης to Christ elsewhere; for in the epistle to the Galatians iii. 20 it refers to Moses. Yet we know that doctrines in harmony with the meaning of the term are taught by Paul. Does he not represent Christ as the Being who took away the moral barrier interposing between God the Father and sinners of mankind, so that they are

reconciled to God? It is He that unites offending sinners to God in a new covenant, and is the medium of gracious communications between the parties (compare Romans v. 10; 1 Cor. viii. 6; 2 Cor. v. 19, etc.; Coloss. i. 20, etc.). Thus the predicate μεσίτης corresponds with the Pauline doctrine of reconciliation taught in other epistles. No doubt an imitator of Paul's manner of writing would have avoided the word before us as likely to create suspicion because of its newness; but the apostle himself, more intent on ideas than mere terms, could adopt it without hesitation.

1 Tim. ii. 7: "Whereunto I am ordained a preacher and an apostle (I speak the truth in Christ, and lie not), a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity." Here the parenthesis is said to be borrowed from Romans ix. 1.

There is no reason why the apostle should not make use of a like expression in the two places.

2 Tim. i. 3, 7: "I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers with pure conscience," etc., etc. "For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind."

Why should not the same idea be expressed here as in the Roman epistle (viii. 15)? There is no deterioration in the manner of giving it utterance. The same remark applies to ii. 20 compared with Romans ix. 21.

2 Tim. iv. 6, etc.: "For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand," etc. Ἐγὼ . . . . σπένδομαι. According to De Wette, this expression is manifestly borrowed from the epistle to the Philippians (ii. 17), but incorrectly and obscurely, without the appropriate addition ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ, κ. τ. λ.

The act of borrowing is not at all apparent. The same verb is used in both places. That is the whole thing. But does the verb require the same appendage here as is found in Phil. ii. 17? So it is *alleged*. *Here* it is taken absolutely; *there* it has an addition to it. A copyist would probably have taken both the word and its appendage; but in the present place, the latter is omitted. In the one passage, the writer speaks of offering up his strength and life in the service of the gospel; in the other, of offering up his life simply, the cause of the gospel in which it was offered up being understood. Both expressions are appropriate in

that captivity which terminated with his life. What error or obscurity is there in the verb σπένδομαι without ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ, κ. τ. λ.? Was it needful to tell Timothy that the apostle was in the act of being sacrificed *for the gospel's sake?* Surely not.

In regard to ecclesiastical formulas or symbols having been employed in the composition of such passages as 1 Tim. iii. 16; vi. 13, 15; 2 Tim. ii. 8, *proof* in favour of the statement is greatly wanting. Something else than mere subjectivity must be furnished, before the allegation be made good.

1 Tim. iii. 16: "And without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." Here the description of *the mystery* is made up of propositions obscure and without point. Hence an external source is sought for it, either some christian hymn, or a confession of faith. From such the words are borrowed; and hence their peculiar character.

It is doubtful, whether symbols or confessions of faith existed at that early period claimed for the composition of the pastoral epistles by De Wette. If they did, the language of the verse does not resemble that of a symbol. It approaches too much to the pathetic. Perhaps the propositions belonged to some old christian hymn. This however is no argument against the Pauline authorship, unless it could be proved that no christian hymns existed so early as the apostolic age. One of the propositions is certainly obscure; but *obscurity* is not an unusual thing in Paul's epistles. The rest are plain and pertinent. Meaningless they are not. Pointless they will hardly appear to an impartial critic. Arranged in pairs as they are by Baur, one member having a Gnostic tendency, the other an antignostic one, they assume an artificial character which ill befits them; but taken singly, and understood in their natural sense, they present a brief and beautiful summary of Christ's attestation. The term ὁμολογουμένως has nothing to do with this objection, and is *not* urged by De Wette, as has been asserted.

1 Tim. vi. 13: "I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession."

This passage contains nothing which would lead to the suspicion that it was taken wholly, or in part, from church formulas. The clause *τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου* has given most offence, as pointing to an unpauline, post-apostolic period. *Pontius* was used in church creeds; and Baur gives several quotations from Ignatius and Justin in which *ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου* appears; inferring of course that the writer of the pastoral epistles borrowed from Ignatius and Justin, rather than the opposite. But the clause appears to be natural after *ὁμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν* in the preceding verse. Timothy is reminded of the good confession he had formerly made. He is encouraged to adhere to it, in prospect of imminent danger and death, by the example of Jesus Christ. The emphasis lies in the word *μαρτυρήσας*, representing Christ as the first *martyr*. The phrase *ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου* is intended to limit and explain *τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν*, so that the good confession refers mainly to John xviii. 37, etc.; Matthew xxvii. 11, etc. It is true that Paul does not speak of Pontius Pilate elsewhere; but was it not appropriate in the present connexion to speak of the testimony given before Pilate by Christ, inasmuch as it sealed His earthly fate?

2 Tim. ii. 8: "Remember that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead according to my gospel." Here Schleiermacher, followed by Baur and Schwegler, refers *τὸ εὐαγγελιόν μου* to Luke's Gospel; on which ground they find a proof of the epistle's unpauline character. But the words immediately following shew, that *the gospel* must mean *that which Paul preached*, not a written document; *wherein I suffer trouble*. Farther, *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ* is supposed to have been taken from a confession of faith current at the time of writing, because of the ellipsis *τὸν γενόμενον*, supplied in the epistle to the Romans, i. 3. Here the ellipsis is considered harsh, because the article at least is wanting before *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ* (*τὸν ἐκ, κ. τ. λ.*). The article is regarded as indispensable in such a construction; and it is therefore inferred, that the phrase was borrowed from some symbol, where the article was not because the context was different.

The Greek would certainly be better if the article were supplied. But should Paul, as a writer, be judged by rules of Greek com-

position derived from classical writers? Surely it is unreasonable to do so. He has many unusual constructions.

1 Tim. v. 18: "For the Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. And, The labourer is worthy of his reward." Here λέγει ἡ γραφὴ is applied to both clauses, the last of which is supposed to be a quotation from Luke x. 7.

But it is not necessary to suppose that λέγει ἡ γραφὴ applies to more than the words *immediately* following. It is true that the last clause has been thought by some to contain a quotation from Levit. xix. 13; Deut. xxiv. 15; but those passages are not applicable. The writer of the present epistles probably made use of a well-known proverb current in the popular tongue—a proverb which Christ himself applied in Matthew x. 10; Luke x. 7. Had a quotation from a written Gospel been intended in ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης, κ. τ. λ., it is scarcely supposable that ἡ γραφὴ would have been employed.

It has been further alleged that certain sentiments expressed in the pastoral epistles do not agree with the apostle's doctrine, or are at least unusual; such as what is said about *marriage*, 1 Tim. ii. 15; iv. 3; v. 14. Compare iii. 4, 12; v. 10 (see on the other side 1 Cor. vii. 8, etc.; 25, etc.).

The agreement of ii. 15 with iv. 3; v. 14 is apparent. But its discordance with any part of the first epistle to the Corinthians is not easily perceived. In the present passage, the writer speaks of an abuse of the female position by women appearing as teachers in the church; and points out their appropriate sphere, the rearing and educating of children at home. While he forbids a woman to assume the office of teacher in a church, limiting that duty to the man; he shews that she has a suitable province for the development of the christian virtues; and by devoting herself faithfully to its duties, the way of eternal salvation is open to her equally with man. She is therefore deprived of no positive good in being restricted to her own sphere. Even her activity is not hindered. This was directed against such as depreciated marriage, condemning it as unchristian. In the first epistle to the Corinthians, Paul wishes to prove, in opposition to the Jewish idea attaching disgrace to the unmarried state, that it is preferable under certain circumstances; though the christian is left to the freedom

of his own will in the matter. Thus the difference of circumstances accounts for the difference of manner in which he speaks of a single life. In the two epistles he has different parties in view, whose sentiments he opposes. But it is from the narrow idea of *merit* or *reward* assigned to the verb σωζέσθαι by De Wette, that he chiefly seeks to make out contrariety between the present passage, and others in the Corinthian epistle. The term τεκνογονία should not be confined to the *mere bearing of children.* It embraces the duties belonging to the wife, presupposing the performance of them in the christian spirit. She has a sphere open to her for the exercise of her christian virtues and teaching abilities, whereby she is put in the way of eternal salvation as well as the man. In the Corinthian epistle, Paul had another object in view; and hence he recommends celibacy under peculiar circumstances. Here, in opposition to a false asceticism, he points out the holy significance of the married state.

1 Tim. ii. 15. This passage has been already noticed; and the appellation *mediator* applied to Christ, vindicated from the charge of being *unpauline.*

1 Tim. i. 13: "Who was before a blasphemer and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." Here Schleiermacher dwells on Paul's self-excusement in contrast with his wonderful self-inculpation. It is thought that the two sides of the picture, or the two compartments of his life, are *overdrawn.*

There are passages in Paul's writings where he speaks in a similar way of his hostility to the gospel, and the mercy he obtained notwithstanding. (Compare Galat. i. 13, etc.; 1 Cor. xv. 9, etc.). The parallelism is obvious. There is no difference of sentiment between them and the present. The only thing likely to create perplexity in the minds of some is a clause which to the German critics presents nothing offensive; viz. "*because I did it ignorantly in unbelief.*" Paul obtained mercy because he acted ignorantly and in unbelief. Not that his ignorance and want of belief were *the sole reason* why God shewed him compassion; but that they were *a reason.* They made him a more likely subject for obtaining mercy. Acting in ignorance, and believing himself right, he was more likely to receive forgiveness.

His guilt was less because of his ignorance. This explanation is agreeable to Luke xii. 48 and xxiii. 34, especially the latter—"forgive them, *for* they know not what they do;" where, though the conjunction be different in the original, it bears the same *causal* sense.

The *self-exaltation* said to be in 2 Tim. iv. 8 is not remarkable. It should excite no surprise. In the near prospect of death, to state that he had fought the good fight of faith, and looked forward to the crown of life promised by the Lord to all whom He had called by his grace, is perfectly consistent with the apostle's humility.

"When he wrote the epistle to the Philippians, and the end of his earthly course was not yet in sight, he said, referring to the defects and infirmities of which he was conscious as a man, that he was far from believing that he had already attained his aim—perfection; but that he was continually striving after that aim, if he might attain that for which he was called by Christ (Philip. iii. 12). But when he now saw himself really at the end of his course; when he now looked back on that course with the prospect of approaching martyrdom, and by the strength of the Lord had remained faithful under all his conflicts hitherto, and since he was animated by the confident persuasion that by the same power he would be brought forth victorious from the conflicts that still awaited him—at this critical moment, resting alone on the divine promise, all uncertainty vanished from his soul, and he could say of himself with confidence, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness."[q]

8. The repeated enforcement of the *sound, faithful doctrine* received from the apostles (Titus i. 9, 14; ii. 1, 7, 15; iii. 8, etc.; 2 Tim. i. 13; ii. 2, 11, 14, etc.; iii. 10, 14, etc.; iv. 1, etc.; 1 Tim. i. 3, etc.; iii. 15, etc.; iv. 6, etc.; 12, etc.; vi. 3, etc., 12, 20) and the directions tending to the establishment and development of the hierarchy (Titus i. 5, etc.; 1 Tim. iii. 1, etc.; v. 17-19) serve, in harmony with the procedure of the catholic church against such movements as threatened danger to its unity, to promote the

[q] Neander's Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w. Volume I. pp. 549, 550.

prominent object which appears in the first epistle to Timothy especially, viz. to combat the errors of Gnosticism.[r]

Into the dissection of this paragraph, which is the condensation of two in the Exegetical Handbook, it is not needful to enter at length. We have quoted it for the purpose of making a few general remarks on the object with which the pastoral epistles were written. Perhaps, too, the remarks will furnish a reply to anything found in the paragraph which may be thought favourable to the alleged suppositititousness of the letters. Right-thinking men will not perceive much in it which contributes to the conclusion sought for by the learned critic.

We doubt whether the writer of the pastoral epistles had one common, leading purpose in his mind, which gave rise to the letters before us. A variety of topics is touched on in each. The author meant to address counsels, exhortations, and warnings, to Timothy and Titus, in certain situations. *One* prominent object can hardly be derived from the epistles themselves. The great fault of German critics is, that they seek out for such an object in the New Testament books; and when they fancy they have discovered it, they constitute it an artificial rule or measure by which they look at the contents of the books generally. Around and in due connexion with this object, they think that the materials should be distributed. They try all parts of the books by it as a gauge. In the present instance, a polemical purpose against certain heretics, is thought to be the one, common, primary scope of all three letters; a position which cannot be maintained without liability to the charge of one-sidedness. Why should that one portion of the epistles relating to the false teachers be exalted into an importance like this? Other portions might be taken, with equal plausibility, to fill the same office. It is not longer than some others. It is less distinct and definite. The apostle warns Timothy and Titus against false teachers, he exhorts them to maintain the faith pure and uncorrupted; but he gives them instructions relating to various subjects. When we look at the pastoral epistles *throughout*, examining their miscellaneous contents, it seems arbitrary to affirm that *any one thing* formed the leading or primary purpose for which they were written. The

[r] Einleitung, u. s. w., section 156.

writer speaks of various things connected with the churches superintended by the two evangelists, as well as of their own personal deportment. It is therefore most probable, that he meant to counsel and instruct them regarding a number of particulars, all which he had in his mind when he began to write, or which were partly suggested by one another. It is not easy to prove, that some one thing was uppermost in his thoughts, giving rise to the respective epistles, and moulding the distribution of other particulars in them. The connexion subsisting between the apostle and his two friends, with a comprehensive survey of the compositions themselves, favours the notion that Paul was prompted to address them with the affectionate solicitude of a parent, on a variety of topics suited to their ecclesiastical relations.

And even if it were true that *some one* of the topics glanced at in the epistles formed the main ground for writing, it is quite improbable that the others were intended to be arranged in due subordination to it. It is preposterous to look for a logical connexion of all the parts. An aged father speaking to his children of things relating to their conduct in public and private, seldom studies method. He speaks from the fulness of the heart. His feelings flow forth in unartificial language. With a simplicity of method he heeds not the condensation of logic. He is not careful to avoid repetition. He is prone to digression. The nature of his practical address is unconstrained. To scan it minutely by human rules, as if it should be laid out skilfully or scientifically, in the manner of modern authors, is to mistake the real state of the case. It is the transference of modern method to a period from which it is alien, at least the *sacred* department of that period.

'These remarks may serve to dissipate anything in the paragraph likely to prove adverse to the epistles' authenticity. How does the critic know so accurately the leading object? It is not very conspicuous. He admits, that the picture drawn of the errorists is indistinct. It does not occupy much space in any one of the epistles. It is *plain* to him that opposition to Gnosticism forms the leading object of all three, *because* it is desirable to bring down their composition to a time when Gnosticism assumed a more definite shape than it had during the apostolic age.

Again, it is quite true that the catholic church strengthened itself against Gnosticism as the pernicious tendency of the latter appeared, by holding forth the doctrine delivered by the apostles, and building up the hierarchy more firmly. But our epistles do the same thing in a manner no more than *slightly* analogous. And though the analogy were *close*, it would not necessarily follow that the epistles were written at the close of the first century, when Gnosticism began to assume something approaching to a system. Wherever and whenever false doctrine appears, it is natural to hold up the true, sound, apostolic doctrine. *That* is the way to repress and refute the false. The writer of the pastoral epistles speaks not merely of *present* but of *future* corruptions, and hence there is more frequent mention of the evangelical doctrine.

In relation to the *hierarchy*, the mode in which the catholic church sought protection against Gnosticism at the commencement of the second century, by establishing the hierarchy more firmly, is very different from that inculcated in the epistles. Soon after the apostolic age, the episcopo-monarchical principle began to shew itself. Ecclesiastical republics ruled over by a college of presbyters with a president at their head, drew themselves more closely together; and the presidents obtained a growing power. There was a striving after outward unity. But hierarchical principles appear in the present epistles only so far as the writer gives copious instructions respecting elders, deacons, and other office-bearers. He lays no more stress on elders belonging to churches, than what he had done before: no additional power is assigned to them; the later *priestly* idea does not appear. He has certainly more about the qualifications of elders and deacons, and may therefore *seem* to lay stress on them; but his writing about them just in this manner to Timothy and Titus is in perfect keeping with what Paul had done before. In his epistles, the apostle generally wrote to churches which had officers; and it would have been absurd to write to them about the proper method of choosing officers. Besides, those churches had seen the principle on which the apostle had appointed elders himself, or sanctioned their election by others. But here the writer, presupposing him to have been Paul, gives directions to persons intrusted with the oversight of churches, respecting the proper persons to be elected

to church-offices—directions intended for all times. Thus in the pastoral epistles nothing more is enjoined than what had been already in operation. Elders are to teach and govern, just as they had done in other churches. They are to teach the truth, and to provide for the perpetuation of their office in all christian societies.

The weakness of the cause espoused by the opponents of the authenticity appears in a striking light, as soon as they venture to give an opinion respecting the time and circumstances in which the epistles were written. When they leave the negative ground, which they generally occupy without proceeding farther, and advance to the positive, the desperateness of their cause is at once apparent. Most conspicuous is it in the case of Baur, who dates their origin after the middle of the second century. He supposes that they were written against Marcion and other Gnostics. But the grounds on which he bases this hypothesis are weak and worthless. The references to Marcion and his system, which he discovers or fancies he discovers in the epistles, exist only in his own imagination. Thus the twentieth verse of the sixth chapter of the first epistle to Timothy, is greatly relied on by him. The term *ἀντιθέσεις*, in particular, is pronounced to be nothing else than the antitheses in Marcion's system between *law* and *gospel*. But what lies against the idea of the word being used in its simple, original signification, and not technically involving an express reference to Gnosticism, or as a symbol of Marcion's creed? There is no necessity for going beyond its plain meaning—no good reason for asserting that it was selected with a view to a particular system. We hold it more natural to understand it of *antagonism* to the truth; *positions* opposed to sound doctrine; *principles* founded on a false philosophy, in contradiction to the pure, evangelical faith. The same writer speaks in 2 Tim. ii. 25 of such as *oppose themselves* (*οἱ ἀντιδιατιθεμένοι*); and in the present place he speaks of *ἀντιθέσεις*. The former are the *persons* opposing the gospel: the latter, the doctrinal positions by which they are known as opponents. The coincidence of the term *ἀντιθέσεις* with the Marcionite *ἀντιθέσεις* seems to be purely accidental. It is an historical fact, that the antithesis of law and gospel constituted a prominent feature in Marcion's creed; but it is by no means demonstrable that the term was chosen with express allu-

sion to the technical word descriptive of that creed. Indeed it is *certain* that Marcion and his *antitheses* cannot be meant by the writer of the epistle to Timothy, because the false teachers were desirous of being *νομοδιδάσκαλοι* (i. 7), *teachers of the law.* Marcion and his followers were the very reverse of this. If they opposed and decried the law, exalting the gospel at its expense, the epithet *νομοδιδάσκαλοι* would have been inapplicable to them. They were not *teachers* or expounders of the law, but *opponents* of it; nor could they wish to be designated by an appellation descriptive of the belief they were *opposed to*, rather than of what *they held.* Nothing therefore can be more unnatural than Baur's explanation of *νομοδιδάσκαλοι*, *teachers of the law*, that is, as he interprets, such as had the law always in their mouth, but not for the sake of upholding it as the depository of divine doctrine, but to oppose it.[8]

It is no wonder that De Wette refuses to follow Baur in his extravagant aberration. The external evidence in favour of the existence of these epistles at an earlier time, demonstrates the baselessness of the Tübingen hypothesis. It cannot be set aside by subjective caprice. Those ancient testimonies must ever furnish irresistible documentary evidence against Baur. It is utterly impossible that the epistles could have been forged at that time, and palmed successfully on the christians both of the east and west. There was none capable of performing so marvellous a task with such triumphant success. For one to have done so and remained in perpetual obscurity, was impossible.

If, on the other hand, we refer their composition, with De Wette, to the end of the first century, the case is not improved. We lose indeed the benefit of most of the external testimonies which tell irresistibly against the Tübingen hallucination; but, even allowing De Wette the advantage arising from a denial of Polycarp's testimony, it is all but impossible that the epistles could have been written then, in the deceased apostle's name, and been uniformly received as such. The apostle John died about that time; but many of his disciples were alive. The church at Ephesus, where he chiefly ministered, was doubtless well acquainted with Paul's writings. Many living at the end of the

[8] See Böttger, Beiträge, v., pp. 120 et seqq.

first century must have seen the apostle Paul, and Timothy his spiritual son. All his converts were not dead. Not a few were in Asia Minor and in Crete. How then could another, without discovery, have written these epistles, and pushed them into circulation as authentic, either at Ephesus or in Asia Minor generally; especially as the writer of them speaks of Timothy being left at Ephesus? The very fact that the letters are embarrassed with historical difficulties, favours their authenticity. No forger could have ventured to write them, with the knowledge that they could not be easily inserted in the known history of Paul's life. Doubtless he would have made them much easier of insertion. And the circumstance of the errorists being described in a few general traits, without the presentation of a distinct, full-orbed portrait, shews not only that Timothy and Titus needed no minute description, but also that the doctrines propounded by the false teachers had not assumed a shape so definite as Gnosticism began to have at the beginning of the second century. Had a regular development of false gnosis proceeded so far as we know it must have done at that time, one writing in the midst of it would have noticed it in a different manner. We gather from the epistles, with tolerable certainty, that the elements of Gnosticism had not been compacted and carried out to their legitimate extent; else the apostle need not have warned Timothy so much against the tendency and future consequences of those principles. In that case the counsels he gives would have been well nigh superfluous. At the close of the first century, the tendency was direct and unmistakeable. False teachers had carried their injurious opinions to a greater length.

According to De Wette, the writer was a disciple of Paul, directly or indirectly.

Now it is utterly impossible that he could have been the apostle's *immediate* disciple. None who had been instructed by such a master, and continued faithful to his principles, would have ventured to write in Paul's name, were his intention ever so good. If he had dared to do so, other disciples of the apostle would have suspected or John himself exposed the fraud. But, indeed, the reverence felt for Paul, especially after his death, was too strong in the minds of his immediate disciples to allow of such an attempt.

Could one who was Paul's disciple *indirectly*, have undertaken such a task? This is equally improbable. He also entertained too great a respect for the memory of such a man to write in his name, though the purpose may have been laudable.

Supposing, however, such an one to have written the three epistles, let us see how he proceeded. He wrote the epistle to Titus, then the present second epistle to Timothy, and lastly the present first epistle to the same person. Such is the order commonly assigned to the three by the impugners of their authenticity. But the sceptical critics tell us that the second epistle to Timothy is better written than the first, and also that its contents agree much better with the writer's object than the contents of the latter. Here it is implied, that the author got worse the more he wrote. The last of the three is inferior to the rest, and contains a palpable mistake (i. 20). Is not this a remarkable phenomenon? He succeeded admirably in the first two; though he satisfied himself with a few vague, obscure hints against the coming corruptions of doctrine; but in the last, which he undertook from the supposed necessity of doing more, he degenerated in style, and fell into an historical error. And yet he did not repeat in the (present) first epistle to Timothy what he wrote in the (present) second; nor, though he speaks at the close of the latter of his death being at hand, does he make the slightest allusion in the former to the amelioration of his condition, out of which another epistle arose. He never thinks of the serious stumbling-block to many readers, contained in first addressing to Timothy the words—"I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand," and in afterwards writing to the same: "These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly."

The three epistles were either sent forth *together*, or *successively*. If he issued them all at once, the fact of three new letters simultaneously appearing excited not the least suspicion of their post-apostolic character in the minds of catholic christians. Striking as must have been the appearance of all three at once, it raised no surprise. They were quietly accepted as documents written by Paul. *Why* or *how* they had lain unknown from Paul's death till the period in which they were written, *i.e.* for about thirty years, none inquired or cared. Who can believe improbable things like these?

Or, he sent forth the epistles *successively*. They went out of his hands one after another. The first excited no particular attention. No suspicion was awakened by its appearance. By and by another of the same kind was issued. Neither did *its* novelty draw the eyes of catholic christians towards it. The concealed writer, however, was not yet satisfied. He had been successful in both instances; but still he was prompted to write a third time. He did so. His composition was now inferior; and he made one palpable error. Still the slumbering christians were not awakened. They received the last epistle equally with the first. Who can believe these improbabilities?

Why should the unknown author have composed three works for the same purpose? Was one not sufficient? *Could he not have written one so that it alone would have been sufficient* for the object he had in view? Doubtless he could have done so, had he such powers as the sceptical critics must attribute to him. But he wrote *three* instead of *one;* and increased the chance of being detected threefold. It was certainly a matter of great difficulty to write in Paul's manner, and he must have felt this; but with a full consciousness of it, he laid himself open to detection not only once, but three times. Would he have done so? Certainly not, when we look at the *similarity* of the three letters. Had they treated of *different* subjects, it is just possible to conceive that he would have ventured to write thrice; but, as all are substantially alike, it is impossible to conceive of him writing three separate epistles with one and the same object. He increased in that case the chances of defeating his own purpose. Having been successful once, why should he have incurred the hazard of ruining all by adding a second and a third?

Is it not remarkable, too, that the epistles exhibit no trace of the distinction between *presbyters* and *bishops* which began to be developed soon after the apostolic age? The superiority of the bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) to the presbyter (πρεσβύτερος) was certainly in the act of advancing at the time De Wette supposes the author to have lived. Yet the perfect identity of both offices, an identity peculiar to the apostolic period, is found in the epistles.

It may be said in explanation of this, that the author was able to express Paul's sentiments in Paul's manner without betraying

his own age. But is the clear-headed sagacity which never allowed this trait to peep forth, consistent with the palpable error committed in 1 Tim. i. 20? Is it consistent moreover with the character attributed to him by De Wette, viz. that he was unable to exhaust almost every topic he touched, and was ever turning aside, leaving the main object, which led him to write, for subordinate matters? When we attempt to draw a portrait of the fancied author, we find an unaccountable mixture of mental weakness and ability. It is apparent (so it is alleged) that he was an *imitator;* and yet he possessed talents which recommended his writings as the authentic productions of Paul, not only to the christians of his own time, but to those of succeeding generations, so that no shrewd critic dreamt of the truth for seventeen hundred years. He has sentiments unpauline—words new and unusual—and yet his productions as a whole are so like the apostle's that very few who examine them can detect diversity of authorship. There are sufficient indications of the epistles' post-apostolic origin; yet Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and such like, were blind to their apocryphal character. What singular abilities the author must have had! He could not write the letters without leaving in them various unmistakeable traces of their post-pauline rank; and at the same time, that post-pauline character was so obscure as not to be detected till recently. He made them *so like* Paul's that they escaped the notice of almost all christians, including most sagacious critics in ancient and modern times;—he left them *so unlike* Paul's that a few recent investigators see plainly that they were not written by the apostle himself. The earliest apocryphal writings uniformly evince the feebleness of the authors from whom they proceeded. They are clumsily executed, so as to bear their own origin on the face of them. Their *unapostolic* tone and manner strike every one immediately. Here, however, the case is different. It is a rare exception. The writer had a very difficult task, because he had no precedent in letters addressed by Paul to *evangelists.* He was therefore obliged to assume a difference of tone suited to the altered circumstances. His originality was severely tested, and yet it proved such as to elude the notice of the entire orthodox church of that day.

To sum up the whole case: External evidence in favour of the

authenticity is convincing and satisfactory of itself. Internal evidence accords with it; for it is not denied by De Wette that the language and mode of writing bear a close resemblance to Paul's. Every one sees that they are substantially in the apostle's manner; so that Eichhorn—no mean judge of style—thought they were written by a disciple of Paul; and Schott, by Luke his companion. As to the alleged internal evidence *against* the authenticity, or, in other words, *opposed to the external*, it cannot be put in the scale against the latter. It is of little weight on the other side, being often founded on misconception, and oftener captious. What does the alleged proof of their being composed by an imitator amount to? Does it not amount to this, that there are diversities of diction between them and other Pauline letters—that the writer is less doctrinal and more practical—that there is less of formal arrangement than in most others—that he speaks more of himself, or at least of the personal conduct of the individuals addressed—more of a certain class of errors which should prevail in the churches of Crete, Ephesus, and Asia Minor generally, than he had done in any other place. In short, there is *such* diversity as frequently happens in the case of the same writer, who in different circumstances, addressing different persons, and with different ends in view, necessarily varies his mode of writing to suit the alteration of circumstances. That the diversity in question is such as to demonstrate *difference of authorship*, may be *asserted*, but cannot be proved; for an insoluble problem arises, *when* and *in what circumstances* after the apostolic period, did an unknown writer forge these letters in Paul's name, and succeed in commending them to the faith of the primitive christians, the disciples and companions of apostles? How could he effect this object? Did he put them all into a mesmeric sleep, so that they admitted the epistles as divine, without hesitation? They did not adopt into their canon in this easy way several others, such as that to the Hebrews, the second of Peter, Jude, etc., a fact shewing that they were wide awake. And yet, though they hesitated about several authentic productions, they closed their eyes, and implicitly adopted these pastoral epistles which came upon them of a sudden. *Credat Judaeus Apella.*

EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

In discussing this epistle we purpose to consider:—

I. The Person to whom it was addressed.
II. The Occasion of it.
III. The Time and Place of its writing.
IV. Its Authenticity.
V. Contents.

I. *The person to whom it was addressed.*

Philemon was a person of worth and distinction in the church at Colosse (Coloss. iv. 9), distinguished for his christian activity as well as his hospitality to the brethren, especially to evangelists (Philemon, verses 6, 7). It is now impossible to discover the particular position he occupied among the believers at Colosse. The apostle styles him his *fellow-labourer* (συνεργῷ), an appellation which has led many to suppose that he filled an *office* in the church. But what that office was, the indefinite expression *fellow-labourer* does not indicate. Grotius thought he was an elder in Ephesus, but that view is inadmissible. If he were an office-bearer at all, he must have been one of the elders in the Colossian church, or at least one of the deacons, as Michaelis conjectures. But the title is not necessarily indicative of office. It may denote any kind of labour in the cause of the gospel along with the apostles. Perhaps it is better to assume, that he was not an elder, since Paul would probably have styled him such in a letter like the present, and he would have known his duty too well to have needed so pressing an invitation to receive a penitent. Ecclesiastical tradition makes him bishop at Colosse (Constitutt. Apostol. vii. 46), and a martyr in Rome under Nero. But according to Pseudo-Dorotheus he was bishop of Gaza. Theodoret says of his house that it was still standing in the fifth century. That house,

according to Michaelis, was a spacious one, because in it a part of the christian community assembled, and also travelling christians were entertained. Others, however, have inferred, that his premises were not very extensive, from the apostle's direction to prepare him a lodging in a hired house in the city, where he might receive all who came to him. But this rests on an uncertain exposition, because the lodging place which Philemon is requested to prepare may have been in his own premises, not elsewhere in the city. It is probable that he was a man of substance in the place.

The nineteenth verse implies, that he had been converted to christianity by the apostle, perhaps at Ephesus, for there is no evidence to shew that Paul was ever at Colosse, or planted in person the church there. Epaphras has the best title to be considered its founder. Benson[t] argues, that Philemon received the gospel from some of the apostle's converts or assistants, such as Timothy, or some of the persons mentioned in Coloss. iv. 10, etc., and Philemon, verse 23, etc. In this way his conversion would have been owing *indirectly* to the apostle. But the expressions in the nineteenth verse are too strong for this explanation. If some of the Colossians went to Ephesus and heard Paul preach there, why could not Philemon have been one of their number? Because, says Benson, the apostle writes in the fifth verse, he had *heard* only of Philemon's faith in Christ, which was the phrase employed when he wrote to christians he had never seen, Ephes. i. 15; iii. 2, etc.; Coloss. i. 4; ii. 1. This reasoning is nugatory, because the very passages referred to in the Ephesian letter prove the opposite of what they are adduced to support. Paul had been at Ephesus for a long time, and knew the christians there. The word *heard* applied to the faith of the christians addressed, proves nothing either for or against the idea of the writer's *seeing* them.

Philemon had *a church in his house*, not consisting, as some suppose, merely of the members of his own family, but of believers. All the disciples at Colosse did not ordinarily assemble in his habitation. A few of them met in his premises, to whom he probably imparted instruction in religious things.[u]

[t] Paraphrase on the epistle to Philemon, p. 338.

[u] See the thirteenth Congregational Lecture, p. 100.

According to Wieseler, Philemon belonged to Laodicea, not to Colosse. But this opinion is untenable, as we have seen already.[v]

In connexion with Philemon is mentioned Archippus, the same person spoken of in the epistle to the Colossians (iv. 17), but whose position or office is quite uncertain. Many think he was Philemon's son, such as Eichhorn, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Olshausen. Apphia may have been the wife of Philemon, as several of the fathers thought.[w] All these appear to have been connected by family ties, or to have belonged to the same little circle termed *the church in the house;* else Apphia and Archippus would not have been introduced into a private letter addressed to Philemon.

Onesimus, the slave of Philemon, has been metamorphosed by ecclesiastical tradition into bishop of Beroea in Macedonia (Constitutt. Apost. vii. 46). He is said to have died a martyr's death at Rome. Others identified him with Onesimus bishop of Ephesus, spoken of by Ignatius;[x] but this is improbable.

II. *The occasion of it.*

Onesimus, a slave, had run away from his master, Philemon, at Colosse in Phrygia, fearing punishment for some crime he had committed, or act of disobedience of which he had been guilty. Some think he had robbed his master (verses 11, 18). This is not certain, though probable. The words of the eighteenth verse, in which ἠδίκησε is explained by ὀφείλει, seem to refer to *theft, something taken from* Philemon. Others, as Bertholdt,[y] suppose, that Onesimus had been idle, averse to work; and that therefore he had run away. In this case the loss of his service only is spoken of in the eighteenth verse: "if he hath wronged thee or oweth thee ought." Considering however the delicate nature of the language employed in the epistle, the terms of the eighteenth verse are too strong for mere *loss of service.* We would not impute crimes to men without proof; but neither would we willingly excuse and smooth away their misdeeds. The language appears to us to denote some act of theft which Onesimus had committed.

At Rome, Onesimus had come in contact with Paul, then a

[v] Introduction, vol. ii., p. 138.
[w] See Hagenbach on ver. 2, p. 9.
[x] Ad Ephes. 1.
[y] Einleitung. vol. vi., p. 3634.

prisoner, and had been converted to the faith of the gospel. "After his conversion," says Macknight, "he abode with the apostle and served him with the greatest assiduity and affection. But being sensible of his fault in running away from his master, he wished to repair that injury by returning to him. At the same time being afraid, that on his return, his master would inflict on him the punishment, which, by the law or custom of Phrygia was due to a fugitive slave, and which, as Grotius says, he could inflict without applying to any magistrate, he besought the apostle to write to Philemon, requesting him to forgive and receive him again into his family."[z] All this is gratuitous assumption. We are not to infer from the single adjective εὔχρηστος (verse 11), that he had rendered the apostle special service after his conversion. This might be plausibly adduced, had the words stood ἐμοὶ εὔχρηστον, instead of σοι καὶ ἐμοὶ εὔχρηστον. All that is implied in the expression is, that by his conversion he had become *serviceable* (εὔχρηστος) both to Philemon and Paul.[a]

Macknight justly observes, that it is unnecessary to suppose with some, that Philemon was keen and obstinate in his resentments, to account for the solicitude shewn in this affair by the apostle. As far as we can gather from the letter, Philemon's disposition was benevolent and grateful. But there is no ground for believing, with the same commentator, that Philemon had a number of slaves, on whom the pardoning of Onesimus too easily might have had a bad effect. The entreaty addressed to Philemon is accounted for by the fact, that the slave had robbed his master; a crime visited with severe punishment in Phrygia at that time.

When the apostle despatched Tychicus to Colosse with a letter to the believers there, and another to the believers at Ephesus, he took the opportunity of sending Onesimus back to his master with the present epistle, recommending him to his friendship and confidence.

III. *The time and place of its writing.*

The time and place are already determined by the epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians. Paul was a prisoner

[z] Preface to Philemon, sect. 2. [a] See De Wette and Meyer.

at Rome, as we have seen,[b] not at Caesarea. Sending Tychicus to Colosse and Ephesus with the Colossian and Ephesian letters, Onesimus had charge of this one to his former master, and travelled in company with Tychicus. Hence it should be dated A. D. 62. We arrange the four generally assigned to Paul's (first) imprisonment at Rome in the following order: Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians.

IV. *Its authenticity.*

The authenticity of our epistle was never questioned till Baur recently ventured to throw out doubts against it.[c]

The supposed allusions to it in Ignatius we omit as worthless.[d] It cannot be shewn with any probability that they point to the twentieth verse.

Tertullian is the earliest writer who speaks expressly of it; for Irenaeus when mentioning Paul's epistles does not notice it, nor does Clement of Alexandria.

" Soli huic epistolae brevitas sua profuit, ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. Miror tamen cum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit."[e]

" This epistle alone has had an advantage from its brevity, for by this it has escaped the falsifying hands of Marcion. Nevertheless, I wonder, that when he receives one epistle to one man, he should reject two to Timothy and one to Titus, which treat of the government of the church."

Here it is testified by Tertullian, that Marcion received it into his canon. Epiphanius[f] asserts the same thing.

The epistle is included in the canon of Muratori.[g] Origen thus speaks of it : "*Ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἐπιστάμενος, ἔλεγεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φιλήμονα ἐπιστολῇ τῷ Φιλήμονι περὶ τοῦ Ὀνησίμου, κ. τ. λ.*"[h] " Which Paul being aware of, in the epistle to Philemon said to Philemon about Onesimus," etc., etc.

[b] Introduction, vol. ii., p. 361, et seq.

[c] Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi, pp. 475 - 480.

[d] See Ad Ephes. c. 2. Ad Magnes. c. 12. Ad Polycarp. c. 6.

[e] Advers. Marcion. v. 42.

[f] Advers. Haeres. 42, 9. See Credner's Zur Geschichte des Kanons, p. 76.

[h] Homil. in Jerem. 19.

" Sicut Paulus ad Philemona dicit: ' Gaudium enim magnum habuimus, et consolationem in charitate tua, quia viscera sanctorum requieverunt per te, frater.' "[i]

" As Paul says to Philemon: ' We have great joy and consolation in thy love, because the bowels of the saints are refreshed by thee, brother " (verse 7).

" De Paulo autem dictum est ad Philemona: ' hunc autem ut Paulus senex ' cum esset adolescentulus quando Stephanus pro Christi testimonio lapidabatur, et ipse vestimenta servabat interficientium eum."[k]

" Concerning Paul it was said to Philemon: ' being such an one as Paul the aged,' since he was a young man when Stephen was stoned for the testimony of Christ, and he kept the garments of them that slew him " (verse 9).

So also Eusebius includes it in his canon.[l] Jerome comments on the epistle, and alludes to some who either rejected it, or made objections to it. But he answers the objections, affirming that it had been always received by all the churches in the world.[m]

After these testimonies, and the unanimous reception of the epistle as Paul's by modern critics, it is superfluous to allude to Baur's scepticism respecting it. Denying that we possess *any* epistle written by the apostle in his imprisonment, he must consistently reject the present. He finds in it *the embryo of a christian romance*, like the Clementine homilies.

V. *Contents.*

The apostle states the circumstances of the case to Philemon, and entreats him to receive his servant again; though not now as a slave, but as a christian brother. It is a friendly epistle, not a doctrinal or didactic one. It exhibits no distinctive doctrine, or practical exhortations. It relates simply to a private, personal matter between Philemon and his slave. But though it be of little importance as a public document presenting christian truth

[i] Comment. in Matth. tract. 34.

[k] Ibid. tract. 33.

[l] H. E. iii. cap. 25.

[m] Comment. in Epist. ad Philem. Prooem. Opp. ed. Benedict. vol. iv., p. 442. Or, Kirchhofer's Quellensammlung, pp. 206, 207.

of history, it is not devoid of utility or practical application. It serves as a practical commentary on Coloss. iv. 6, placing the apostle's character in a light which none other of his writings exhibits. The qualities which dictated its composition, and appear throughout it, are eminently attractive and amiable. Dignity, generosity, prudence, friendship, affection, politeness, skilful address, purity, are apparent. Hence it has been termed, with great propriety, *the polite epistle.* True delicacy, fine address, consummate courtesy, nice strokes of rhetoric, render the letter a unique specimen of the epistolary style. It shews the perfect christian gentleman.

Doddridge has compared it with an epistle of Pliny supposed to have been written on a similar occasion, and has justly pronounced it far superior as a human composition, though antiquity furnishes no example of the epistolary style equal to that of the younger Pliny to Sabinian.[n]

The first three verses contain the dedication and salutation. After this, he thanks God on account of what he had heard of Philemon's faith and love toward the Lord Jesus and all saints, expressing his great joy that he had behaved in so generous and hospitable a manner to all christians. After this introduction (verses 4-7), the proper subject of the letter follows at the eighth verse, and is continued till the twenty-first. As an apostle of Christ he might have enjoined on Philemon what christian principles required in respect to Onesimus; but he rather chooses as the aged prisoner of Christ, to beseech him to receive his beloved son Onesimus, whom he had converted to christianity during his confinement. He confesses Onesimus had formerly behaved improperly, but now he was quite a different person. He might have been disposed to retain him for the purpose of ministering to himself in place of Philemon, but is unwilling to do anything without Philemon's consent. The providence of God had converted his short departure into the means of his reformation, that his master might receive him for ever, not now as a slave, but as a christian brother. He therefore entreats Philemon to receive him as a beloved brother, or as he would have received the apostle himself, who promises to pay or requite his master for any wrong Onesimus

[n] Epistolar. lib. ix. 21.

had done him, provided Philemon, who owed himself to the apostle, should require it. He is confident, however, that Philemon would even do more than the thing requested. The last four verses (22-25) form the conclusion, in which the writer desires Philemon to provide him a lodging, as hoping he should be set at liberty. He sends salutations from several of his fellow-labourers, and wishes Philemon the rich communication and continual presence of the favour of Jesus Christ.

From the nineteenth verse it appears, that the apostle wrote the letter with his own hand, to make the effect certain. It has been inferred indeed from this verse by Bertholdt, that he did not write the preceding part of the letter with his own hand, because such expressions as, "I Paul have written it with mine own hand," would not have been necessary if Philemon had seen that Paul had written the letter from the commencement.[o] But this implies that Philemon knew Paul's hand-writing; whereas, it may be fairly inferred from the apostle's words that he did *not* know it. In so short an epistle, it is not at all probable that he wrote merely from the nineteenth verse to the end with his own hand, but rather the whole.[p]

It belongs to the commentator, not the critic, to point out *the uses* of this epistle. These have been specified by Chrysostom in ancient times, as well as by Benson, Macknight, and others in modern, whose observations might easily be improved and corrected. Nor does it fall within our province to discuss the bearing of the epistle on the agitated question of slavery. In a country like America, where slavery extensively exists, such a view must force itself on the attention of those who study the epistle. Hence American writers dilate on that topic in connexion with it. It is of no use to assert, that the Greek word δοῦλος does not necessarily mean *a slave*. There is *no positive evidence*, it is said, that Onesimus was a slave at all. That is not certain. It cannot be made to be certain.[q] Language like this shews the special pleader, rather than the fair expositor. There is *all the evidence that the nature of the case admits* to prove that δοῦλος here applied to Onesimus

[o] Einleitung, vol. vi. p. 3636. [p] See Hemsen, Der Apostel Paulus, p. 663.
[q] Barnes's notes on the epistle to Philemon.

means a slave; and analogous cases in other epistles confirm the signification.

We have previously adverted[r] to the opinion advocated by Wieseler, and approved by Thiersch,[s] viz. that the epistle to the Laodiceans mentioned in Coloss. iv. 16, is identical with our epistle to Philemon. It rests in part on things *assumed* not *proved*, such as, that our epistle was not addressed to Philemon alone but to Archippus also; and that they belonged to Laodicea, not Colosse. Nothing appears to us more certain, than that both belonged to the christian community at Colosse.

[r] Introduction, vol. ii. p. 136, et seqq.

[s] Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpuncts für die Kritik der neutestamentl. Schriften, p. 424, note 46.

EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

In treating of this epistle the following topics suggest themselves for examination:—

I. Its Authorship.
II. Its Canonical Authority.
III. The Persons to whom it was first addressed.
IV. The Time and Place of writing.
V. Its Original Language.
VI. Integrity and Genuineness.
VII. Occasion and Scope.
VIII. Its Contents.

I. *Its authorship.*

The epistle to the Hebrews has been assigned to various authors. Critics in ancient and modern times are not agreed about it. In the first five centuries of the christian era, unanimity of opinion respecting the writer of it did not exist; and since the Reformation, similar diversity of sentiment has reappeared. It has been attributed to Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Luke, Silas or Silvanus, Apollos, and Paul. A *glance* at all these hypotheses, with the exception of the last, must suffice.

In early times, some regarded Clement as nothing more than *the translator* or *interpreter* of the epistle. But others considered him the proper author, as we learn from Origen and Philastrius. Erasmus[t] and Patrick Young (Patricius Junius), who first edited Clement's epistle to the Corinthians from the Alexandrine MS., etc., adopted the latter opinion. Few critics, however, can seriously believe, that the epistle before us was written by Clement. It is true that there is a great agreement between it and Clement's epistle to the Corinthians in many places. Even

[t] Adnotatt. in N. T. p. 517.

of verbal correspondences there are not a few. But this circumstance proves no more than that Clement was familiar with Paul's epistles including the one addressed to the Hebrews, so that he naturally and readily interwove their ideas and expressions with his own composition. Clement borrowed from our epistle. In regard to language, the epistle to the Corinthians is tolerably pure and correct; but it differs from that of our epistle in its unperiodic, unrhetorical character. It is entirely practical in tone. No distinctive doctrine of christianity is contained in it. On the contrary, there is a speculative spirit in the letter to the Hebrews—something like an Alexandrian tone and colouring, to which Clement, as far as we can judge, could never have attained.[u]

Another hypothesis is, that it was composed by Barnabas, the companion and friend of Paul, of whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles. Such was the view of Tertullian. In modern times it has been adopted by Schmidt,[v] Cameron,[w] Twesten,[x] Ullmann,[y] and Wieseler,[z] of whom the last two have laboured most to defend it. These distinguished scholars have appealed both to the authority of Tertullian and to internal evidence.

No other writer is spoken of as having adopted the opinion of Tertullian. Neither Origen nor Eusebius speaks of it. Philastrius seems to have had Tertullian alone in his eye when he speaks of some attributing it to Barnabas. Jerome[a] himself appears to have known of none other, for he writes: . . . . . "Sed vel Barnabae, juxta Tertullianum, vel Lucae evangelistae, juxta quosdam," etc. In another place he says: "licet plerique eam vel Barnabae, vel Clementis arbitrentur;"[b] from which words Ullmann tries in vain to shew, that many belonging to the Eastern church looked upon Barnabas as the author. But the *plerique* must refer to Latin authors, *nostrorum* being understood, as the context clearly demonstrates, in which *omnes retro ecclesiastici Graeci sermonis*

[u] See Bertholdt's Einleitung, vol. vi. sect. 649, p. 2957, et seqq.
[v] Einleit. vol. ii. sect. 130.
[w] Myrothecium Evangelicum, published by L. Cappellus, 1677.
[x] Dogmatik, Theil i. p. 95. Fourth edition.
[y] Studien und Kritiken, vol. i. Heft. 2.
[z] Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters, u. s. w., p. 504, et seqq.
[a] Catalog. scriptt. eccles. cap. 5.
[b] Ad Dardanum ep. 129.

scriptores are contrasted with *plerique* (Latinorum).[c] It is thus impossible to find advocates of the hypothesis among Greek writers. In the Oriental church it was unknown. Even among the Westerns it cannot be traced to any other than Tertullian. How he came to adopt it, it is difficult to say. Some think that he did not get it from positive tradition. It rested, they suppose, on no historic basis. It was a conjecture on his part. As the Westerns assigned it sometimes to one and sometimes to another apostolic man, Tertullian attributed it to Barnabas. But it is more probable that it rested on historical tradition, because he had an interest in assigning to the epistle as much weight as possible, and must therefore have placed it as high as he could when he attributed it to Barnabas. The tradition, however, could not have been very extensive, because neither Origen nor Eusebius speaks of it. Jerome and Philastrius are the only writers, besides Tertullian, by whom it is mentioned. That he did not give his real opinion, but took the ground of his adversaries who denied the epistle to be Paul's, is a very improbable conjecture on the part of Hug,[d] as we shall afterwards see.

Wieseler[e] draws attention to the circumstance, that Tertullian's opinion, which he holds to be *an unquestioned fact* not a subjective view, was afterwards repeated by Jerome, though the learned authorities of that period and the subsequent one were strongly disinclined to it. The passage in Jerome will be quoted hereafter. At present it is sufficient to state, that we can by no means assent to the inference drawn from it by Wieseler, viz. that in Jerome's day most persons in the eastern churches attributed the present *Greek* epistle to Barnabas either as translator or assistant, for the purpose of maintaining its Pauline authorship, whereas *the original* tradition of those Oriental churches referred *the authorship* to him. Does not Wieseler see that we might equally reason in favour of Clement of Rome from the passage in Jerome?

Six internal arguments are adduced by Ullmann in favour of Barnabas.

[c] See Olshausen's Opuscula theologica, pp. 112, 113.

[d] Einleit. in die Schriften des neuen Testaments, vol. ii. p. 415, fourth edition.

[e] Chronologie, u. s. w., p. 507, et seqq.

1. The epistle contains traces of Alexandrian gnosis. Now Barnabas was a Cyprian by birth, and Cyprus was connected in many ways with Alexandria. *Perhaps* he himself might have been there. This is mere conjecture. It only shews that Barnabas *might have been* the writer.

2. He was a Levite, and as such accurately acquainted with the temple worship. But any Jew might have had as much knowledge of the Levitical service as that exhibited in the epistle.

3. The epistle contains on the one hand much that is Pauline; but on the other it deviates from the Pauline in many respects, ex. gr. concerning faith and works, etc. This suits a companion of Paul, as Barnabas was. The same would apply to any intimate companion of the apostle.

4. The argument of the entire epistle is worthy of Barnabas, an apostolic man. This consideration, like others, proves too much.

5. The author of our epistle frequently terms Christ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, shewing a personal relation probably between the writer and Jesus. It is an epithet of familiarity, indicating that the person using it had seen and heard the Lord. Accordingly Barnabas is termed by Clement of Alexandria, one of the seventy disciples. But a passage in the epistle itself proves that Barnabas could not have been the author (Heb. ii. 3), where the writer clearly separates himself from *those that heard the Lord.* Besides, Paul himself uses ὁ Ἰησοῦς, though not so often as it is employed in the epistle before us; and is it to be thence inferred that he knew the Saviour personally in the days of His flesh?

6. The names of persons mentioned in the epistle are such as Barnabas might have referred to had he written it. This is trifling.

Thus all the considerations urged by Ullmann are singularly feeble. They cannot be dignified with the name of *arguments.*

Wieseler derives an argument for Barnabas from the position of the epistle in the Peshito or old Syriac version. The letter could not have been attributed to Paul, else it would not have been put after epistles addressed to private individuals, viz. Timothy and Titus. But because the framers of the Syrian

canon received into it, besides Paul's thirteen epistles and that to the Hebrews, the epistle of James, the first of Peter and the first of John, it must be inferred that they assigned our epistle to a man who could rightfully claim the title *apostle*. Now this title is given to Barnabas in the Acts. Besides, Barnabas and Paul founded the Syrian church at Antioch; and therefore the former could no more be absent from their canon than the latter.

All this appears to us nothing but conjecture. Surely other reasons, and more probable ones too, for putting the epistle to the Hebrews after the pastoral letters, might be assigned. Is it not likely that the Syrians placed it there because it was separated from Paul's other letters by certain peculiarities, especially the want of his name at the commencement?

It is not worth while to notice other circumstances stated by Wieseler[g] in favour of Barnabas, since they are quite trifling.

An epistle under the *name* of Barnabas is extant. But it cannot be brought into comparison with ours, because the best critics allow that it could not have proceeded from one who was Paul's friend and companion. Twesten, Ullmann, Neander, and others deny its authenticity. There is thus no extant writing of Barnabas's with which to compare the epistle to the Hebrews. And even if the epistle had been written by Paul's companion, it could be shewn that there is a very wide difference between it and that to the Hebrews—so wide as to render their identity of authorship utterly improbable.

Thus the hypothesis which makes Barnabas the author of our epistle has nothing tangible or strong in its favour.

Others attribute the writing of the epistle to Luke the evangelist. This hypothesis is more plausible than either of the preceding. Origen mentions it; and in modern times it has been advocated by Artemonius (S. Crell)[h] Grotius,[i] and Koehler.[k] Various circumstances have been adduced in favour of it. For example, a considerable number of words and phrases unknown to every other New Testament writer is common to our epistle and Luke's

[g] See Chronologie, u. s. w., pp. 512, 513.

[h] Initium evangelii S. Joann. restitutum, p. 98.

[i] Adnotatt. in N. T. Prolegom. in hanc epistolam.

[k] Versuch ueber die Verfassungszeit, u. s. w., p. 205.

writings. There are also many correspondent constructions. The language and style of the epistle to the Hebrews are purer and more elegant than the diction of any other New Testament book; the Acts of the Apostles most nearly resembling them. But there are important differences of language and periodic structure which are opposed to the idea of identity of authorship. It was also remarked by Beza, that while Luke was of Greek origin (Coloss. iv. 14), our epistle manifestly proceeded from a Jew by birth. It is cast in a Jewish mould. The character and tenor of it betray the Israelite—a fact corroborated by many individual expressions, such as *οἱ πατέρες* (i. 1), *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι* (xi. 2). Jewish feelings and modes of thought predominate, in a manner which Luke's writings do not exhibit. On the contrary, the latter exhibit more of Hellenistic culture and character. Chrysostom ascribes the similarity of Luke's style to Paul's to the close intimacy long subsisting between master and pupil;[1] so that if we assume the letter to be Paul's, it is easy to account for the likeness of its style to that of Luke. In the judgment of that father, Luke was a close imitator of the style of Paul. But we cannot attribute much value to this opinion of Chrysostom's though it be pronounced decisive and conclusive by Forster.[m] In Luke's writings generally, there is not a close resemblance to the diction of Paul. The style of the latter half of the Acts *approaches* that of our epistle; but even there the difference is perceptible enough. The style of the gospel bears no striking similarity to that of the epistle to the Hebrews, any more than the former half of Acts. In like manner, the style of Paul's epistles generally does not resemble Luke's style, as has been asserted. Those who compare the two, compare dissimilar things. It is one thing to compare the language of the epistle to the Hebrews with that of Luke in the latter half of the Acts; and another to compare the language of *Paul's epistles generally* with that of Luke's writings. Those who do the one are not necessarily so injudicious as to do the other. Hence such as reason from the resemblance of style in the Acts to that of the epistle to the

[1] Homil. iv. in Matth. vol. ii. ed. Savil. pp. 19, 20.

[m] Apostolical authority of the epistle to the Hebrews, p. 648.

Hebrews, concluding that the resemblance favours identity of authors, do *not* employ an argument that proves too much.

After every allowance has been made it remains improbable that Luke was the author. The Jewish element pervading the epistle shews other than a Hellenistic writer. Whether Luke had *anything to do with the composition*, is another question, to which we shall afterwards advert.

Others have conjectured, that Silvanus or Silas was the writer. So Mynster[n] and Boehme.[o] It is not worth while to state and refute the observations made by these writers, since the hypothesis has found no advocate beyond themselves.[p]

Others have supposed Apollos to be the author of the present epistle. Luther[q] was the first who put forward this hypothesis. He has been followed by Le Clerc, L. Müller, Heumann, Semler, Ziegler, Dindorf, Schott, Bleek, Feilmoser, De Wette, Credner, Röth, Reuss, and Tholuck.

Bleek has collected all that the epistle itself can be supposed to teach respecting the external and internal relations of its author. The following are the points relating to the author which must be looked for in any individual supposed to be the writer.

1. The author must have been a Jew by birth.

2. He cannot have been an apostle, nor one of those who heard and saw the Lord in the days of his earthly ministry. He must have belonged to the second generation of christians (Heb. ii. 3).

3. He must have been on terms of intimacy with Paul. This is shewn by the relation between our author and Timothy the trusty friend of Paul; as well as by the agreement of our epistle with those of Paul in ideas, plan, and language.

4. Yet the author seems not to have been dependent on or subordinate to the great apostle. He occupies an independent position. There is great originality in the letter. His argumentation is very different from Paul's.

[n] Kleine theologische Schriften, p. 133, sect. 21, and, Studien und Kritiken, vol. ii. H. 2.

[o] Epistola ad Hebraeos vertit et commentario instruxit, etc. Prolegomena, p. 41, et seqq.

[p] See Bleek's Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in den Brief an die Hebräer, pp. 408, 409, and Schott's Isagoge, p. 365.

[q] Ad Genes. 48, 20, and elsewhere.

5. According to the words of xiii. 19, the writer must have been personally acquainted with his readers, *i. e.* the Jewish christians in Palestine, particularly those in Jerusalem.

6. But he cannot have been a Palestinian himself, nor have dwelt long in the vicinity of the temple, since he does not appear to be accurately acquainted with its arrangement (ix. 1-8). This is also shewn by the fact, that his acquaintance with the Old Testament is wholly derived from the Greek version. With the Hebrew text he appears little if at all acquainted; so that we are led to think of a Jewish writer *of the dispersion* (*διάσπορα*) rather than an inhabitant of Palestine.

7. Probably he was an Alexandrian, or one educated in the Alexandrian school. This appears from the typical, symbolical character which pervades the entire epistle; and still more from the great resemblance between our epistle and Philo's writings in the general method of instruction and argumentation, in ideas, and even in single expressions and phrases.[r]

These characteristics are afterwards applied to Apollos, to whom Bleek endeavours to shew their adaptation.

The second characteristic is liable to doubt. In our view the passage ii. 3 is consistent with the fact of the author's being an apostle, as will be shewn hereafter. So also the sixth. It cannot be proved that his knowledge of the temple is imperfect or incorrect, or that he was unacquainted with the Hebrew Scriptures. Bleek himself admits, that the exclusive use of the Seventy is not a decisive proof that the writer was a Palestinian.

The seventh mark is that on which Bleek lays most stress. Two circumstances are adduced. The typical mode of interpretation; and the resemblance between Philo and our author not only in this symbolical feature, but in sentiments and expressions. As to the typical manner of interpretation, it was current in Palestine as well as Alexandria. This has been proved by Doepke[s] and Olshausen.[t] Philo indeed allegorises the Pentateuch; but he allegorises it much more than the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, and in a different way. He often undermines the histo-

[r] Einleit. u. s. w., p. 395, et seqq.

[s] Hermeneutik der neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller, 1829.

[t] Ein Wort über tiefern Schriftsinn, 1824.

rical reality of Old Testament usages and acts, *converting them* into allegory; while our author points out the typical character of the Mosaic ritual without detriment to historical fact. He *converts nothing* into allegory. The former allegorises much—the latter little if at all. Thus there is nothing in the writer's treatment of the Old Testament which necessarily proves an Alexandrian Jew. It agrees with a native of Palestine as well; especially when Philo's manner of handling the Hebrew Scriptures is seen to differ largely from the sober interpretations presented in our epistle. It is supposed, however, that the author of the epistle *read* the writings of Philo. Hence the resemblance between them in ideas and phrases. But the point has not been proved. Carpzov opposed it formerly; so did Michaelis; and Tholuck himself has sifted all the important considerations, including those relied on by Schwegler and Delitzsch, admitting their insufficiency to establish the use of Philo's writings on the part of the author.[u] The parallel phrases collected by Carpzov[v] and repeated by Eichhorn,[w] Schulz,[x] Bleek,[y] and others, may be satisfactorily explained without our assuming a perusal of Philo's works on the part of the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews. Similarity of subject, the quality of the later Greek of the period, and other things, will go far to explain the resemblances. Besides, it is wrong to assume at once, without proof or probability, that the peculiarities of Philo, which most resemble those of our epistle, were Alexandrian. These very peculiarities may have been *Jewish* without owing their origin to Philo's Alexandrian education. As such they must have belonged to Palestinian as well as Alexandrian Jews. To be a Philonian feature is not necessarily equivalent to being an Alexandrian feature.

When we consider, therefore, the kind of proof adduced in favour of Apollos by Bleek the ablest advocate, and by Tholuck, it cannot be considered as amounting to the highly probable.

[u] Kommentar zum Briefe an die Hebräer, p. 78, et seqq. Third edition.

[v] Sacrae exercitationes in S. Pauli epistolam ad Hebraeos ex Philone Alexandrino, p. 13, et seqq.

[w] Einleit. vol. iii. p. 445, et seqq.

[x] Der Brief an die Hebräer, Einleitung, Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen. p. 265, et seqq.

[y] Einleit. u. s. w., p. 398, et seqq.

Apollos *may have been* the writer; but all that has been advanced in his favour is far from demonstrating, or even from making it *probable*, that he did write it. Why an Alexandrian hue and colouring should be attributed to the epistle by German critics, it is not easy to perceive. That it is the production of a Jew is evident; but that he received an Alexandrian education, the effects of which are visible throughout his composition, is exceedingly questionable. Why should he be pronounced an Alexandrian because he shews so much of the typical character of the Jewish dispensation? Could not a Palestinian have done the same? And what real light does a comparison with Philo throw on the author of the epistle, except a separation be first made between peculiarities derived from his *Jewish* and those derived from his *Alexandrian* education—a separation which the researches of Dähne, Gfrörer, Schwegler, Schwarz, and Grossmann shew to be impossible?

Before considering whether Paul be the author, we may offer an observation or two on the question of authorship as affecting its *canonical authority*. Inferior critics reason as if we were *obliged* to regard Paul as the author, because none of his known companions have any fair claim to it. The choice, it is said, lies between Paul and some unknown writer. And the consequences of ascribing it to the latter, necessitate the adoption of the former. An unknown writer of the apostolic age is a dreaded personage to the petty hunters of heresy. Why? Because the canonical credit of the letter is gone, if an unknown author composed it. Verily if this be the case, we may bid farewell to not a few of the Old Testament books. No such fear of an unknown writer haunts us—a fear that judges *a priori*, and condemns ignorantly. If the epistle was received as authoritative by the early christians of the apostolic age because they knew it had apostolic approbation—if they looked on it as *scripture* equally with the authentic productions of Paul himself, because they either knew the writer, or knew that his composition was sanctioned and authorised by one or more inspired apostles—then is its canonical reputation secure. It need not be struck out of its place in the sacred canon, should the endeavours to ascribe it to any of Paul's known companions prove futile. It need not be struck out of the canon, though it

cannot be shewn that all the early churches received it as Paul's. Some of the early churches did so receive it. Others did not. All that is necessary to its safe position in the sacred canon is to hold, either that it was written by an apostle; or if not, by an apostolic man with his express sanction and superintendence.

The fact of a writer or translator being unknown a century or two after, forms no good objection to the authority of a New Testament book or epistle. Thus Matthew's Gospel was translated from the Aramaean; but though Jerome did not know the translator, the latter must have been well known at the time and have had apostolic sanction, if he were not himself an apostle; so that his Greek version possesses all the sacredness and value of the original. Hence it was unhesitatingly received as such by contemporary christians, and justly ranked with the other Gospels.

It is instructive to compare the puny attempts at reasoning evinced by some at the present day, and their still punier efforts to denounce truth-loving men, with the straightforward statements of Calvin. Speaking of the epistle to the Hebrews he says:— "Ego vero eam inter Apostolicas sine controversia amplector: nec dubito Satanae artificio fuisse quondam factum ut illi authoritatem quidam detraherent . . . . . *Quis porro eam composuerit, non magnopere curandum est.* . . . . . Ego ut Paulum agnoscam authorem, adduci nequeo. . . . . Scriptor ipse unum se ex Apostolorum discipulis profitetur," etc.[z]

Was Paul the author of the epistle to the Hebrews?

In answering this question we shall consider first the external evidence; secondly the internal.

(A) The external evidence.

Here the writings of the apostolic fathers are silent. They throw no light on the point before us. Whatever may be thought of their containing quotations from the epistle, or allusions to it, they nowhere speak of *the writer*. As far therefore as they are concerned, the question remains as it was before. The earliest testimony of the western church is opposed to the Pauline origin of the epistle. Irenaeus does not appear to have attributed it to the apostle of the Gentiles. This fact rests on the authority of Stephen Gobar, a writer belonging to the sixth century, in a

[z] Argumentum in epist. ad Hebraeos.

passage preserved by Photius, viz. *ὅτι Ἱππόλυτος καὶ Εἰρηναῖος τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου, οὐκ ἐκείνου εἶναί φασιν*:[a] "Hippolytus and Irenaeus say, that the epistle of Paul to the Hebrews is not his." Hence we can readily account for the fact, that Irenaeus does not quote or employ it in his work against the Gnostic sects, though it would have been apposite to his purpose. We learn from Eusebius that he was *acquainted with* the epistle and mentioned it in a work now lost: *καὶ (φέρεται Εἰρηναίου) βιβλίον τι διαλέξεων διαφόρων, ἐν ᾧ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης Σοφίας Σολομῶντος μνημονεύει, ῥητά τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν παραθέμενος*:[b] "There is also a book of Irenaeus of various treatises in which he mentions the epistle to the Hebrews, and the book called the Wisdom of Solomon, quoting some passages from them." It would appear from this passage, that Irenaeus placed our epistle on a level with the apocryphal "Wisdom of Solomon." He was not convinced that Paul was the writer, and therefore he did not quote it as a part of Scripture.

Hippolytus, who, as Photius asserts, was a disciple of Irenaeus, had the same opinion as his master on this point. This is apparent from the words already quoted. The statement, *ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴ οὐκ ἐστι τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου*, "the epistle to the Hebrews is not the apostle Paul's," was found in his writings by Photius.

Caius, a presbyter at Rome at the close of the second and the beginning of the third century, held the same view, as we learn from Eusebius: *ἦλθε δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαΐου, λογιωτάτου ἀνδρὸς, διάλογος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατὰ Ζεφυρῖνον πρὸς Πρόκλον, τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας αἱρέσεως ὑπερμαχοῦντα, κεκινημένος, ἐν ᾧ τῶν δι' ἐναντίας τὴν περὶ τὸ συντάττειν καινὰς γραφὰς προπέτειάν τε καὶ τόλμαν ἐπιστομίζων, τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποστόλου δεκατριῶν μόνων ἐπιστολῶν μνημονεύει, τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους μὴ συναριθμήσας ταῖς λοιπαῖς· ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισὶν οὐ νομίζεται τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἶναι*:[c] "There is besides, a discussion that has come down to us, of Caius, a most eloquent man, held at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus against Proclus who contended exceedingly for the Phrygian heresy; in which while he censures the rashness

[a] Bibliotheca, cod. 232. [b] H. E. v. 26. [c] H. E. vi. 20.

and daring of his opponents in composing new scriptures, he makes mention of thirteen epistles only, not reckoning that to the Hebrews with the rest; as there are even to this day some of the Romans who do not consider it to be the work of the apostle."

The author of the fragment on the canon first published by Muratori does not enumerate the present epistle among those of Paul, which appears to be an evidence, at least in his case, that he did not reckon it his. If, however, the author of this fragment be Caius, as Muratori supposed, then the present testimony resolves itself into the preceding. But the conjecture of Muratori respecting the author has been adopted by very few, many having shewn its improbable character. The age of the fragment is generally admitted to be the end, or towards it, *of the second century*, not the third, as Hug thinks, nor the fourth, as Zimmerman believes. In like manner Tertullian, denying the Pauline authorship, ascribed the letter to Barnabas: "Extat enim et Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos, adeo satis auctoritatis viri, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiae tenore (1 Cor. ix. 6). . . . . Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabae illo apocrypho Pastore (Hermae) moechorum," etc.[d] "For there is an epistle of Barnabas extant inscribed to the Hebrews, written by a man of such authority, that Paul has placed him with himself in the same course of abstinence, etc., etc. And certainly the epistle of Barnabas is more generally received among the churches than the apocryphal Pastor of adulterers (Hermas)." It is not easy to assign *its proper value* to this opinion advanced by Tertullian. It may have been that which was current at the time in proconsular Africa, as Bleek is disposed to believe; or a mere conjecture on his part; or derived from historical tradition, but a tradition of limited extent. The last seems to us the most probable, for we cannot but agree with Schleiermacher[e] in assigning to it a circulation of the kind he assumes.

Marcion in like manner excluded it from his canon, but for what reason we cannot discover.

Cyprian speaks of *seven* churches to which Paul wrote, but does not mention the epistle to the Hebrews, or make use of it in his

[d] De Pudicitia, cap. 20. [e] Einleitung ins Neue Testament, p. 434.

extant works. We infer therefore that he did not look on it as Pauline. The passage where he alludes to the epistles of Paul is the following: "Et apostolus Paulus, qui hujus numeri legitimi et certi meminit, ad septem ecclesias scribit." "And the apostle Paul, who has mentioned this legitimate and certain number (seven) writes to the seven churches (Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians)."[f]

The circumstances mentioned by Stuart, for the purpose of weakening this testimony against the epistle, appear to be of no weight.[g] A passage in Jerome[h] forms an instructive commentary on the meaning of Cyprian's words: "Paulus apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit (octava enim ad Hebraeos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur)." "The apostle Paul writes to seven churches (for the eighth, to which the epistle inscribed 'to the Hebrews' was written, is put by most out of the number)." Besides, Cyprian generally followed Tertullian, and there is every reason to believe that he shared his sentiments on the present question.

The remarks made respecting Cyprian apply to Novatian. He never quotes or alludes to the epistle, though two treatises of his are extant in which it was most suitable to his purpose, viz. *De Trinitate*, and *De cibis Judaicis*.

We are aware that two passages formerly quoted by Lardner[i] as deserving of notice, have been adduced by Stuart as apparently referring to Hebrews i. 3 and 4; but Lardner had already disposed of them in a satisfactory way, shewing that no reliance whatever could be placed on them. They may as well refer to other parts of the New Testament as to the epistle to the Hebrews.

Victorinus of Pettaw is on the same side. A fragment of his is extant (De Fabricâ Mundi) which formed, as is conjectured, the commencement of his commentary on Genesis. In this fragment he speaks of *septem ecclesiae apud Paulum*, as Cyprian did. In his Commentary on the Apocalypse, he enumerates the seven churches to which Paul wrote, and speaks also of epistles to individuals without the least mention of our epistle. In this commentary also,

[f] De exhortat. martyrii, cap. xi.

[g] Commentary on the epistle to the Hebrews, p. 91. London edit. 1837.

[h] Epist. ad Paulin. 103. [i] Works, 4to. edit. vol. ii. p. 63.

passages are repeatedly quoted from the acknowledged epistles of Paul, but none from that to the Hebrews. We know that some have suspected the authenticity of this work on the Apocalypse; but neither cogent nor probable reasons have been assigned for its rejection. There is no cause for doubt respecting it.

Thus the Pauline authorship was disowned in the western church till the commencement of the fourth century—a fact for which it is difficult to account on any other supposition than the want of an *early tradition* in Italy, Gaul, and Africa, in favour of Paul's authorship. Some critics, indeed, explain the epistle's general rejection by the churches in the west in a manner consistent with the Pauline authorship; and we are far from affirming that it does not admit of a satisfactory explanation. Thus Hug, following Spanheim and Wetstein, has attempted to shew, that the opposition presented to the Montanists led to a denial of its Pauline origin. The Montanists, and after them the Novatians, maintained, that *the lapsed* should not be received back again into the bosom of the church. In defence of this tenet, the Montanists had recourse to a passage in the epistle to the Hebrews vi. 4, 5. The Latin church, unable to answer this proof text, satisfactorily denied that Paul wrote it, meaning thereby to lessen its authority. Soon after the Montanists, the Novatians revived the position of Montanus respecting repentance, appropriating his arguments in its support, and placing special reliance on Heb. vi. 4, 5. "Thus," says Hug, "the conduct of the two churches in regard to one and the same subject was very different. The Greeks endeavoured to evade the argument by their mode of interpretation, while the Latins rejected the epistle entirely. Circumstances contained the reason of this difference. The Greeks were calmer and less interested spectators, while the scene of this controversy was among the Latins, in Rome itself, and the leaders of the respective parties were in their midst. The Latins had not leisure to look on, till an exegetical treatise was composed, which might be made use of to silence the disputants. Thus, while the Greek church admitted the epistle, although the heretics regarded it as their principal reliance, the Latins were compelled on account of their situation to take a more expeditious method, and to proceed as they did, viz. to deny the authority of the epistle, the

contents of which were unanswerable, or else to be vanquished in the controversy."[1]

This explanation is inadmissible for various reasons.

In the first place, it pre-supposes a facility on the part of the catholic church, or at least the western portion of it, to yield up an apostolic writing, alike unusual and unprecedented. Catholic christians did not so easily renounce the authenticity of inspired writings. There is no analogous example of such conduct on their part. Rather than do so, they had recourse to the most arbitrary explanations, such as they would probably have resorted to on the present occasion, especially as the passage could not have been regarded as very difficult.

In the second place, there is no proof that Tertullian and Novatian laid the great stress on Heb. vi. 4, 5, which Hug assumes. That *the followers* of Novatian appealed to it is certain, from the express testimonies to that effect of Ambrose, Philastrius, Theodoret, and Chrysostom; but it cannot be shewn that Novatian himself, or the Montanists, appealed to it as a primary passage. Hug refers to Jerome *adversus Jovinian.* ii. 3, where we find written: "Verum ne Montanus et Novatus hic rideant qui contendunt non posse renovari per poenitentiam eos qui semel sunt illuminati," etc.; but these words do not shew Heb. vi. 4, 5, to have been one of the chief arguments relied on by Montanus and Novatus. Tertullian himself, the great leader of the Montanists, adduces the passage but once in his treatise *De pudicitia* (chap. xx). Here his interest prompted him to attribute to the epistle as great authority as he could. The higher the authority belonging to it, the greater the force of his argument founded on it in opposition to the tenet of the catholic church. And yet he attributes the writing of the letter to Barnabas. Had he known that the epistle had been assigned to Paul by early tradition, he would surely have mentioned the circumstance. He states particulars favourable to its credit on the ground of Barnabas's authorship. But if he had known that the catholic church, or any part of it, had rejected or lessened the authority of the epistle, he would not have failed to charge them with it. It will not do to affirm, with Hug, that Tertullian took the epistle for

[1] Introduction translated by Fosdick, p. 597.

what it was allowed to be by its enemies, and reasoned with such force as to make it, even on this ground, equal in value to Paul's epistles. He was not the man to adopt this course, as his temperament and writings evince.

There is not a single passage in *Novatian's* writings from the epistle to the Hebrews. Instead of his resting principally on Hebrews vi. 4, 5, Matthew x. 33 appears to have been his chief support.

It is needless to refer to Storr's explanation, which is far more improbable than Hug's. According to it, Marcion endeavoured during his abode at Rome to give currency to the view, that the epistle to the Hebrews was written by Barnabas. Hence it came to be generally disowned as Paul's.

The prevailing opinion in the West even to the middle of the fourth century was, that Paul did not write the epistle. Hilary[k] (†368) was the first known individual who was disposed to receive it as the apostle's production, as the following language shews: "Paulus ad Hebraeos dixit: tanto melior factus est angelis," etc. "Paul said to the Hebrews: *being made so much better than the angels*," etc. Accordingly, it was accounted Paul's by Lucifer, Gaudentius, Ambrose of Milan, Philaster, and the Priscillianists. Many, however, still doubted, such as Marius Victorinus, Zeno, Optatus of Milevi, and Phoebadius, who do not cite it; and Ambrosiaster, thought to be Hilary, deacon of Rome, who does not cite it as Paul's. Even when Eusebius of Caesarea wrote, the epistle was recognised in the West as the apostle's production by the majority: *καὶ εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισὶν οὐ νομίζεται τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἶναι.*[l]

Jerome and Augustine favoured the opinion, that the epistle was written by Paul; and the authority of their names contributed greatly to establish it in the West. The opinion of these fathers deserves particular mention.

In many places of his writings Jerome quotes passages out of our epistle, calling it Paul's, or the apostle's, which amounts to the same thing.[m]

[k] De Trinitate, iv. 11. [l] H. E. vi. 20.

[m] As in epist. 26 ad Pammach. Adv. Jovinian. lib. i. c. 3. Epist. 34 ad Julian. Epist. 3 ad Heliodor. Epist. 61 ad Pammach. Comment. in Esaiam,

In other places he alludes to peculiarities belonging to the epistle, which distinguish it from others written by the same apostle, and gives some explanation of them. Thus, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, after enumerating the nine epistles written by Paul to seven churches, and those addressed to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, he says: "Epistola autem quae fertur ad Hebraeos non ejus creditur propter stili sermonisque distantiam, sed vel Barnabae juxta Tertullianum, vel Lucae evangelistae, juxta quosdam, vel Clementis, Romanae postea ecclesiae episcopi, quem aiunt sententias Pauli proprio ordinasse et ornasse sermone; vel certe, quia Paulus scribebat ad Hebraeos et propter invidiam sui apud eos nominis titulum in principio salutationis amputaverat. Scripserat autem ut Hebraeis Hebraice, id est suo eloquio disertissime, ut ea quae eloquenter scripta fuerant in Hebraeo eloquentius verterentur in Graecum; et hanc caussam esse, quod a caeteris Pauli epistolis discrepare videatur:" "But the epistle called 'to the Hebrews' is thought not to be his because of the difference of style and language, but either Barnabas's, as Tertullian thought, or the evangelist Luke's, according to some, or Clement's, afterwards bishop of Rome, who they say arranged and adorned Paul's sentiments in his own language; or, at least, if it be Paul's, that he might decline putting his name in the inscription on account of the Hebrews being offended with him. But he had written as a Hebrew to Hebrews, in Hebrew, that is, in his own language most eloquently, on which account it was, that being translated it has more elegance in the Greek than his other epistles; this they say is the reason of its differing from the rest of Paul's writings."

In another work,[n] he says: "Pauli quoque idcirco ad Hebraeos epistolae contradicitur quod ad Hebraeos scribens utatur testimoniis quae in Hebraeis voluminibus non habentur:" "It is objected to the epistle to the Hebrews that it is not Paul's, because the writer makes use of quotations which are not in the Hebrew original."

c. 5. Comment. in Esaiam, c. 7, 22. In Jerem. c. 22. In Ezech. c. 16. Ibid. Ibid. c. 44. In Zachar. c. 3. In Matth. c. 21. In Galat. c. 4. Quaest. Hebraic. in Genes. In like manner, he places the epistle among the Pauline in his work *De nominibus Hebraicis*.

[n] Comment. in Esaiam, cap. vi. 9, 10.

In other passages where he mentions the epistle or quotes it, he employs expressions which shew hesitation or indecision, such as, "Si quis vult recipere eam epistolam quae sub nomine Pauli ad Hebraeos scripta est;"[o] "ad Hebraeos epistolam Pauli sive cujuscunque alterius eam esse putas;"[p] "siquis tamen ad Hebraeos epistolam suscipit;"[q] "siquis tamen eam recipit;"[r] "quicunque est ille qui ad Hebraeos scripsit epistolam;"[s] "apostolus Paulus, sive quis alius scripsit epistolam,"[t] etc., etc.

In connexion with expressions of this nature he speaks of the opinion of the Latin church: "Paulus in epistola sua quae scribitur ad Hebraeos, licet de ea multi Latinorum dubitent;"[v] "unde et Paulus apostolus in epistola ad Hebraeos, quam Latina consuetudo non recipit;"[w] "beatus apostolus in epistola quae ad Hebraeos scribitur, docet (licet eam Latina consuetudo inter canonicas scripturas non recipiat) hoc testimonium,"[x] etc.; "si tamen in suscipiendâ epistolâ Graecorum auctoritatem Latina lingua non respuit;"[y] "quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas;"[z] "in epistola ad Hebraeos quam omnes Graeci recipiunt, et nonnulli Latinorum;"[a] "sed et apud Romanos usque hodie quasi Pauli apostoli non habetur."[b]

The longest and fullest passage which this father has on the epistle is in his epistle to Dardanus (129): "Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam quae inscribitur ad Hebraeos, non solum ab ecclesiis orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Graeci sermonis scriptoribus quasi Pauli apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabae vel Clementis arbitrentur; et nihil interesse, cujus sit, cum ecclesiastici viri sit et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur. Quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas, nec Graecarum quidem ecclesiae Apocalypsin Joannis eadem libertate suscipiunt; et tamen nos utraque suscipimus, nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum scriptorum auctoritatem sequentes, qui plerumque utriusque abutuntur testimoniis non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent,

[o] Commentar. in Titum, cap. 1. [p] Ibid. c. 2. [q] Ibid. in Ezech. c. 28.
[r] Ibid. in Eph. c. 2. [s] Ibid. in Amos viii. [t] Ibid. in Jer. c. 31, v. 31.
[v] Ibid. in Matth. c. 26. [w] Ibid. in Jes. c. 6. [x] Ibid. c. 8.
[y] Ibid. in Zachar. c. 8. [z] Epist. ad Dardanum, 129.
[a] Epist. 125, ad Evagrium. [b] Catalog. c. 59.

sed quasi canonicis." "This must be said by ours, that this epistle which is inscribed 'to the Hebrews,' is received as the apostle Paul's not only by the churches of the East, but by all the ecclesiastical Greek writers of former times; though most ascribe it to Barnabas or Clement; and that it makes no difference whose it is, since it belongs to an ecclesiastical man, and is daily read in the churches. But if the Latins do not commonly receive it among the canonical Scriptures, the Greek churches do the same with the Apocalypse of John. We, however, receive both, not following the usage of the present time, but the authority of ancient writers, who for the most part quote both; not as they are wont to quote sometimes apocryphal books, but as canonical."

It will be observed here by the careful reader, that there is an ambiguity in the words, 'though most ascribe it to Barnabas or Clement,' to which Lardner long ago directed attention. They may either mean most *Latins*, or, most *Greek writers*. The preceding context is decidedly opposed to the former, and therefore, the term *most* must refer to the antecedent *ecclesiasticis Graeci sermonis scriptoribus*. In the latter case, Jerome must mean that most Greeks ascribed the style and language of it to Barnabas or Clement, though the ideas and sentiments were Paul's. The apostle was the author of it; Barnabas or Clement the scribe. Still in this manner the word *plerique* is too strong. The ambiguous expression *ecclesiasticus vir*, *an ecclesiastical man*, appears to be the opposite of *haereticus*, viz. a man belonging to the orthodox or catholic church.

From these testimonies of Jerome the following conclusions may be drawn.

1. He believed that Paul wrote the epistle. In speaking of the Greeks, who thought that it was originally written in Hebrew and put into Greek by some other than Paul, he does not state whether he believed so himself. Rather does he seem to have disapproved of it.

2. The passages in which he uses such phrases as *epistola quae fertur ad Hebraeos*, etc., etc., were probably owing to his caution respecting orthodoxy. He was very careful about giving his own opinion freely and fully, lest he might possibly give offence. Most anxious was he to maintain a fair reputation.

3. The majority of the Latin churches did not receive the epistle as Paul's.

4. *Some* of the Latin churches, however, received it: " omnes Graeci recipiunt, et *nonnulli Latinorum.*"

Augustine's sentiments may be collected from many passages. Thus, in an early work[c] he writes: " Sicut apostolus ad Hebraeos dicit;" "as the apostle to the Hebrews says." Again, in his commentary on the epistle to the Romans:[d] " Quod propterca maxime credo, quoniam, excepta epistola quam ad Hebraeos scripsit, ubi principium salutatorium de industriâ dicitur omisisse, ne Judaei, qui adversus eum pertinaciter oblatrabant, nomine ejus offensi, vel inimico animo legerent, vel omnino legere non curarent, quod ad eorum salutem scripserat. Unde nonnulli eam in canonem scripturarum recipere timuerunt. Sed quoquo modo se habeat ista quaestio, excepta hac epistola caeterae omnes, quae, nulla dubitante ecclesia, Pauli esse firmantur, talem continent salutationem:" " Paul has a like salutation at the beginning of all his epistles with the exception of that which he wrote to the Hebrews, where he is said to have omitted his ordinary form of salutation designedly, lest the Jews who were obstinately opposed to him, taking offence at his name, should either read with an unfriendly mind, or neglect altogether to read what he had written respecting their salvation. For which reason some have been afraid to receive that epistle into the canon of Scripture. But whatever becomes of that question, excepting that epistle, all the rest which are received as the apostle Paul's by all the churches in general, without hesitation, contain such a salutation." In like manner, when giving a list of the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments in his treatise on *Christian Doctrine*, he mentions fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, specifying of course that to the Hebrews as one of them. So, also, he quotes it in various places, especially in his sermons, as *the apostle's*, meaning Paul's. He does not, however, cite it often in this manner. Elsewhere he adduces it as *scripture.*

It agrees with the preceding observations, that the epistle was included among those written by Paul, in the decrees of several synods at which Augustine's influence was considerable. In the

[c] De Qu. 83. Qu. 75. [d] Expos. ep. ad Roman. inchoat. sect. 11.

synod of Hippo (A. D. 393), the third of Carthage (397), the fifth of Carthage (419), it is specified as Paul's. In the 36th canon of the first, as well as in the 47th of the second, it is mentioned separately from the other thirteen epistles (Pauli apostoli epistolae tredecim; ejusdem ad Hebraeos una); but in the 29th canon of the third, it is included in the fourteen epistles of Paul (epistolarum Pauli apostoli numero quatuordecim).

But there are many places in which Augustine avoids giving any opinion about the author, such as where he employs the phrases *epistola quae scribitur ad Hebraeos, quam plures apostoli Pauli esse dicunt, quidam vero negant; epistola ad Hebraeos; epistola quae ad Hebraeos est; quae inscribitur ad Hebraeos.*

There can be little doubt that Augustine reckoned the epistle a part of *canonical* Scripture, induced, as he says, by the authority of the oriental churches: " magisque me movet auctoritas ecclesiarum orientalium quae hanc quoque in canonicis habent."[o] But it may be questioned if he really believed that it was written by Paul himself. This is favoured even by a passage already alluded to in his treatise on Christian Doctrine. Though it be placed there among the other epistles of Paul, yet in the preceding context he makes a distinction between canonical books; assigning greater weight to such writings as were received by all the catholic churches than to those adopted by fewer and less important churches. This remark seems to us to determine *something* as to what he thought of the authorship of our epistle. The like conclusion is favoured by the circumlocutory phrases he so often uses, such as, epistola quae scribitur ad Hebraeos, etc., etc., for which it is not easy to account except on the ground that he entertained some doubts about the author. It is chiefly in his later works that he avoids quoting the epistle as Paul's. In his work *On the City of God*, which occupied him fourteen years, he often cites it, but without naming the writer. And in his *opus imperfectum* written against Julian, though the latter quotes the epistle as Paul's, Augustine only calls it *the epistle to the Hebrews.* " One would think," says Lardner, " that he studiously declines to call it Paul's."

1. It is certain that this father knew the fact that some of the

[o] De peccatorum meritis et remissione, lib. i. c. 27.

Latin churches of his day, in Africa, denied the epistle to be Paul's, while the greater number received it as his: "Ad Hebraeos quoque epistola quamquam nonnullis incerta sit;"[f] "Nonnulli eam in canonem scripturarum recipere timuerunt."[g] "Plures apostoli Pauli esse dicunt, quidam vero negant."[h]

2. He himself sometimes quotes it as the apostle's, and was strongly inclined to believe it such.

3. Oftener, and particularly in his later writings, he scrupled to quote it as Paul's, having doubts in his mind, not about its canonical reception, but its Pauline origin. Yet these doubts were not sufficiently strong to induce him to speak directly against the Pauline authorship; or he had not courage to contradict the opinion of the majority. He did not take the side of the minority openly, from want of thorough conviction, or from fear, or from believing the point to be one of comparative unimportance.

Rufinus naturally followed Jerome, and every writer of note in the fifth century had the same view, as Chromatius, Innocent of Rome, Paulinus, Cassian, Prosper, Eucherius, Salvian, and Gelasius bishop of Rome. Whether Pelagius rejected the epistle as Paul's cannot be certainly determined from his omitting to write a commentary on it, while writing on thirteen epistles of the apostle. It was certainly received by his followers.

Thus, from the beginning of the fifth century the Pauline authorship was generally acknowledged and believed in the Latin church. Yet, even after Jerome and Augustine, several commentators did not quote it. Thus, Leo the Great does not refer to it in any part of his works; which is certainly remarkable. In like manner Orosius of Spain makes no use of it in his writings. Even about the middle of the sixth century, no Latin commentary on it was known to Cassiodorus. And Isidore of Seville states: "Ad Hebraeos autem epistola plerisque Latinis ejus (Pauli) esse incerta est, propter dissonantiam sermonis; eandemque alii Barnabam conscripsisse, alii a Clemente scriptam fuisse suspicantur:"[i] "But the epistle to the Hebrews is not reckoned his (Paul's) with certainty by most Latins, on account of the

[f] De peccatorum meritis et remissione, lib. i. c. 27.

[g] Expos. ep. ad Roman. inchoat. sect. 11. [h] De Civitate Dei, xvi. 22.

[i] Etymol. lib. vi. c. 2.

dissonance of style. Some suspect that Barnabas wrote it; others Clement."

At Alexandria the case was different respecting our epistle. From the earliest period the Alexandrian fathers received it as Paul's production. Pantaenus is the first we know of who attributed it to the apostle. His testimony to this effect, inserted by Clement in his lost work, entitled *Hypotyposes*, has been preserved by Eusebius, and runs thus:[k] *εἶτα ὑποβὰς ἐπιλέγει· "Ἤδη δὲ ὡς ὁ μακάριος ἔλεγε πρεσβύτερος, ἐπεὶ ὁ κύριος ἀπόστολος ὢν τοῦ παντοκράτορος, ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Ἑβραίους διὰ μετριότητα ὁ Παῦλος, ὡς ἂν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἀπεσταλμένος, οὐκ ἐγγράφει ἑαυτὸν Ἑβραίων ἀπόστολον, διά τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν κύριον τιμὴν, διά τε τὸ ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστέλλειν, ἐθνῶν κήρυκα ὄντα καὶ ἀπόστολον*: "A little after this he observes: But now as the blessed presbyter used to say, since the Lord who was the apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul, by reason of his inferiority, as if sent to the Gentiles, did not subscribe himself an apostle of the Hebrews; both out of reverence for the Lord, and because he wrote of his abundance to the Hebrews, as a herald and apostle of the Gentiles." It is generally supposed, that *the blessed presbyter* means Pantaenus; and there appears no good reason for doubting the correctness of the opinion, though Credner endeavours to represent it as doubtful. In the preceding context, Clement's own opinion is stated by Eusebius: *Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑποτυπώσεσι . . . . . τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους δὲ ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου μὲν εἶναί φησι, γεγράφθαι δὲ Ἑβραίοις Ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ· Λουκᾶν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα, ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. Ὅθεν τὸν αὐτὸν χρῶτα εὑρίσκεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ τῶν πράξεων· μὴ προγεγράφθαι δὲ τὸ, Παῦλος ἀπόστολος, εἰκότως· Ἑβραίοις γάρ φησιν ἐπιστέλλων, πρόληψιν εἰληφόσι κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν αὐτὸν, συνετῶς πάνυ οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀπέστρεψεν αὐτοὺς τὸ ὄνομα θείς*:

"In the work called Hypotyposes, he (Clement) asserts that the epistle to the Hebrews was written by Paul, in the Hebrew tongue; but that it was carefully translated by Luke, and published for the benefit of the Greeks. Whence one finds the same complexion of style and phraseology in the epistle as in the Acts;

[k] H. E. vi. 14.

but that he did not make use of that inscription, Paul the apostle, of which he assigns this reason; for, says he, writing to the Hebrews who had imbibed a prejudice against him and suspected him, he wisely declined setting his name at the beginning, lest he should offend them."

In his extant works the same father frequently quotes it as one of Paul's epistles.[1]

In like manner Origen often employs it as a Pauline writing. One passage will be sufficient: *καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους, ὁ αὐτὸς Παῦλός φησιν*:[m] "And in the letter to the Hebrews, the same apostle says," etc. Others of the same kind have been collected by Bleek. This distinguished father, knowing that various individuals and churches questioned whether it was written by Paul, expresses his purpose to write a distinct discourse in proof of it, as he says in a letter to Africanus: *ἀλλ' εἰκός τινα θλιβόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποδείξεως συγχρήσασθαι τῷ βουλήματι τῶν ἀθετούντων τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὡς οὐ Παύλῳ γεγραμμένην, πρὸς ὃν ἄλλων λόγων κατ' ἰδίαν χρήζομεν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ εἶναι Παύλου τὴν ἐπιστολήν*: "But possibly some one pressed with this argument will have recourse to the opinion of those who reject this epistle as not written by Paul. In answer to such an one we intend to write a separate discourse, to shew that epistle to be Paul's." In other places, he alludes to doubts respecting its Pauline authorship, as in his comments on Matthew (xxiii. 27) where, after quoting Paul as speaking in the first epistle to the Thessalonians concerning the slaying of the prophets, and to the Hebrews concerning the persecution of the same class, he throws in the remark, *Sed pone aliquem abdicare epistolam ad Hebraeos quasi non Pauli*, "Grant that one rejects the epistle to the Hebrews as not having Paul for its author," etc., etc. And a few sentences after, *Tamen siquis suscipit ad Hebraeos quasi epistolam Pauli*, etc., "Yet if any one takes the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's," etc.

Eusebius, however, has preserved an extract from Origen's homilies on the epistle to the Hebrews, which gives a more exact account of the learned father's opinion respecting the origin of our epistle: *ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγεγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς, οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου,*

[1] See Bleek, Einleit. p. 99, et seqq.

[m] In Joh. tom. ii.

ὁμολογήσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, τουτέστι τῇ φράσει. Ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως Ἑλληνικωτέρα, πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν φράσεων διαφοράς, ὁμολογήσαι ἄν. Πάλιν τε αὖ ὅτι τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς θαυμάσιά εστι, καὶ οὐ δεύτερα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὁμολογουμένων γραμμάτων. Καὶ τοῦτο ἂν συμφήσαι εἶναι ἀληθὲς πᾶς ὁ προσέχων τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῇ ἀποστολικῇ. Τούτοις μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων· Ἐγὼ δε ἀποφαινόμενος εἴποιμ' ἄν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστὶν, ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἀπομνημονεύσαντος τινος τὰ ἀποστολικὰ, καὶ ὡσπερεὶ σχολιογραφήσαντος τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου. Εἴ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκιμείτο καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκῇ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασι· τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς θεὸς οἶδεν· ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία ὑπό τινων μὲν λεγόντων, ὅτι Κλήμης ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥωμαίων ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν· ὑπό τινων δὲ ὅτι Λουκᾶς ὁ γράψας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς πράξεις:[n]

"The style of the epistle, with the title 'to the Hebrews,' has not that rudeness of speech which belongs to the apostle who confessed himself rude in speech, that is in phraseology. But the epistle is purer Greek in the texture of its style, as every one will allow who is able to discern differences of style. Again he says, the ideas of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apostle. Every one will confess the truth of this who attentively reads the apostle's writings. Afterwards he adds: I would say, that the sentiments are the apostle's, but the language and composition belong to some one who committed to writing what the apostle said, and as it were reduced to commentaries the things spoken by his master. If then any church receives this epistle as coming from Paul, let it be commended even for this; for it is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as Paul's. But who wrote the epistle, God only knows certainly. But the account that has come down to us is various: some saying that Clement, who was bishop of Rome, wrote the epistle; others that it was Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts."

As this is by far the most important passage respecting Origen's

[n] H. E. vi. 25.

sentiments on the subject before us, it deserves a careful examination. The following remarks are suggested by it.

1. In his homilies we have this learned father's mature judgment, if it is to be had anywhere. They were preached and published in the latter part of his life, when he was upwards of sixty years of age.

2. Different opinions about the writer of the letter were entertained in his day. There were doubts on the point; and these were so well known where Origen was, that he could freely allude to them in a popular discourse without exciting offence or raising injurious suspicions against himself. It was not a universally established sentiment that Paul wrote the epistle. Thus much is implied in the words, "if any church receives it as Paul's, it is to be commended even on that account,"—that some persons had doubts of its Pauline authorship, arising from phenomena in it which they were not able to explain in a satisfactory manner to their own minds. The language is *hypothetical*, and no such inference can be properly drawn from it as that but *few* churches received the epistle as the apostle's, or even that any church rejected it as his. Bleek has not explained it rightly, as Tholuck and Stuart have perceived.

3. Origen's own belief was, that the sentiments and ideas of the epistle belonged to the apostle, some other person having written them down in the form and style they possess. This accounts for the apparent inconsistencies found in his different works. We have seen that he often cites it as Paul's without scruple or remark; whereas in the present passage out of his homilies he says, "God only knows who wrote it." If, as he believed, the individual who penned the letter represented the real sentiments of the apostle fairly and truly, the letter was substantially Paul's, though *the composition* proceeded from another. *The sense* was the apostle's; *the phraseology*, that of a friend or disciple.

4. Agreeably to the last observation, the expression "who wrote the epistle," etc., etc., can only mean *putting the thoughts of another into writing*. It does not signify *writing as an author;* for in that case the context proves Origen to be inconsistent with himself. It must denote no more than *to pen or write down the ideas of another*. This sort of writing was attributed by some to

Clement of Rome, by others to Luke the evangelist; but *he* gives no opinion of his own. It is evident that he did not ascribe it either to Clement or Luke.

5. It is very difficult to understand what Origen intends by the words "ancient men have handed it down to us as Paul's." He could scarcely mean *all the ancients*, alleging that they had one common, universal tradition that it was Paul's epistle, which preceded other traditions, modern in relation to Origen, that ascribe it to Clement or Luke. If then Origen does not intend *all the ancients*, including the christians in the East and West, he must refer generally to the ancient men belonging to the Alexandrian church. And those who were ancient in relation to this father must have immediately succeeded the apostles. Thus Pantaenus and Clement may be *numbered among* the ancients, though it is an arbitrary and unnatural restriction *to limit it* to them. The ancient tradition in the Alexandrian church represented Paul to be the author of the epistle. The ancient testimonies, as we have seen, of Irenaeus, Caius, and Tertullian, do not agree with the Alexandrian.

6. There can be little doubt that Origen speaks of historical traditions which had come down to him, and were then current among his contemporaries. Such accounts had existed before his time, as the phrase ἡ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία shews. He does not say whether they were ancient or not. But the field in which they were disseminated was Alexandria in particular; where some attributed *the penning* (not the authorship) of the epistle to Clement, others to Luke.

On the whole, there can be no reasonable doubt that Origen believed Paul to be the author. The diversity of style between it and the other Pauline epistles he accounted for in the way already mentioned, viz. that some one *penned* the ideas with the apostle's sanction or by his direction. The power of historical tradition was so strong that he could not ascribe the epistle to another than Paul; and yet his critical judgment could not reconcile the language with external testimony in relation to the apostle's authorship. Hence he attributed the νοήματα to Paul; the diction to another.

After Origen, Dionysius his disciple ascribes it without hesita-

tion to Paul, in his epistle addressed to Fabius bishop of Antioch, and preserved by Eusebius: *καὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις οἷς καὶ Παῦλος ἐμαρτύρησε* (Hebrews x. 34), *μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξαντο*:[o] "They also took with joy the plunder of their goods, like those to whom Paul bore testimony."

Theognostus of Alexandria, whom Cave places in 282, attributes the epistle to Paul. Thus he says: *καὶ ὁ Παῦλος δέ φησιν· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοῖς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας*, κ. τ. λ.: "Paul also says: 'For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened,'" etc. (Heb. vi. 4-6).[p]

In the same way Peter, Alexander, Hierax (of whom Epiphanius gives an account), Athanasius, Theophilus, Serapion, Didymus, and Cyril of Alexandria employ the epistle, ascribing it to Paul without question. It is true that the Alexandrian deacon Euthalius (460) again speaks of suspicions affecting its authenticity; but he sets them aside, and declares it to be Paul's.[q]

Thus the opinion which prevailed in the Alexandrian church from a very early period, even before Pantaenus, was in favour of the Pauline authorship. In accordance with this, the tenth place was commonly assigned to the epistle in the Alexandrian church. It came after the second epistle to the Thessalonians. It is so in Athanasius, the Memphitic version, the author of the *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae*, Euthalius, and Cyril Alex. Nor was this confined to the Alexandrian church; for other Greek fathers gave it the same place, such as Theodoret, Epiphanius, the council at Ephesus A.D. 431, etc. The oldest Greek MSS. agree, such as A. B. C. H., and therefore the editions of Lachmann and Tischendorf differ from others in this respect.

In the Greek church out of Egypt, the current tradition was the same. Thus about the middle of the third century the synod at Antioch ascribes it to Paul: *Ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον· κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτόν. ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς πέτρας*, κ. τ. λ. . . . . *Καὶ περὶ Μωϋσέως· μείζονα πλοῦτον ἡγησάμενος*, κ. τ. λ.:[r] "Now the Lord is that Spirit, according to the apostle

[o] H. E., vi. 41.

[p] Apud Athan. Opp. Epist. ad Serap. Spirit. Sanct. non esse creaturam.

[q] See Credner's Einleitung, pp. 498, 499.

[r] Mansi Collect. Concil. vol. i. p. 1038.

(2 Cor. iii. 17). And, according to the same, For they drank of the spiritual rock, etc. (1 Cor. x. 4). . . . . And of Moses the apostle writes, Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches," etc. (Heb. xi. 26). So also Methodius, in his treatise on the Banquet:[s] *εἰ ὁ νόμος, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, πνευματικός ἐστι, τὰς εἰκόνας ἐμπεριέχων τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν*: "Since the law, according to the apostle, is spiritual, containing images of good things to come." Here the first part of the observation appears to be taken from Romans vii. 14, the second from Heb. x. 1. Still there is some uncertainty respecting the allusion to our epistle, because the clause *κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον* may relate to the first part alone, *i.e.* to the epithet *πνευματικὸς*, *spiritual*, as Bleek[t] contends it must be understood.

There is another passage in the same treatise quoted by Lardner, which seems to ascribe part of Heb. xii. 1 to Paul; but the case is also doubtful. Bleek improbably considers the allusion to be to 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

Gregory Thaumaturgus also ascribes it to Paul, and quotes or alludes to various passages, such as Heb. ii. 3, 4; iii. 15-18.[v]

The council of Nice received the epistle as the authentic production of Paul, as appears from a reply given by Eusebius in the name of the assembled bishops, where it is quoted as his: *ὁ Παῦλος τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς Ἑβραίοις γράφων, λέγει,*[w] *κ. τ. λ.*: "Paul the chosen vessel, writing to the Hebrews, says," etc.

Eusebius of Caesarea quotes the epistle very frequently, especially in his commentary on the Psalms; attributing it to the apostle Paul without the least hint of any doubt about its authorship. Accordingly he puts it among *the fourteen* epistles of Paul, and among the *Homologoumena.* In the third chapter of the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, he says expressly: *τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες*: "Of Paul there are fourteen (epistles) manifest and well known." To this, however, he subjoins: "But yet there are some who reject that to the Hebrews, urging in favour of their opinion that it is contradicted by the church of the Romans as not being Paul's."

[s] Galland. Bibl. Patr. vol. iii. p. 703. [t] Einleit. pp. 144, 145.

[v] See Mai's Script. Vet. nova Collectio e codd. Vat. vol. vii. p. 176.

[w] See Harduin, Nova Collectio Concilior. vol. i. p. 402.

It must not be concealed, however, that there are other places in which Eusebius speaks somewhat differently. For example, in his Ecclesiastical History he states: Ἑβραίοις γὰρ διὰ τῆς πατρίου γλώττης ἐγγράφως ὡμιληκότος τοῦ Παύλου, οἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Κλήμεντα. . . . ἑρμηνεῦσαι λέγουσι τὴν γραφήν· ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον εἴη ἂν ἀληθὲς τῷ τὸν ὅμοιον τῆς φράσεως χαρακτῆρα τήν τε τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴν, καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἀποσώζειν, καὶ τῷ μὴ πόῤῥω τὰ ἐν ἑκατέροις τοῖς συγγράμμασι νοήματα καθεστάναι:[x]

"For Paul having addressed the Hebrews in their own tongue, some think the evangelist Luke, others that Clement translated the epistle; which last appears more like the truth, since there is a great resemblance between the style of the epistle of Clement and the epistle to the Hebrews, as well as between the sentiments of those writings."

This passage would lead us to suppose, that he had an opinion somewhat similar to that of Origen; for he believed that Paul wrote it in Hebrew, and Clement translated it into Greek. Discordant however with this is another statement made by him, in his Commentary on the Second Psalm, where he writes: ὁ μέν τοιγε Ἑβραῖος ἐλέγετο κύριον εἶναι τῆς λέξεως· ἔτεκον, ὅπερ καὶ Ἀκύλας πεποίηκεν· ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος, νομομαθὴς ὑπάρχων, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους τῇ τῶν ὁ ἐχρήσατο: "The Hebrew said that he possessed the reading ἔτεκον, which also Aquila had; but the apostle, being acquainted with the law, in the epistle to the Hebrews made use of the word in the Septuagint (Heb. i. 5)." But this single passage cannot outweigh the other. The inconsistency may perhaps be attributed to an oversight or a failure of memory. His true opinion would seem to be that Paul wrote it in Hebrew.

In another place, Eusebius refers to the epistle to the Hebrews as a writing which belonged to the *Antilegomena*, or disputed scriptures, in the time of Clement of Alexandria; for he states that Clement, in his Stromata, makes use of testimonies from the ἀντιλεγόμεναι γραφαὶ, the book called the Wisdom of Solomon, and that of Jesus the son of Sirach, and the epistle to the Hebrews, and that of Barnabas, and Clement, and Jude. It is

[x] H. E. iii. 38.

strange that he should have spoken of the epistle as put in the class of *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, with such productions as the epistles of Barnabas and Clement of Rome.

The general conclusion to be drawn from Eusebius's writings is, that he admitted the epistle as Paul's and used it as such. "Nevertheless perhaps it may be questioned whether he was fully persuaded of it. . . . . As the evidence of this epistle being Paul's did not appear equally clear with that for his other epistles, the persuasion was not equally certain; and doubts, as it seems, were sometimes apt to arise in his mind about it."[y]

The Pauline authorship was commonly held in the Greek church after Eusebius. Thus Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil the Great, the council of Laodicea (A.D. 360), Gregory Nyssene, Titus of Bostra, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, received it. And if the iambic poem addressed to Seleucus be rightly attributed to Amphilochius of Iconium, this bishop may also be quoted in favour of the epistle. Some, however, think that Gregory Nazianzen was the author of the iambics in question. Whoever the author was, he yet speaks of doubts in his day:

τινὲς δέ φασι τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους νόθον
οὐκ εὖ λέγοντες· γνήσια γὰρ ἡ χάρις:[z]

"Some say the epistle to the Hebrews is spurious; not speaking rightly, for it is a genuine work."

Hence Jerome remarks of the epistle, "Omnes Graeci recipiunt."[a]

In the fifth century, the epistle was received as the apostle's by Palladius, Isidore of Pelusium, Cyril of Alexandria, as already noticed, Theodoret, Eutherius, Socrates the historian, and, as we have seen before, Euthalius in Egypt.

In the Syrian church, the prevalent opinion was the same as in the Greek. No doubts are expressed within it as to Paul having been the author. The epistle is in the Peshito. But perhaps this fact of itself does not prove that it was written by an apostle; especially since it is an established opinion, that the translator of the epistle in the old Syriac must have been a different person

[y] Lardner, Works, vol. ii. p. 382. [z] Gregor. Naz. Opp. vol. ii. p. 194.
[a] Epist. 125 ad Evagrium.

from the translator of the other parts.[b] Its *position* in the Peshito shews nothing in favour of or against its Pauline origin. Because it follows the thirteen Pauline epistles, it cannot be argued with Delitzsch[c] that it was also written by Paul. And because it comes after the letters addressed by Paul to private individuals—to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon—it cannot be inferred that the translator believed that it was not written by Paul, as Wieseler[d] supposes. In every point of view the testimony of the Peshito is here indefinite, though it has been unhesitatingly used in favour of the Pauline origin by Stuart, Olshausen, Guerike, and Delitzsch.[e] That Paul wrote it, was the uniform opinion of succeeding Syrian writers, which is confirmed by Methodius, and a composition of the synod at Antioch, addressed to Paul of Samosata, about A.D. 264. If the epistle was generally regarded as Paul's at Antioch in the middle of the third century, it may have been inserted in the Peshito because supposed to have been written by an apostle. We have already seen that it was quoted as authentic by the assembled fathers at Antioch (A.D. 264). Jacob of Nisibis, belonging to the school there, and Ephraem the Syrian quote it as the apostle's. So too Severian, bishop of Gabala. The theologians of the school of Nisibis generally held the same opinion. Isaac bishop of Nineveh, and Ebed-jesu, reckon it the fourteenth of Paul's epistles.

The preceding examination of patristic evidence gives the following result: In the western or Latin church the epistle was not regarded as apostolic or Pauline down to the fourth century. During this century, however, it obtained a canonical position, and was attributed to Paul; so that in the latter part of it and afterwards, the epistle was firmly established in ecclesiastical opinion among the authentic writings of the apostle. The causes which contributed to this change of sentiment in the western church, if it can be properly called a change, cannot be exactly traced. Perhaps the study of Origen's writings had its influence. We know that Hilary and Ambrose in particular were conversant

[b] Michaelis's Introd. to the N. T. by Marsh, vol. ii. p. 5.
[c] Zeitschrift für Lutheran. theol. 1849, p. 252.
[d] Chronologie des apostol. Zeitalters, p. 510.
[e] See Tholuck, Kommentar, Einleit. pp. 9, 10.

with and largely influenced by them. The ecclesiastical intercourse, too, between the East and West, that began to be held at the time, must have brought the sentiments of the East into the West. Above all, the weight of two names, Jerome and Augustine, contributed largely to the formation of such an opinion. When these distinguished fathers quoted and used it as the apostle's authentic production, inferior writers might well do the same. It has also been conjectured that the Arian controversy, in which the epistle was of service to the orthodox cause, helped to give currency to it as an apostolic writing. But this is not very clear. One thing is apparent, viz. that the influence of the East on the West was very perceptible in the matter in question.

In the Eastern or Greek church, the tradition was early and uniformly in favour of the Pauline authorship. The Greek fathers in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Asia, Greece, believed that it proceeded from the apostle of the Gentiles. The exceptions were very few and insignificant; for the Arians were the first Greeks whom history charges with denying the Pauline origin, as we learn from Theodoret[f] and Epiphanius.[g]

The Syrian church, as has been shewn, entertained the same opinion.

Thus when we look at the external testimony, there can be little hesitation in saying, that it is decidedly favourable to the opinion of the epistle's having been written by Paul. The value of the evidence furnished by the early Latin church cannot be put into comparison with the early Alexandrian. The former church was *uncritical* in comparison with the latter. It cannot be placed on an equal footing with the Alexandrian either in learning or critical skill. Whatever may be said of the conflicting nature of the ancient testimonies—in whatever manner the opposing sentiments of the early fathers generally be explained—whatever suspicions continued in places where belief of the Pauline authorship prevailed, one thing is clear, that the number and weight of witnesses on the side of the old Alexandrian opinion, considerably exceed the witnesses on the other side. Judging by patristic evidence alone, the truth is undeniably on the side of those who hold that the letter was written by Paul. This opinion is not affected by

[f] In prooem. in ep. ad Hebraeos. [g] In Haeres. lxix. 14.

the circumstance which Michaelis[h] mentions, viz. that an epistle written by Paul in Rome could not have remained unknown to the Romans, and therefore their rejection of the epistle to the Hebrews is very unfavourable to it. They did not receive it as a work of Paul. But it is quite possible that the Roman christians knew little of Paul's writing at Rome to the believers in Judea. Those to whom he wrote, and the christians in neighbouring lands, would necessarily know the fact; but those who resided in *the place from which* he wrote would know less of the matter.

At the time of the Reformation, and subsequently, there has been also diversity of opinion. Roman Catholics generally have defended the Pauline authorship; Protestants have not been agreed respecting it.

Some think that the present epistle is acknowledged to be the production of Paul by the apostle Peter in his second epistle (iii. 15, 16). If they could shew this satisfactorily, it would be quite sufficient to establish the Pauline authorship. But though Spanheim[i] in particular has laboured to establish the view, and some after him have adopted it, recent critics have great doubt of its correctness. Among English writers it still lingers, as Gurney's dissertation[k] and Mr. Forster's book on our epistle[l] shew. "And account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you. As also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction."

1. On these words an argument of the following kind has been constructed. That Paul had written to those christians to whom Peter was then writing, that is, to the believing Jews in general (2 Peter i. 1), and to those of the dispersion mentioned in 1 Peter i. 1. Now since there is no evidence to prove that this epistle was

[h] Introduction to the N. T. by Marsh, vol. iv. pp. 249, 250.

[i] De authore epistolae ad Hebraeos, p. 11, et seqq. Opera, vol. iii.

[k] On the canonical authority of the epistle to the Hebrews, in the Biblical Repository for July 1832.

[l] Apostolical authority of the epistle to the Hebrews.

lost, it follows that it must be that which is now inscribed 'to the Hebrews.'

The second epistle of Peter is addressed to christians generally: "to them that have obtained like precious faith with us through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." But the readers to whom it is directed appear to be identified in another passage (iii. 1) with the readers of the first epistle, who are described as Jewish christians belonging to the different countries there mentioned, viz. Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. But even in the first epistle, readers of Gentile origin are referred to in various places, so that the apostle Peter regarded the Jewish christians as the original element in the early churches—the germ out of which they grew. If then Gentile christians cannot be wholly excluded from the first epistle, they cannot be excluded from the second, supposing the readers of both epistles to be identical. The indefinite commencement of the second shews, perhaps, that the original readers of it belonged to a wider circle than that of the first epistle, though they included the latter.

It is most probable that the words ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν should not be urged as though they meant specifically a certain number of persons in one particular place. Paul wrote to Jewish christians when he wrote his epistles. Most of the churches to which they were addressed had Jewish believers in them. And even if the churches were composed wholly of Gentiles, yet all his epistles were intended for all christians, whether Jews or Gentiles. In this way the expression ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν would apply to any of the Pauline epistles.

2. Peter affirms, it has been said, that there were some things discussed in the epistle to the Hebrews, which were hard to be understood (δυσνόητά τινα). Agreeably to this, Paul explicitly states, that some of the topics he was to discuss in that epistle were *hard to be uttered* (δυσερμήνευτα, Heb. v. 11), or *difficult of interpretation*, particularly the typical nature of the person of Melchizedek, or the priesthood of Christ.

All this rests on an erroneous interpretation of Peter's words. The common reading ἐν οἷς, *in which*, is better supported than the ἐν αἷς which Lachmann has taken into the text. Hence Tischen-

dorf has returned to it in his second edition. The sense is, *in which things*, not, *in which epistles*. The apostle therefore does not speak of difficulties in Paul's epistles, but in the truths revealed respecting the general judgment of which he himself speaks. The difficulties are not in Paul's writings, but in the subject Peter himself has been discussing.

3. The word καθώς (v. 15) should not be restricted in its allusion to the preceding clause, *and account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation*, nor to *the fourteenth verse*, but to the subject generally of which Peter had been speaking, *the coming of Christ*. This is confirmed by the περὶ τούτων of the sixteenth verse. The epistles to the Thessalonians are probably meant (see 1 Thessal. iv. 13-v. 11); for in them the same subject is discussed. This is much likelier than a reference to such passages in the epistle to the Hebrews, as ix. 27, 28.; x. 19-36.; xiii. 14, 15, 25-29, between which and the third chapter of Peter's second epistle, Mr. Gurney strangely discovers a close and striking analogy.

4. Forster[m] has attempted to shew that Peter, in both his letters, is under great obligations to the epistle to the Hebrews for peculiarities of thought and language proper to this letter. Could that position be established, it would go far to prove that the passage of Peter under examination alludes chiefly, if not exclusively, to our epistle. But his argumentation is inconclusive. It merely shews the existence of like words, phrases, and ideas, in the two epistles of Peter and that to the Hebrews. Now it is quite possible for two writers to present a certain similarity independently of one another. To justify the conclusion that one writer borrows from another, *a peculiar character* must belong to the coincidence. But the characteristic features constituting this peculiar character do not appear in the Petrine epistles.

5. We cannot leave this passage without observing, that it is calculated to strengthen the suspicions of those who doubt the authenticity of Peter's second epistle. Whatever explanation he offered, it is peculiar and perplexing.

(B.) Having considered the external evidence bearing on Paul's authorship, we proceed to notice all the internal evidence

[m] Apostolical authority of the epistle to the Hebrews, etc., p. 625, et seqq.

which relates to the same point. Here various parts of the epistle come under review.

(*a*) Circumstances mentioned or alluded to in the letter claim attention.

1. "Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you," (Heb. xiii. 23). Timothy had been Paul's intimate friend and companion. He was with the apostle at Rome during his confinement there. In Philip. ii. 19 the writer speaks of sending Timothy to the Philippians shortly. What then can be more probable than that he did send him to them, and wrote during his absence the epistle to the Hebrews, in which he tells them that Timothy had been sent away, and intimates, that he intends speedily to pay them a visit, should the evangelist return soon from Philippi? So Stuart reasons after Lardner.

According to this argumentation *ἀπολελυμένον* means *deputed, sent away on business.* The word is certainly capable of such a sense, as is apparent from Acts xiii. 3; xv. 30, if not from other passages. And the expression *brother* Timothy is certainly Pauline, for it occurs in 2 Cor. i. 1; 1 Thess. iii. 2; Philemon 1. Still it is more natural to take *ἀπολελυμένον* in the sense of *set at liberty, released from confinement.*[n] Had the other idea been intended it is most likely that something would have been added to indicate the place from which he had been sent, as well as the direction and object of the journey. The participle standing by itself suggests the notion of release from confinement more readily than that of sending away on an errand. In the latter case *ἀποπεμφθέντα* would rather have been employed. According to Greswell also,[o] the construction advocated by Euthalius, Chrysostom, Mill, Mynster, Stuart, and others, involves an absurdity. For, if all that the words imply is the fact, that Timothy had set out from *some* quarter on *some* journey, why does the writer add, that if he joined him in time they would both endeavour to revisit Judea in company? If the writer himself was in Italy waiting to be joined by Timothy, knowing that Timothy was already on his road to him,

[n] See Witsius in his Meletem. Leid. p. 240.

[o] Dissertations upon the principles and arrangement of an Harmony, etc., vol. iv. p. 221, note.

he could scarcely speak in terms of so much uncertainty about his joining him within a certain time, or not.

But though the word be understood in the sense of *liberated*, it does not demonstrate the truth of the opinion that the epistle could not have been written by Paul. The fact that there is no account of Timothy's having been imprisoned during the life of Paul, does not *necessarily* shew that the occurrence of his imprisonment *must* have taken place after Paul's death.

We cannot think that the present passage viewed in the light of candour favours the opinion of those who advocate the Pauline authorship. Rather does it create difficulty against it. For, even granting that ἀπολελυμένος means *sent away* (to Philippi), and that Paul was a prisoner at Rome when the epistle was written, it is not easy to see how he could write so confidently as he does in affirming "with whom, if he come shortly, *I will see you*" (ὄψομαι ὑμᾶς). The strongest expression which he ventures to employ in the epistles obviously written during his Roman captivity, are found in the Philippian epistle (i. 25): "And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all," etc. But this is not equivalent to the phraseology in Heb. xiii. 23. In the one, we have τοῦτο πεποιθὼς, οἶδα ὅτι μενῶ, "having this trust I know that I shall abide," viz. *by virtue of this trust* I know that I shall abide; in the other, the language is direct, ὄψομαι ὑμᾶς, I will see you. He has neither *hope* nor *trust*, that he shall see the parties addressed; but speaks of it as *certain*.

Again, if the term means *liberated*, as is most probable, and if the epistle were written by Paul in imprisonment at Rome, Timothy must have been in confinement along with him. This, however, is improbable. In the letters composed by the apostle during his captivity there, there is not the slightest hint of Timothy's incarceration, though he is occasionally mentioned. And when the second letter to Timothy was written, the evangelist was at Ephesus.

But indeed it is tolerably clear, as we shall see hereafter, that the writer of the epistle was not at Rome when he addressed the Hebrews. He was somewhere in Italy, waiting to be joined by Timothy. This could not have been when he was taken a priso-

ner to Italy, nor during the two years noticed at the close of the Acts, nor at any time after; for the captivity at Rome terminated with his death.

The passage presents an obstacle to the reception of the Pauline authorship that cannot well be removed. This is doubtless owing to our ignorance of many circumstances. But it is rash as well as illogical to conclude, that because we cannot clear away the obscurity overhanging the text, it *disproves* the opinion held by so many of the fathers.

Were we acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, the compatibility of the passage with the Pauline authorship might be apparent. It is one thing to assert *the absolute incompatibility* of it with such a view, and the incompatibility of it relatively to the present state of our knowledge.

2. "In Hebrews xiii. 18, 19, the writer asks the prayers of those whom he addressed that he might speedily be restored to them; and in Heb. xiii. 23, he expressed a confident expectation of 'speedily paying them a visit.' From these passages it is clear that the writer was then in a state of imprisonment; and also, that he was assured of a speedy liberation, which would enable him to pay the visit that he had encouraged them to hope for."[p]

It is by no means certain that the verb ἀποκατασταθῶ means *to be restored out of a state of imprisonment.* That is opposed to the verb ὄψομαι in the twenty-third verse. Stuart asserts that the writer expresses himself as *assured* of his liberty in xiii. 23. But the assertion is scarcely correct. He says simply, *I will come and see you.* That he was a prisoner, the verse does not imply. Even if Philip. i. 25 refer to the same point of time as Heb. xiii. 23 (which is only assumed by Stuart after Hug), the words τοῦτο πεποιθὼς, οἶδα ὅτι, κ. τ. λ., are different from the simple ὄψομαι, giving utterance to the writer's strong trust, not to the certainty of his knowledge implied in the latter.

The opponents of Paul's authorship argue from xiii. 19, in favour of *their* view. It is implied, say they, in the words, that the writer had lived among the Hebrews and stood to them in a relation of personal familiarity. Now Paul was not so related to the churches of Palestine. Hug's explanation of this matter does

[p] Stuart, Commentary, pp. 103, 104.

not meet the requirements of the case. Paul had brought to the churches of Palestine from Galatia, Macedonia, and Achaia, on the very occasion of his last visit to Jerusalem, charitable contributions which he had collected for them. They had, therefore, he thinks, good reason to pray for their benefactor that he might be restored to them again. But the ὑμῖν, restored to *you*, is specific and definite, shewing that it means the members of the particular church for which the epistle was intended. And if that church be identified with the christian congregation at Jerusalem, as many think, Paul was there but a very short time on the occasion referred to by Hug.[q] If we consider that the apostle had been a prisoner at Caesarea for the space of two years, he could not be unknown to the christians in Palestine. His occasional visits in Palestine will account, perhaps, for all the knowledge of his person which the verse really presupposes on the part of the readers. It is not necessary with Hug to confine the case to his last visit.

3. An argument that Paul was the author has also been founded on Heb. x. 34, in the received reading of the passage. Euthalius argued long ago from καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου συνεπαθήσατε in this manner. But the received reading has been abandoned by the best critics. Griesbach, Knapp, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and even Scholz, have adopted τοῖς δεσμίοις, *ye sympathised with the prisoners*. The evidence in favour of this latter reading is *decided*.

4. The salutation in Heb. xiii. 24, has also been urged as favourable to the Pauline authorship: "They of Italy salute you." "Paul," it is alleged, "writing from Rome, which had communication with all parts of Italy, and with the Italian churches, more or less of whose members we may well suppose to have been often at Rome, may very naturally be supposed to have sent such a salutation." So Stuart reasons after Lardner, Hug, and others.

It is argued on the other side by Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bleek, etc., that the phrase οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας shews the locality of the writer to have been out of Italy, else οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ (comp. 1 Peter v. 13) would have been employed. The christians who send salutations had fled from Italy in the time of Nero's persecu-

[q] Introduction, translated by Fosdick, p. 587

tion. It is superfluous at present to inquire into the correctness of the opinion proposed by Semler,[r] that *Aquila* and *Priscilla* are meant by *the persons from Italy*, because there is no reason whatever for restricting the phrase to *two* individuals, either those specified, or any other two.

Those who examine impartially the phrase *οἱ ἀπό* with the genitive case cannot well maintain that it must mean, persons who were *not in* Italy, though that was their home. All that *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* can mean is, *belonging to Italy*, whether in the country at the time or not; *Italians*, or *Italian christians*. This has been shewn by Mr. Stuart, and very satisfactorily by Tholuck himself.[s]

Though it cannot be maintained that the phrase in question *determines* the locality of *the writer*, it is most probable that he was *in* Italy when he employed it in addressing the Hebrew christians. It is not likely that he was at *Rome*, else he would have said *οἱ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης*. Surely it is not a matter of indifference whether the author at Rome said *οἱ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης* or *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*. It is conjectured, indeed, by Stuart after Lardner, that there were often christians at Rome from various parts of Italy who were acquainted with Paul; and if these, as well as the Romans, wished to send their friendly regards to the apostle, he could not have adopted other phraseology than *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, which would embrace christians in general who lived in the country where the writer was. This may agree with the situation of Paul while a prisoner during the two years noticed in the Acts, but it will scarcely suit his state afterwards, for the following particulars are gathered from himself regarding his situation at Rome: "This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me; of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes. The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me and was not ashamed of my chain: but, when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me" (2 Tim. i. 15, 16, 17). "At my first answer no man stood with me but all men forsook me" (2 Tim. iv. 16). "Only Luke is with me" (2 Tim. iv. 11).

The case adduced by Lardner and Stuart, from 1 Cor. xvi. 8,

[r] Beiträge zu genauerer Einsicht des Briefes an die Hebräer, p. 83.

[s] Einleit. pp. 22, 120, and Kommentar, p. 429, et seqq.

as analogous, is not so. He had lately been visiting the churches in Asia Minor, and was not a prisoner in Ephesus at the time. Hence he could *not* as well send the salutations of *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* as of the *ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας*.

5. It is alleged, that Paul would scarcely have written to Hebrew christians, since he was not accustomed to intrude into others' sphere of activity (2 Cor. x. 13, etc.; Romans xv. 20).[t]

The language of the apostle of the Gentiles in the passages referred to is not applicable to the case before us, because it relates to his preaching the gospel where others had already laboured; whereas, the writing of a letter to Hebrew christians whom others had instructed is somewhat different. Besides, though Paul commonly abstained from touching a preoccupied sphere, we need not infer that he did so in every case. The rule should not be made absolute. He had not preached to the Roman christians when he wrote his epistle to them.

In summing up, we must candidly confess, that these incidental circumstances contained in the epistle are as unfavourable to the Pauline authorship as the opposite. The advocates on both sides have extracted more from them in favour of their respective opinions than they will allow. Some of the notices in question create difficulty in the way of such as contend for Paul being the author; and all are too precarious to be relied on as evidence. It is pretty clear, that the writer was not in Rome, but somewhere in Italy, when he penned the letter. Where he was, it is impossible to discover, when we remember that the captivity noticed in the conclusion of Acts terminated with the apostle's death. We do not think, however, that any of these passages, or all together, form an *insuperable* objection to the Pauline authorship. It is true we cannot explain them satisfactorily on the ground that Paul wrote the letter in Rome, or that he wrote it elsewhere in Italy; but it is quite possible that this may result from our ignorance of circumstances in the apostle's life which were not written for our benefit.

On the other hand, some passages in the epistle have been deemed adverse to Paul's authorship. The strongest of these is ii. 3, " How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation;

[t] De Wette, Einleit. fifth edit. p. 319.

which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?" The opponents of the Pauline authorship have always rested on this as a strong testimony in their favour. From the time of Luther and Calvin to the present, they attribute much weight to it. The readers of the epistle are represented as belonging to the second christian generation. They had received the gospel from ear-witnesses of the facts belonging to Christ's history, and from the first preachers. They were not Christ's immediate disciples; nor did they stand at the fountain head of divine truth. So far this militates nothing against Paul's authorship. But the writer classes himself with the hearers: "was confirmed unto *us* by them that heard him." He had received the gospel from ear-witnesses, and consequently occupies the same stand-point as Luke (Luke i. 2). Hence it is argued, that no apostle could have been the author; not even Paul, who, though occupying a somewhat different position from the other apostles in regard to his calling, insists on his apostolic independence of them, because he had received internal revelations directly from Christ.

Plausible as this reasoning may appear, we cannot attribute to it the weight which so many commentators attach to it. A common rhetorical figure by which the writer includes himself among those he addresses (*ἀνακοίνωσις*) will explain in a great measure the peculiarity in question. He classes himself with them in a general way, without meaning that his language should be strictly interpreted to say, that he was on the same level with them *in every particular*. This mode of speaking occurs in the epistle to the Hebrews several times, as in vi. 1-3; x. 24-26; xii. 1. It is usual in other parts of the New Testament, as in Romans xiii. 11-13; 1 Cor. x. 8, 9; 2 Cor. vii. 1. Why then should it be excluded from the present passage? Bleek *limits* it to admonitory and warning addresses, where the author might include himself with propriety among his readers, because the consciousness of moral infirmity is an attribute of universal humanity. The context exemplifies this—*we* ought to give heed—how shall *we* escape. But when the mode of speech is commenced, it appears to be continued, so that *εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβεβαιώθη* partakes of the character of the preceding context. It is true that the hortatory tone has ceased;

and that *confirmed unto us* merely expresses a *historical fact;* for which reason De Wette denies that the figure in verse 1 can be extended to the clause before us; but it is surely not improbable to suppose that Paul, having begun to speak in that way, continued it so far. When we consider too that his knowledge of the things spoken by the Lord rested in some respects on the tradition of apostles, and that the phraseology is not *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων* but *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουσάντων*, we shall see that the clause may be satisfactorily explained in accordance with a Pauline authorship. Indeed this is admitted by Tholuck, who refers simply to one fact against it, viz. that in a letter addressed to churches where his apostolic authority was questioned, Paul should not merely omit saying anything in defence of his equality with the other apostles, but even give occasion to misapprehensions respecting it among those very churches. In writing to christian societies where doubts of his co-equality were disseminated, he zealously asserted it, as to the Galatians and Corinthians; but in addressing the very churches whence those false apostles who disturbed the Galatian communities proceeded, he did not act in the same manner, but suffered misapprehensions to exist by the very language employed. This appears incredible to Tholuck; and therefore the passage in his view still stands against Paul's authorship.[v]

It is by no means certain that Paul's apostolic authority was disputed by the churches of Palestine at the time the epistle was written. And even if it were, the desire which led to the omission of his name would prompt silence respecting his apostleship. Whoever wrote the epistle resolved to abstain from personal allusions, or to keep them in the back ground. In conformity with this, Paul could not well enter into a defence of his apostleship. Circumstances, of which we are now ignorant, may have determined him not to insist on his apostleship, though it should be impugned by Judaisers among the churches of Palestine.

(*b*) It has been inferred, that Paul is the author of the epistle to the Hebrews because the distribution of materials, or general plan, is the same in it as in his acknowledged epistles. It presents both a doctrinal or didactic, and a practical or admonitory part. At the close of the Pauline letters, personal circumstances are

[v] Kommentar, u. s. w., pp. 172, 173.

introduced; so also in our epistle. Thus, the writer requests an interest in the prayers of those he addresses—commends them to the God of peace, sends his own and others' salutations, and concludes with the usual benediction.

"Pray for us," xiii. 18. Compare Romans xv. 30; Ephes. vi. 18, 19; Coloss. iv. 3; 1 Thessal. v. 25; 2 Thessal. iii. 1.

Having requested the prayers of these Jewish believers, he himself prays for them.

"Now the God of peace . . . . . make you perfect . . . . . through Jesus Christ: to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."—xiii. 20, 21. Comp. Romans xv. 33; Ephes. vi. 19-23; 1 Thessal. v. 23; 2 Thessal. iii. 16.

"Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints. They of Italy salute you," xiii. 24. Comp. Romans xvi.; 1 Cor. xvi. 19-21; 2 Cor. xiii. 13; Philip. iv. 21, 22.

"Grace be with you all. Amen."—xiii. 25. Comp. 2 Thessal. iii. 18. Coloss. iv. 18; Ephes. vi. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 22; Titus iii. 15.

Thus the epistle bears a great resemblance to those written by Paul, especially that addressed to the Romans, in its arrangement or method.

But the impugners of the Pauline authorship, though compelled to acknowledge this general similarity, urge on the other side a feature of *dissimilarity*, viz. the want of a title or inscription. The name of the writer does not appear in an initiatory formula, according to Paul's usual method.

Very early, those who assumed that Paul wrote the epistle endeavoured to reconcile this fact with their opinion. Thus, Pantaenus[w] thought, that the apostle omitted mention of his name out of modesty, the writer knowing that he was sent to the Gentiles, not to the Jews. Clement of Alexandria thought,[x] that Paul avoided the inscription lest he should offend the Hebrews who had imbibed prejudices against him. Jerome[y] gives the same explanation as Clement's, and it has continued in the West down to the present day. In another place,[z] however, the same father conjectures that Paul did not wish to designate himself *an apostle*, lest he should appear to place himself on an equality with Christ, to

[w] Ap. Eusebius, H. E. vi. 14. [x] Ibid. [y] Catalog. cap. 5.
[z] Commentar. in Galat. i. 1.

whom that title is given in the epistle. Theodoret[a] follows Pantaenus; Chrysostom,[b] Clement.

In modern times, Hug combines the explanations of Pantaenus and Clement, adding a third, viz. that as the epistle begins with a rhetorical introduction it has little resemblance to a letter. Since it is a discourse as far as the doxology in xiii. 12, rather than a letter, the usual prefatory formula is not so appropriate. Thus, according to the learned author, the apostle's mind was influenced by three considerations at once to omit his name at the beginning, viz. because when addressing Jews he could not call himself apostle with propriety, since he was the apostle of the Gentiles; because he wisely endeavoured not to excite aversion at the outset; and because a salutation prefixed would have been infelicitous, considering the character of the entire work.[c]

But notwithstanding the explanations offered by ancient and modern critics, the peculiarity in question is urged by Bleek with much ingenuity against the Pauline authorship. Considering the relation in which the apostle stood to the churches in Palestine, Bleek argues that he could scarcely have avoided, in an epistle of so much importance, making many personal references, as he does in the letters addressed to the Galatians and Corinthians. As the parties were prejudiced against him, he must have appealed, if not to his apostleship, at least to the revelations made to him by the Lord, to the purity of his motives, about which the Jewish christians had always been suspicious, and his unabated love towards his countrymen. Had Paul been the author, these particulars, it is argued, would have been suitable, almost indeed unavoidable, unless he wished to forego the chances of a favourable hearing.

But the fathers who notice the phenomenon in question, did not look on it as a serious obstacle to the Pauline authorship. They did not feel it to be a formidable difficulty in the way of their opinion regarding the writer. They explained it in perfect conformity with their notion of the apostolic authorship, and were satisfied. No doubt their solutions strike different critics as satisfactory or otherwise, according to preconceived views of the

[a] Prooem. ad Hebr. [b] Homil. ed. Benedict. vol. iii. p. 371.
[c] Einleit. u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 421.

epistle's origin. They may, however, be all insufficient, and the Pauline authorship remain unaffected. In the absence of historical information, we may hazard *conjectures;* but there is little advantage or progress in so doing. Bleek attaches too much weight to the analogy between the Galatian epistle and ours. In the instance of the Galatian converts, the apostle had to do, not simply with Jewish christians, but with *Judaisers*—parties who had laboured to subvert his apostolic authority and corrupt the gospel he preached. Besides, he wrote to mixed communities in Galatia—to churches composed of Jews and Gentiles. But in relation to Jewish believers in Palestine, Paul had not to contend with Judaisers who had opposed his apostleship and corrupted his gospel; neither had he to address communities in which the Gentile element was more prevalent than the Jewish. He had to write simply to Jewish christians, with whom he had come little into contact, and before whom he was not called to justify himself. We have no good reason for supposing, that the Jewish believers in Palestine had to be won over to a fair hearing of his doctrine by personal allusions, aided by appeals to the divinity of his mission. It is better to confess our ignorance of the reason or reasons which might have determined Paul to suppress his name, than to indulge in further conjecture. Because he prefixed his name to other letters, it was not necessary for him to do so in every case. In different circumstances, and with different ends in view, an author may act differently. While therefore we *do* attach importance to the fact that the general plan pursued in the epistle resembles that commonly followed by the apostle, we cannot attach equal force on the opposite side to the want of an initiatory formula. Those who do so, take advantage of the absence of historical information, and unfairly reason from our ignorance of a sufficient reason, that Paul the writer could not have had any. Such at least is the impression which their argument is fitted to make. They shew the unsatisfactory nature of such conjectures as have been made to account for the phenomenon in conformity with Paul's authorship; and having done so, virtually draw the conclusion that *no* satisfactory explanation *can be* furnished by the Pauline advocates. This is extracting too much from simple ignorance. Though we may know of no good reason inducing Paul

to suppress his name at the commencement, there may have been a most cogent one. Here, therefore, the argument from analogy has been pressed too far.

(*c*) It has also been urged in proof of the Pauline authorship, that the doctrinal contents resemble those of Paul's acknowledged epistles. There is a great similarity between the truths taught in it and in the known writings of the apostle.

1. The view given of Christ's person is the same. He is the *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ*, the visible manifestation by which the glory of God is revealed personally to mankind (i. 3). So in 2 Cor. iv. 4, Christ is termed *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ*; and in Coloss. i. 15, *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου*; in Philip. ii. 6, *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ'*, *κ. τ. λ.*, being in the form of God he thought it not robbery to be equal with God. He is the divine agent through whom Deity created the worlds: "heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds . . . . . upholding all things by the word of his power" (i. 2, 3). So also Coloss. i. 16, 17, "by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist." Ephes. iii. 9, "God, who created all things by Jesus Christ." 1 Cor. viii. 6, "one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things."

2. His humiliation and exaltation are described in the same manner, and similarly connected. The one is represented as the reward of the other. Thus in Heb. ii. 9: "But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour;" xii. 2, "who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God;" i. 4, "being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they." Compare with these passages Philip. ii. 8, 9: "And being found in fashion as a man he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name," etc., etc. There is nothing like this idea in any epistle of the New Testa-

ment, except one written by Paul, viz. that Jesus not only passed through suffering obedience to an exalted state, but obtained it as a reward for obedience unto death.

3. He destroyed the power of death and the devil. So it is written in ii. 14: "that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil." Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55, 57; 2 Tim. i. 10.

4. He died once for all for the collective sin of mankind, and is now raised far above the possibility of suffering for it. Heb. ix. 26, 28: "Now once in the end of the world hath he appeared, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself . . . . . So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation." x. 12: "but this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God." Comp. Romans vi. 9, 10: "Knowing that Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God."

5. He is the Mediator between God and men. In three places, the term μεσίτης applied to him is connected with *covenant;* but the word is not used except by Paul, who applies it once to Christ in 1 Tim. ii. 5. In the epistle to the Hebrews, Christ is prominently set forth as *a priest* (ἱερεύς) which includes the idea of *mediation.*

6. After completing the work of redemption on earth, he was exalted above all heavens. vii. 26: "For such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens." iv. 14: "Seeing then that we have a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God," etc. Comp. Ephes. iv. 10: "He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things."

7. He makes intercession with the Father for them that come to him. vii. 25: "Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them." Romans viii. 34: "It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us."

8. He now reigns at the right hand of the Father till all hostile powers and influences be completely and for ever subdued. In this way his exaltation will be consummated. x. 13: "From henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool." ii. 8: "Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet." Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 25: "For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet." He will appear again to judge the world and confer salvation on all who look for him. ix. 28: "So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation." Comp. Titus ii. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8.

9. The old covenant is only a shadow of the good things of the new one. viii. 5: "Who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the tabernacle," etc. x. 1: "For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things," etc. Coloss. ii. 17: "Which are a shadow of things to come," etc.

10. Between the old and new covenants there is an important difference. They bear to each other the relation of σάρξ and πνεῦμα respectively. The one confers external purification, but without quickening the soul or giving perfect rest to the conscience. It is only a preparatory institute—a schoolmaster to lead to Christ. The other confers perfect purity and peace of conscience. See Hebrews vii. 16, 18, 19; ix. 9, 10, 13; viii. 7; x. 16, 20. Comp. 2 Cor. iii. 6, 7; Galat. iii. 3, 24; iv. 3, 9.

11. Free access to God the Father has been obtained only by Christ. x. 19, 20: "Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus; by a new and living way which he hath consecrated for us through the vail, that is to say, his flesh." Comp. Ephes. ii. 18: "For through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father." Romans v. 2: "By whom also we have access by faith, into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God."

12. The Pauline triad—faith, hope, and love—is found in x. 22, 23, 24. Comp. 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

13. The gifts of the Holy Spirit are variously distributed according to his own will. ii. 4: "God also bearing them witness, both

with signs, and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost (*πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς*) according to his own will." Comp. 1 Cor. xii. 11: "But all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will" (*διαιροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται*). 4, 6: "Now there are diversities of gifts (*διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων*), but the same Spirit . . . . And there are diversities of operations (*διαιρέσεις*), but it is the same God who worketh all in all."

14. The importance attached to faith is the same in our epistle as in the acknowledged Pauline ones. This principle is represented as the condition and medium of a man's acceptance with God, giving confidence in regard to things future, and realising to the mind the spiritual truths revealed in the Bible. The principle in question is illustrated in action in both. Examples of its power are given from the history of the Jewish worthies; Heb. iii. 5; x. 38-xi. 40. Comp. Romans iv. 3; Galat. iii. 6-14. No other sacred writer illustrates *πίστις* in the same way, or attaches the importance to it which Paul does.

Other points of doctrinal similarity between our epistle and the acknowledged productions of Paul might be adduced, were it desirable to insist on the less clear and the questionable. But in a discussion such as the present, it is far better to lay aside particulars which contribute nothing to the advancement of the view maintained by the Pauline advocates. What has now been brought forward is clear and unmistakeable; and none has ventured to deny its character since the time of Schulz, except the recent Tübingen School, especially Köstlin and Schwegler.[d] Unquestionably the same type of doctrine is exhibited here, as appears in the authentic writings of the apostle. The agreement is palpable. It cannot fail to arrest the observation of every reader.

But while it is conceded that the doctrinal type belonging to the epistle is *essentially* Pauline, diversities are adduced on the other side. After the admission is made, it is shorn of some of its strength by observations relating to minor matters. It is alleged, for instance, that there are peculiarities of doctrine which separate our epistle in some measure from the class of writings it appears to belong to.

[d] See Tholuck, Einleit. p. 36 et seqq.

The most remarkable points of difference are the following:—

1. The ideas and views peculiar to the apostle Paul, as well as his polemics, are wanting in the epistle. Thus there is nothing about Christ's resurrection, about justifying faith, about the kingdom of heaven or of God; nothing about Satan's kingdom, and Christ's gospel.

2. On the contrary, the epistle has sentiments peculiar to itself, as those relative to *the perfecting* or *consummation* of Christ, to christian τελείωσις generally, the continuance of propitiation, vii. 24, etc.

3. The pervading comparison and typical adaptation, of Old Testament passages and institutions, are foreign to Paul, reminding one of Philo.

4. Paul would scarcely have presented christianity as so correspondent to Judaism, and Christ in the light of a high priest, which could only be for Jews, not for Gentiles. Nor would he have maintained silence regarding his apostolic calling to the Gentiles, or failed to urge that christianity is a new revelation to Jews and Gentiles.[e]

5. The author betrays an imperfect knowledge of the temple's internal arrangements and the official duties of the high priest. He is even mistaken in various particulars. This appears from the commencement of the ninth chapter, where he divides the Jewish tabernacle into its two principal parts, viz. the first apartment, σκηνὴ πρώτη, and the inner apartment, or the holy of holies, σκηνὴ δεύτερα. In specifying the furniture in each, he mentions, as being in the first, the candlestick, the table, and the shewbread; in the second, the golden altar of incense, and the ark of the covenant containing the golden pot of manna, Aaron's rod, and the tables of the covenant.

The first remarkable thing in this description is the placing of the pot of manna and Aaron's rod in the ark of the covenant; because this is apparently in direct opposition to the statements in 1 Kings viii. 9; 2 Chron. v. 10, where it is expressly declared, that it contained nothing but the two tables of stone. It is still more remarkable, in the second place, that the golden altar of incense should be put in the holy of holies; whereas it was in the

[e] De Wette, Einleit., sect. 161 c., pp. 320, 321.

first apartment, towards the vail which separated the one from the other.

But the most remarkable circumstance of all is, the statement made in the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses: "Now when these things were thus ordained, the priests went always into the first tabernacle, accomplishing the service of God. But into the second went the high priest alone once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself, and for the errors of the people. The Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing." Here the writer clearly indicates, that the arrangements of the sanctuary he had just spoken of were still in existence. But this was not the case. It is true that the first apartment of the tabernacle in the temple built by Herod was like the corresponding apartment of the tabernacle as originally constructed; but the holy of holies was not like its counterpart. It was quite empty, as Josephus testifies. The ark of the covenant with its lid and the tables of the law were lost when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. They were burnt with the temple. When the temple was rebuilt by Zerubbabel, and afterwards by Herod, a new ark of the covenant, with the mercy-seat and cherubim, was not made; nor were new tables of stone written. Hence Herod's temple wanted these in its holy of holies, though they belonged to the original tabernacle in the wilderness, and to the first temple; a fact of which our author seems to have been ignorant.[f]

A very brief answer to these considerations may suffice, because diversity in the mode of presenting truth does not involve *opposition* between the different parts of that truth. It is only a *peculiar diversity* which proves difference of authorship. The persons whom the writer had in view, his great theme, his leading object, may well account for the particulars in question. Did not the circumstances *require* considerable difference of manner and treatment? Let us examine the points which have been enumerated.

1. It is alleged, that the importance of Christ's resurrection is not mentioned in the epistle, though on many occasions the introduction of the topic would have been most appropriate.

This is nothing more than the *argumentum e silentio*, which is

[f] Bleek, p. 381, et seqq.

of no weight except in peculiar cases. No *necessity* for the formal introduction of the subject appears in any part of the letter. The reasoning is complete without it. There are certainly places where it *might have been* pertinently inserted; but as long as none of them *demanded* it, the argument amounts to nothing.

And then, Christ's exaltation to heaven is frequently spoken of, and that implies his antecedent resurrection. It is easy to see why this happens. Throughout the epistle Christ is compared to the Jewish high-priest. As the latter entered into the holy of holies, so the former ascended to heaven, of which the earthly tabernacle was but a symbol. In consequence of this prevailing representation, there is little occasion for adducing the resurrection of Christ. It is more appropriate to advert to his subsequent exaltation. His resurrection is presupposed in various passages of the epistle, as where it is affirmed, *He destroyed him that had the power of death, and so delivered mankind from the bondage in which they were kept through fear of it;* for he accomplished this by rising from the grave as a conqueror. In another place, Christ is spoken of as offering up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears to the Father, who was able to save him from death, *and was heard in that he feared*, that is, he was delivered from death by his resurrection. Again, in xiii. 20, the God of salvation is said to have brought again from the dead the great Shepherd of the sheep; implying, that Christ by his resurrection became the leader from death to life of all his people. Nor is Paul accustomed to introduce the present topic into all his epistles. Thus in that addressed to the Romans, there is no more of it than in the present. In the first chapter, fourth verse, of that epistle, we meet with the phrase, "by the resurrection from the dead;" and in the fourteenth chapter, ninth verse, "Christ both died and revived." Let these two expressions be set over against Heb. xiii. 20, and it will appear, that the subject of Christ's resurrection is introduced into our letter as much as into the Roman one.

Again, it is alleged, that there is nothing about justifying faith in our epistle. We need hardly stop to shew, that the πίστις of our epistle is not an essentially different thing from the πίστις of Paul. One principle may be viewed on different sides and in

different aspects — comprehensively — as Paul was able to do. The same writer may set it in various lights, according to his purpose on each particular occasion. In Paul's writings, *πίστις εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν* is directly affirmed to be the sole means of justification. Here, that is not expressly affirmed, but left to be drawn as a conclusion. In his epistles to the Romans and Galatians especially, Paul has in view persons who maintained that the law was necessary to be observed even by the Gentiles. Hence he insists on the justifying power of faith, irrespective of works of law. But in the epistle to the Hebrews, he has others in view, viz. such as were in danger of being led away from christianity by the temple worship, the priesthood, and the sacrifices. His object accordingly is to shew, that this ritual could not satisfy the religious feeling of want; but simply point to the real source of satisfaction. Thus in both cases the mind is directed to faith in Jesus as the only way by which man can be brought into a satisfying relation to God. In the one case, he cannot attain it by the observance of the law; for that but excites the feeling of want; in the other, he cannot reach it by the Jewish priesthood; for that only calls out into expression the inward longing after reconciliation with God.

By means of faith, our epistle teaches that a vital connexion is formed between the present and the future. The future becomes a present. The object of hope is made present. Christians are thoroughly convinced of the reality of things imperceptible by the senses (xi. 1). By it they ascend into the holy of holies in heaven (x. 22). They belong to the heavenly Jerusalem, and are associates of angels (xii. 23). They feel the powers of the world to come (vi. 5). They are made partakers of an unchangeable kingdom (xii. 28). Hence they are raised above the frail, transitory world in regard to their inward life; for they belong to the higher future world, and are consequently superior to the position in which Judaism keeps its votaries. And the assurance of faith enables us to appropriate purification by the blood of Christ, purging the heart from the consciousness of guilt (x. 22). All this is the same as Paul's justification through faith, but expressed in other forms on account of the pervading reference to Jewish modes of worship throughout the epistle. The general idea lying

at the foundation of faith is the same; but it is differently applied. Here, as in Paul, it is maintained, that faith should prove its genuineness by perseverance (x. 36; iii. 14); it is connected with hope and love (x. 23, 24); it has reference to the ἐπαγγελία, the great evangelical promise (x. 38-xii. 4); and its living efficacy is illustrated by examples.

But Tholuck and others urge the circumstance, that the want of an antithesis between νόμος and πίστις, ἔργα πίστεως καὶ νόμου, is a striking peculiarity of our letter. The error committed by the Jewish christians consisted in an unintelligent adherence to ἔργα νόμου, *works of law*, from which they might have been delivered by δικαιοσύνη πίστεως, *the righteousness of faith*. Hence it is singular, that Paul does not bring out the contrast between νόμος and πίστις. There is no reason for supposing, that the writer had mainly in view *Judaisers* who rested on ἔργα νόμου. Besides, his subject was of more extensive range, and looked at from a different position, because of the parties he addressed. Works of law are *virtually* excluded by the mode in which πίστις is urged. They are set in their proper light by *implication*. In the epistles to the Romans and Galatians πίστις is openly contrasted with νόμος; whereas the unwelcome contrast is *intimated* rather than *directly presented* in the epistle to the Hebrews. In the one case, the writer had no reason for employing the same caution, lest he should offend the prejudices of his countrymen; in the other, he may have been solicitous on that head.

It is further alleged that the epistle says nothing about *the kingdom of heaven, or of God*. But this argument proves too much; for there is nothing about the same thing in the Philippian epistle, which unquestionably proceeded from Paul. And in the epistle to the Romans, it is mentioned but once. The reason of the omission is apparent, the epistle being occupied with the *priestly* rather than the *kingly* office of Christ. As to the want of such an idea or expression as the *kingdom of Satan*, the New Testament very rarely has it. For instance, it is not found in the epistle to the Romans. Satan is mentioned there but once. So also in the present epistle, where he is spoken of in such a manner as shews that his power and kingdom are destroyed by Christ. In regard to *Christ's gospel*, about which we are told nothing is said

in the epistle, is not his gospel meant when it is affirmed: "How shall we escape, if we neglect *so great salvation*, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him," etc., etc.?

2. The first thing here alleged against the authorship of Paul is the idea of the verb τελειόω applied to Christ. Though this is peculiar to the epistle, the latter should not be at once discarded from belonging to Paul; for, were we to apply the same process to acknowledged Pauline letters, they could not stand the test. The verb τελειόω is attributed to Christ in a comprehensive and peculiar sense, as connected with the office he sustained—the office of high priest—of which the epistle treats throughout. As a high priest, he was *consummated*. Perfect in his person, he yet passed through an ordeal which exhibited the perfection of his moral nature, and his perfect qualifications for office, in consequence of which he was raised to the highest state of glory, where, as a *consummate* high priest, he intercedes for sinners.

The τελείωσις predicated of christians is also a term which results from the subject discussed in the epistle. Under the Levitical worship, the conscience of the worshippers could not find perfect satisfaction. Its longing desires after union with God were excited and expressed, but not filled up by the Jewish priesthood. Perfect peace of conscience was not attained, because the priesthood only pointed to future blessings of which it was the dim shadow. The τελείωσις of believers results from faith in Jesus the true high priest, who offered an all-sufficient sacrifice.

In vii. 24, etc., we can discover nothing peculiar, except what arises out of the subject. In contrast with the Levitical priesthood which continually changes, Christ's admits of no succession, because he is immortal in his nature. "He lives for ever to make intercession for them that come unto God by him." There is a parallel sentiment in the epistle to the Romans, viii. 34.

3. This allegation is in a great degree true; but Paul wrote no epistle with the same design as the present. Hence it need not excite surprise that he explains the typical character of the Jewish worship in our epistle as he has not done elsewhere. We have a specimen of Paul's manner of adapting the Old Testament to the New in the letter to the Galatians, which resembles the character

of the present epistle. Again, there is an important difference between Philo's treatment of the Old Testament and that of our author, which separates them widely. Philo brought general ideas into Judaism, regarding the historical and positive in it as nothing more than the outward envelope of such ideas. He offered violence to the historical reality and accuracy of Judaism, distorting and arbitrarily rejecting it. But the author of the epistle to the Hebrews preserves the historical and positive in Judaism, shewing that they prefigured spiritual things—things which should actually appear in living reality. The one *allegorises* the facts of the Old Testament, so as to convert them into mythic envelopes; the other shews that the priesthood of Christ was typified by historical personages and facts. The one follows a rationalising process, in adapting the Old Testament to the New; the other pursues a conservative method, not divesting of its reality the *objective* in Judaism.[8]

4. Surely the priesthood of Christ was the very subject most suited to the wants of those to whom the epistle is addressed. They were Jewish, not Gentile christians, in danger of being entangled with the pomp of the Levitical worship. By presenting the spiritual significancy of the different institutions belonging to Judaism, especially Christ's priesthood as prefigured by the Levitical, the writer best consulted the state of mind prevalent among the Hebrew christians of Palestine. They were dissatisfied, uneasy, disquieted in conscience; tempted to go back to their former worship because they had not felt the value of christianity, or, having felt it, had yielded to temptation.

The consideration adduced here by De Wette, viz. that the priesthood of Christ could be only for Jews, will serve to neutralise a statement, which has much plausibility: The idea of mediator, which was certainly known to Paul, and which does not differ essentially from that of ἱερεύς (comp. Hebrews iii. 24), is never introduced by the apostle in the latter form. Had the idea of Christ's priesthood entered into the consciousness and heart of the apostle, in the magnitude it appears in throughout our epistle, it would have been oftener presented in his doctrinal

[8] See Neander's Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christlichen Kirche, fourth edit. vol. ii. pp. 855 et seqq.

epistles. Here it is conceded, that the thing itself was known to Paul. And why does it not appear in the form of ἱερεύς in his other epistles? Because he did not write, on any other occasion, to Jewish readers exclusively or chiefly. He had always Gentiles in view. Surely this is sufficient to explain the absence of the word ἱερεύς in Paul's epistles generally. If the *essential idea* involved in ἱερεύς had not appeared in the Pauline letters, the argument would have been of force; but as long as the *form and frequency of giving utterance to the idea* constitutes all the difference in this respect between the epistle to the Hebrews and the apostle's undisputed writings, a sufficient explanation is afforded by the respective characters of the parties addressed. In the one case Jewish christians are regarded, in the other Gentile believers.

Paul's silence respecting his apostolic calling to the Gentiles, on the supposition that he wrote the epistle, may be accounted for in various ways. Perhaps it would have excited prejudice against him, had he entered into an *assertion* or *defence* of his apostolic dignity before the Palestinian Jews; especially as it cannot be proved that they disputed it at this time.

We cannot see how the writer could have prominently insisted on the fact that christianity is a new revelation for Jews and Gentiles, consistently with his leading purpose. Christianity is *substantially* in the Old Testament; and the universality of the new dispensation is implied in the description given of Christ's priesthood. A prominent idea of the epistle is, that he offered up a sacrifice once for all the sins of mankind.

5. If these representations be correct, they have a much more extensive bearing on the epistle before us than the simple question of authorship; for they go to disparage the inspiration of any writer to whom the letter may be attributed.

(1.) If the writer speaks of the temple of Solomon, or that which was built afterwards, it is impossible to reconcile his language with 1 Kings viii. 9. But he speaks of the original tabernacle as constructed and furnished by Moses. The holy of holies belonging to it had the ark of the covenant and the tables of stone in it. Even in the time of Moses however, Aaron's rod and the pot of manna were not *in* the ark, but *before* the ark (Exodus xvi. 33; Numbers xvii. 10). Josephus and Philo agree

with this when they relate that the ark contained nothing but the two tables of stone in Moses's time. It is likely that the rod and pot of manna were laid up in some depository affixed to the ark, which was of course carried along with it. If so, ἐν ᾗ might be applied to them, as being *close to* the ark, *in a receptacle* which was reckoned a part of it. The preposition ἐν is taken with some latitude, like the Hebrew בְּ. This appears to us a better solution of the difficulty than that of Theophylact, adopted by Tholuck, which makes the writer follow a different tradition to the scriptural one.

(2.) The discrepancy here noticed consists in a great measure in the meaning assigned to the Greek word *θυμιατήριον*. If, as Bleek supposes, it denote the altar of incense, unquestionably the difficulty is considerable. Perhaps, however, it is not insuperable. The following explanation has been suggested. The writer does not say, *μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα ἦν τὸ χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον*, but *μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα ἦν σκηνὴ ἡ λεγομένη ἅγια ἁγίων*, and of this *σκηνὴ* he says, it *had* the *θυμιατήριον*. The altar of incense may be represented as belonging to the holy of holies, because it stood *just before* the ark, *close to the vail that separated the two apartments*. We are free to confess, that this is far from being satisfactory. It is not a natural or probable explanation.

Though Josephus, Philo, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, use the word *θυμιατήριον* in the sense of *altar of incense*, and it is so taken by the Itala, Oecumenius, Calvin, Estius, Cornelius a Lapide, Schlicting, J. Cappellus, Gerhard, Mynster, Bleek, and De Wette, we are inclined to assign another meaning to it. It may denote *the censer*, especially as the altar of incense is called in the Septuagint *θυσιαστήριον θυμιάματος*. This sense has been defended by Villalpandus, Deyling, De Dieu, Calov, Reland, especially by J. G. Michaelis. It is also sanctioned by the Syriac and Vulgate versions, and adopted by Theophylact, Luther, Boehme, Kuinoel, Stuart, Stier, Lomb, and others. It has been supposed by Tholuck, that the want of the article before it favours this idea, because the probabilities are all on the side of its having the article if it meant the altar of incense; since *θυσιαστήριον*, in the Septuagint, has τὸ prefixed almost invariably. The article is required to point it out as *the altar of incense*. We do not see

that this circumstance is of much weight against the one meaning and consequently in favour of the other; for the emphasis is on the adjective *golden*. The only circumstance militating against the signification *censer* is, that the altar of incense is wholly omitted in the writer's enumeration of the furniture belonging to the tabernacle. Is it likely that so important a thing would be passed over in silence? But the *argumentum e silentio* must not be pressed. We have an analogous case in Josephus,[h] who speaks of Pompey entering into the sanctuary, and seeing "the golden table and sacred candlestick, the cups, and the multitude of frankincense." Why, it may be asked, has the historian mentioned these things, and not the golden altar of incense? Did he not know its position? Certainly he did.

Taking the word in the sense of *censer*, let us see whether everything be plain and perspicuous: "the holy of holies χρυσοῦν ἔχουσα θυμιατήριον." Does ἔχουσα mean that the censer was laid up there? The high priest entered but once into the holy of holies, and took the golden censer with him. How then could it be laid up in the place? Some suppose that it was always there, being left by the high priest till he replaced it by another the next year. This is quite improbable. Others imagine, that a different censer was used for the purpose of conveying the fire to the censer which remained in the most holy place, in consequence of which it was neither removed nor replaced. This is equally unlikely. The authority of Bartenora[i] is express, that the censer was not kept in the holy of holies, but was brought out of the vessel-chamber of the temple. Hence the participle ἔχουσα must be taken in a modified sense, "*belonging to* the holy of holies was the golden censer." It belonged to the place, because it was brought into it once a year, and used only there.

(3.) Here it is arbitrarily assumed, that the writer meant to speak of the ark and everything else mentioned as remaining till his own day. It is true that the present tense is used, εἰσίασιν, προσφέρει; but the original tabernacle—the model of the temple—was in the writer's eye from the commencement of the chapter. And he might readily continue to speak in the present tense, as if the things still existed; because the temple, modelled after the

[h] Antiq. XIV. iv. 4.

[i] Ad Cod. Toma, c. 5, sect. 1.

tabernacle, remained, with its division of outer and inner tabernacle, which division was the principal thing he had in view.

Thus we cannot believe that a charge of ignorance or incorrectness has been substantiated against the writer. Hence the Pauline authorship is unshaken.

The reader is by this time prepared to estimate the value of such considerations as those urged by Bleek and others against identity of authorship. The few peculiarities adverted to are of no force against the strong argument derived from similarity of doctrinal contents on the opposite side. They cannot avail to shake it. It remains impregnable. They cannot detract from its power or validity. Since Schulz tried to shew an essential diversity of doctrine between our epistle and those of Paul, and failed in the attempt, it has been generally admitted, that the contents of the former present nothing radically different from those of the latter. Minor differences might be expected, because the same writer does not present the same ideas, in the same form or light, in works composed with different objects; but these minor discrepancies do not affect identity in authorship. *When all essential matters* are in favour of that identity, such smaller things cannot fairly lie against it.

(*d*) The advocates of the Pauline authorship further refer to exhortations resembling some found in Paul's undisputed epistles.

"Lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds" (xii. 3). "Let us not be weary in well doing, for in due season we shall reap if we faint not." (Gal. vi. 9). Compare also 2 Thess. iii. 13; Ephes. iii. 13.

"Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord" (xii. 14). "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men" (Romans xii. 18).

"Let brotherly love continue . . . . . Marriage is honourable. But fornicators and adulterers God will judge" (xiii. 1-4). "and walk in love as Christ also hath loved us . . . . . For this ye know, that no fornicator, nor unclean person, nor covetous man . . . . . has any inheritance in the kingdom of God" (Ephes. v. 2, 3, 4).

"But to do good and to communicate, forget not. For with such sacrifices God is well pleased" (xiii. 16). "An odour of a

sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God" [k] (Philip. iv. 18).

Allusions to the exercises and games, such as Paul often makes, are found in this epistle also. So chap. vi. 18: "Who have fled for refuge to lay hold of the hope set before us." Chap. xii. 1: "Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which does so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us." Verse 2: "Looking unto Jesus, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross." Verse 3: "Lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds." And verse 12: "Wherefore lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees." xii. 4: "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood striving against sin."[l]

Neither of these considerations possesses much weight. Any Pauline disciple may have written the epistle before us, and presented such phenomena. We believe, therefore, that those who advocate Paul's authorship do not advance their view by adducing things like these.

Again, there are leading parallel passages in the epistle to the Hebrews and the undisputed epistles of Paul, of which the following are examples: Heb. iii. 7-19, and 1 Cor. x. 1-12. "These contexts," says Forster, "are parallel with each other in the following respects. 1. Both passages relate alike to the exode of the Israelites from Egypt and their temptations of Jehovah in the wilderness. 2. The verbal agreements between the quotation of Psalm xcv. in Hebrews, and the apostle's own composition in First Corinthians, are precisely such as might be looked for in the case before us . . . . that of the original composition being from the same hand which had employed the quotation. 3. In both contexts, the divine person in question is CHRIST."[m] Heb. xi. and 1 Cor. xiii., chapters in which the kindred virtues of faith and love are copiously described. Heb. iv. 3, etc., and Ephes. v. 6, Romans ii. 17; Heb. iv. 16, and 2 Cor. vi. 1, 2. In the former passage, a quotation is alluded to; in the latter it is formally made. Heb. vi. 1-8 and 1 Cor. ii. 6, iii. 9-15; Heb. vi. 9-12 and 2 Thessal.

[k] See Lardner, Works, vol. iii. p. 332 et seqq. [l] Ibid. p. 333, et seqq.
[m] Apostolical authority of the epistle to the Hebrews, pp. 348, 349.

iii. 3-5, 1 Thessal. i. 2-6; Heb. vi. 18-20 and Philipp. iii. 12-14; Heb. ix. 15 and Galat. iii. 18-20; Heb. ix. 16-20 and 1 Cor. xi. 25, 26; Heb. x. 25 and 2 Thessal. ii. 1, 2; Heb. x. 26-31 and 2 Tim. iii. 7, 8, ii. 25; Heb. xii. 18-25 and Ephes. i. 7-10, Coloss. i. 14-28.

These are the chief parallels which have been industriously collected and explained by Forster, to prove the Pauline origin of our epistle. They are few in number compared with the immense array which he has classed along with them; but his elucidations appear to shew that he attaches most importance to *their* testimony. To us, they do not seem to amount to much. In some the parallelism is distant and vague; in all it is not convincing. Under this head as well as others, the learned author has obscured the evidence afforded by *real* correspondences with a superfluity of *imaginary* or *indistinct* ones. Those who wish to see the examples we have adduced drawn out with minute skill so as to exhibit their parallelism, must consult the work of Forster.

There is a delicate allusion in the epistle to the fact, that the Gentiles were Paul's especial province, the Hebrews that of the other apostles. At the conclusion of the letter, the writer affirms, as a kind of apology for having written to the Hebrews at all: "I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation" (xiii. 22). In a very different way does he write to the Galatians and Corinthians. There is an air of authority in those letters which he drops here. In the present case the same mind shews itself which causes him to make a similar apology when writing to the Roman christians, whom he had never seen: "I am persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish one another: nevertheless, brethren, I have written the more boldly unto you, in some sort as putting you in mind, because of the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost" (Romans xv. 14). The same mind also is apparent in the tenderness and delicacy which dictated the epistle to Philemon.[n]

[n] Biley's supplement to the Horae Paulinae of Archdeacon Paley, p. 97, No. V.

(*e*) The mode of employing the Jewish Scriptures is adduced as another argument in favour of the Pauline authorship.

Paul appeals to the Jewish Scriptures frequently; so does the writer of our epistle. *The frequency*, however, with which they are employed can be of no service in the present argument; because any one writing to Jewish christians in Palestine with the object that must have been in the author's mind, would unavoidably quote the Old Testament with frequency. More appropriate is it to adduce *the method* in which the Jewish Scriptures are appealed to as the same which appears in Paul's acknowledged epistles.

Paul often quotes passages without any notice of quotation: Romans ix. 7, 21; x. 6-8, 13, 18; xi. 34; 1 Cor. ii. 16; x. 26; xv. 25, 27, 32; 2 Cor. ix. 7; xiii. 1; Galat. iii. 11, 12; Ephes. v. 31; 2 Tim. ii. 19. So too the writer of the present epistle, iii. 2, 5; x. 37; xi. 21; xii. 6; xiii. 6.

Paul appeals to the Jewish Scriptures as prophetically declaring the abrogation of the Jewish economy, and to Abraham as receiving a covenant which the law could not annul. So does the author of the epistle to the Hebrews.

Paul employs the Old Testament in every way in which the Jews of that time were accustomed to reason from it. He appeals to direct and prophetic assurances; to similarity of sentiment; he accommodates passages which in the original have a local or temporary meaning, to designate something extant or happening at the time he wrote; he appeals to Old Testament history for analogous examples to confirm or impress the doctrine he inculcates. He uses the Old Testament language as a vehicle of thought to express his own ideas. The same traits characterise the mode in which the Old Testament is employed throughout the epistle to the Hebrews.

Paul particularly uses the Old Testament in the way of *argumentum ad hominem* or *ex concessis*, as in Galat. iv. 24, etc.; 1 Cor. ix. 9; x. 2; 2 Cor. iii. 13, 14; Ephes. v. 31, 32. So too, in the epistle to the Hebrews, the comparison instituted between Christ and Melchizedek (ch. vii.) is of this nature. Heb. viii. 1-5; ix. 1-9: "The argument that Christ is a more exalted personage than the angels, than Moses, than the high priest; that Christ's

priesthood, the temple in which he officiates with all its apparatus, the offering of blood which he makes, and his official duties as a priest, are all spiritual, heavenly, elevated above all the corresponding things in the Jewish dispensation to which the Jew adhered with so strong an attachment, and by which he was tempted to make defection from his christian profession, is peculiarly *ad hominem.*"[o]

Without stepping to point out several unguarded and incorrect assertions here made relative both to Paul in his acknowledged epistles, and to the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews; and making some deductions from the exaggeration of language employed by the ardent critic in his overflowing zeal, it must be fairly allowed, that the appeals to the Jewish Scriptures contained in our epistle bear a considerable resemblance in spirit and manner to those of Paul. They exhibit much variety—introduce sentiments elsewhere promulgated by the apostle, or sentiments at least perfectly analogous; and the reasoning into which they are introduced is cogent and convincing, like that of Paul in other places. The greater part of it, however, is not what is called *argumentum ad hominem.* Here Mr. Stuart has misapprehended both the apostle and the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews; or if they be identical, he has done injustice to Paul's argumentation.

But the advocates of the Pauline authorship have something stronger than this to rely on as respects the quotations. *A disciple of Paul* might have appealed to the Old Testament in the various ways specified, and based his argumentation on it in the manner referred to; but we are led beyond a disciple, even to the master himself, by such phenomena as the following; ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει, ἐν Ἠλίᾳ λέγει (Romans ix. 25; xi. 2) compared with Heb. iv. 7, ἐν Δαβὶδ λέγων—τὸ γὰρ and ἐν τῷ (Romans xiii. 9: Galat. v. 14) compared with Heb. xii. 27, τὸ δὲ and ἐν τῷ λέγεσθαι, iii. 15. The same quotation is made in Romans i. 17; Galat. iii. 11; Heb. x. 38. Had the phrase been quoted every time in exactly the same sense, it might have shewn an imitator or disciple; but it is not so, for in the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, *spiritual* life is chiefly set forth by ζήσεται; in that

[o] Stuart, p. 120.

to the Hebrews *natural* life. The writer of our epistle represents faith as a means of preservation from the judgments impending over Jerusalem.

On the other hand, the form of the quotations in the epistle has been employed to invalidate the Pauline authorship. Bleek, following in the path of Schulz, arrives at the following results after a very careful and lengthened investigation of the subject.

1. Paul generally follows the Septuagint in his citations, but with very different degrees of closeness. In cases where the Greek version departs materially from the Hebrew text, he never follows it.

But in the epistle to the Hebrews the Septuagint is everywhere quoted, irrespective of the fact whether the Hebrew gives the sense or not. Departures from the Greek are trifling, and never of such a nature as is capable of explanation by the aid of the Hebrew. The writer, in short, never consulted the Hebrew.

2. When Paul quotes the Seventy, his citation commonly agrees with the readings of the Codex Vaticanus. On the contrary, the epistle to the Hebrews agrees in such cases with the readings of the Codex Alexandrinus.

3. Not one of the introductory formulas and quotations so common in Paul's acknowledged epistles, such as *καθὼς γέγραπται*, *ὡς γέγραπται*, *γέγραπται γὰρ*, *λέγει ἡ γραφὴ*, etc., etc., appears in our epistle. Even the rarer formulas of Paul are not used, such as *David says*, *Moses says*, *Isaiah says* (Romans iv. 6; xi. 9; x. 19; x. 20, 21). The epistle to the Hebrews refers the citations made in it neither to *Scripture* nor to *persons* or *authors*, but with one exception (ii. 6), to the Holy Spirit or God. Hence in cases where the verb has no nominative, *ὁ θεός*, not *γραφή*, should be supplied.[p]

These conclusions of Bleek are endorsed by Tholuck, and present a strong *prima facie* case against the Pauline authorship. Are they founded on fact?

1. The truth of this statement is questioned by Stuart,[q] who goes through the quotations made by Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians, the epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, for the purpose of shewing its incorrectness. But he

[p] Einleit. sects. 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, pp. 338-381. [q] P. 157, et seqq.

merely beats the air, since his comparisons are not an answer to the position of Bleek, as Bleek himself expresses it, or intends it to be understood. Of all the passages quoted which Stuart compares with the Septuagint and Hebrew, three only have any claim to be attended to, or any true bearing on Bleek's own statement, viz. Romans iii. 10; xv. 12; 1 Cor. i. 19. What the German commentator really asserts is, that Paul no where cites the words of the Septuagint when they are contrary to the Hebrew text, for the purpose of grounding his argumentation on them or linking it to them. Whenever the Greek version has an important departure from the Hebrew text, Paul corrects the version, or translates the entire passage for himself out of the original. Romans iii. 10, and 1 Cor. i. 19, scarcely come up to Bleek's idea of a *material* departure from the Hebrew; but Romans xv. 12 certainly does, so that Doepke believes both the Seventy and the apostle to give an *incorrect* version of the original. Hence Bleek's position regarding Paul's manner is not *absolute* and *universal*. *For the most part*, it holds good; not *universally*. Probably three real exceptions to it cannot be found in the thirteen acknowledged epistles. The exceptions which Stuart adduces are not exceptions.

The truth of the next statement cannot be questioned, viz. in the epistle to the Hebrews the Septuagint is every where quoted irrespective of the fact whether the version gives the sense or not. Departures from the Greek are trifling, and never of such a kind as is incapable of explanation by the aid of the Hebrew. In short, the writer never consulted the Hebrew. There is but one exception to this, viz. x. 30. We are aware that this citation is so explained by Tholuck and others as to destroy the force of it in this character: but that explanation rests on assumption, or subjective feelings, not on any palpable ground. It must be maintained, that in x. 30, the writer of the present epistle goes to the Hebrew, departing from the Septuagint. We do not adduce xiii. 5 as a second exception, because it is peculiar and ambiguous.

Let us now look at this entire argument. On comparing the epistle to the Hebrews with the thirteen epistles of Paul, it makes out no clear case of difference between their quotations. A general rule is said to characterise those quotations. One exception to that rule in the one epistle is of greater weight than three similar ex-

ceptions in the thirteen, when we take their respective contents into account. It so happens that more important departures from the Hebrew on the part of the Seventy are found in the citations made by the writer of our epistle, than any equal number that could be selected out of Paul's acknowledged letters. But there are a goodly number of passages in the apostle's writings where he follows the Seventy's departures from the Hebrew. When we consider also, that all quotations in the present epistle which follow the Septuagint against the Hebrew *give the sense of* the latter, the unavoidable conclusion is that Bleek's position wants a proper foundation. And if such be the case, nothing can be built on it in proof of diversity of authorship. In dealing with it much depends on what is meant by *material* or *important* departures from the Hebrew. On this point opinions are likely to disagree; and therefore critics may draw different conclusions from the very same facts. There are *degrees of* importance which are measured differently by different minds.

2. We come now to the second argument respecting quotations, founded on a supposed distinction between the quoted readings of the Cod. Vat. and Cod. Alexand. in Paul's acknowledged writings and the epistle to the Hebrews respectively. Here no other reply than Schulz's[r] is necessary, who shews that Bleek has given an imperfect view of the real state of the discrepancies, because he has produced no passages in which Paul and the writer of our epistle cite the same texts, the first following the Vatican copy and the second the Alexandrian—because among the readings in which Paul differs from the Vatican are some far more decisive than those which Bleek has brought to prove the apostle's agreement with this text, such as Romans ix. 25, 27; xiv. 11—and because it is improbable that the text of the Septuagint, at the time our epistle was written, was in the different states now represented by the Vatican and Alexandrian manuscripts. Besides, as Schulz truly affirms, the number of passages where the readings of Paul differ from the Vatican copy and agree more with the Alexandrine; and, on the other hand, in the epistle to the Hebrews where they agree more with the Vatican than the Alexandrine,—is not much

[r] Review of Bleek in the Hallische Allgem. Litteraturzeit., for 1829, Nos. 104, 105.

less than where the reverse is the case. In some quotations also, the apostle differs both from the Vatican and the Alexandrine. Neudecker, who opposes the Pauline origin as well as Schulz, admits the untenableness of this argument by Bleek. It is in fact absurd to try the question of authorship by such minutiae; or to suppose that they should have any proper bearing on the point.

3. The third argument requires attention, viz. not one of the introductory formulas so common in Paul's epistles appears in ours. Even the rarer ones, *David says*, *Moses says*, *Isaiah says*, etc., are not found. The epistle to the Hebrews refers the cited passages neither to Scripture (γραφή), nor to *persons* or *authors*, but, with one exception, to the Holy Spirit. Hence ὁ θεός, not γραφή, should be supplied in cases where the verb has no nominative.

To this Stuart replies, that there is a similar variety in the acknowledged epistles of Paul to what appears in ours. The apostle is not at all uniform in his mode of appeal to the Old Testament, just as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews exhibits different introductory formulas. But this reply does not meet the case, for the argument is, that the epistle before us does not present the different formulas most used by Paul. The citations in it are referred to the Holy Spirit, or God (θεός), or Christ, the three amounting to one and the same source. The appeals are not to γραφή, *scripture*, or to *persons* or *authors*, except in two instances, viz. ii. 6; xii. 21. The latter, which has been overlooked or misapprehended by Schulz, Bleek, and Tholuck, is more direct and explicit than the former. These exceptions, however, belonging as they do to the class of formulas less common with the apostle, do not invalidate Bleek's general position, viz. that not one formula belonging to *the class* most used by the apostle appears in the epistle to the Hebrews—that class, viz. in which the idea of *scripture* or *writing* is found. When the Old Testament passages are referred to a source or agent, they are referred to God, or Christ, or the Holy Spirit, with the exception of two cases. There are various passages in Paul's acknowledged epistles where God himself is introduced *as the speaker;* but these are not in point, because the writer of our epistle when citing the words of Scripture as the words of God uses the third person, *which Paul*

does not. Compare 2 Cor. vi. 16, 17; Romans ix. 15, 25; 2 Cor. vi. 2; Galat. iii. 16; with Hebrews i. 6, 7, 8; iv. 4, 7; vii. 21; x. 30. Were θεός the nominative to λέγει in Ephes. iv. 8; v. 14, as Stuart supposes, this assertion would be vitiated, and the first series of examples nullified by the two exceptions; but we must supply with Olshausen ἡ γραφή. The same learned writer tries to weaken the force of the second series of examples by saying: "As to the examples in Heb. iv. 4, 7, the first evidently has ἡ γραφή for the nominative to εἴρηκε as the word που plainly shews. In Heb. vii. 21, the quotation is from Psalm cx. 4, and is wholly inapposite to the object of Bleek, since God is simply introduced by it (and so in the Psalm) as addressing the Messiah, and is directly affirmed to be the speaker, and is appropriately so. In Heb. x. 30 καὶ πάλιν refers indeed to God; but then the words which follow are in the third person, just as they are in innumerable cases in the Old Testament."[s] In opposition to this, the context preceding Heb. iv. 4, where θεός must unquestionably be supplied, shews that the same nominative should be understood here also. This is confirmed by the fifth verse, where God is again introduced as the speaker. The remarks made on the other examples do not weaken their force, and need no refutation.

We feel therefore that some stress should be laid on the peculiarity which has now been noticed. Identity of some Old Testament passages which are cited, and occasional features in the passages themselves, favour the Pauline authorship; but the introductory formulas are against it. And when these phenomena are put into opposite scales, they nearly balance each other; so that the quotations *as a whole* furnish no good argument either for or against the Pauline origin of our epistle.

Tholuck[t] points to some passages in our epistle which seem to contain reminiscences from Paul's writings. One is Heb. x. 30, to which Bleek had directed attention with the object of taking it out of the class of exceptions to one of his general positions. The passage is taken from Deuteronomy xxxii. 35. In the Hebrew we read לִי נָקָם וְשִׁלֵּם; in the Seventy, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω; and in our epistle, ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει κύριος. So also with the addition of λέγει κύριος in Romans xii. 19. It

[s] P. 158. [t] P. 23.

is Paul's manner, even where a citation-formula precedes, to add besides a λέγει κύριος, as may be seen in Romans xiv. 11; 1 Cor. xiv. 21; 2 Cor. vi. 17. But in the epistle to the Hebrews, this does not appear elsewhere.

We cannot perceive the propriety or cogency belonging to this sort of proof. Bleek resorted to the expedient in the present instance, because the passage stood in the way of a rule he had laid down, viz. that such a formula as λέγει κύριος or θεός is never employed in the epistle to the Hebrews, except where God is immediately introduced in the third person; whereas in the acknowledged writings of Paul it is only employed where God speaks directly in the first person. If the present be a reminiscence, many parallel passages have an equal title to the appellation, and prove diversity of authorship in the same manner.

Another example is given by Tholuck from Heb. xii. 14, compared with Romans xii. 18: εἰρήνην διώκετε μετὰ πάντων—εἰ δυνατὸν, μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες. This, however, rests on no other basis than a prejudgment of the question. The two passages are so like, that they point to the same source.

It must be maintained, that the coincidence is not accidental in the case of this quotation. It is of such a nature as to forbid the supposition. Granting that Paul every where quoted from memory—which, though often asserted, can never be proved—could he not have easily retained in his memory the citation made in the epistle to the Romans, until he wrote the letter to the Hebrews? Was the form of it so difficult of retention in the mind as to forbid this? Surely not. Tholuck himself appears to allow it. And is it not more probable than any other supposable case?

(*f*) The similarity of phraseology, diction, and style, between the epistle to the Hebrews and the acknowledged epistles of Paul, has also been adduced by the advocates of the Pauline authorship.

1. The similarity of phraseology and diction where the same or synonymous words are employed, or where the shade of thought is peculiar and homogeneous, though the language be somewhat diverse.

Hebrews i. 2. δι' οὗ [Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας [ὁ θεὸς] ἐποίησε.
Ephes. iii. 9. τῷ [θεῷ] τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The

last three words, however, are probably spurious; and therefore Col. i. 16, τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ (I. X.) ἔκτισται, and 1 Cor. viii. 6 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, are more appropriate parallels.[u]

Hebrews i. 3.	ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ πο-τῆς ὑ στάσεως αὐτοῦ.
Coloss. i. 15.	ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου.
Phil. ii. 6.	ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων.
2 Cor. iv. 4.	ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ.[w]
Hebrews i. 3.	φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.
Coloss. i. 17.	τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε.
Hebrews i. 5.	υἱός μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.
Acts xiii. 33.	υἱός μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.[x]
Hebrews i. 4.	τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφερώτε-ρον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα.
Ephes. i. 21.	ὑπεράνω . . . . . παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι·
Philip. ii. 9.	ὁ θεός . . ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα· ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων, κ. τ. λ.[y]
Hebrews i. 6.	τὸν πρωτότοκον . . . .
Romans viii. 29.	εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸν πρωτότοκον.
Coloss. i. 15.	πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως. 18. πρωτότοκος.[z]
Hebrews ii. 2.	ὁ δι' ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος.
Galat. iii. 19.	ὁ νόμος . . . διαταγεὶς δι' ἀγγέλων. See Acts vii. 53.[a]
Hebrews ii. 4.	σημείοις τε καὶ τέρασι καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσι καὶ πνεύ-ματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς.
1 Cor. xii. 4.	διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα.
1 Cor. xii. 11.	πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, διαιροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται.
Romans xii. 6.	ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα.[b]
Hebrews ii. 8.	πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.
1 Cor. xv. 27.	πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

[u] See De Groot's disputatio qua epistola ad Hebraeos cum Paulinis epistolis comparatur, p. 13.

[w] Ibid. p. 14. [x] Ibid. p. 19. [y] Ibid. p. 19. [z] Ibid. p. 21.

[a] Ibid. pp. 27, 28. [b] Ibid. pp. 34, 35.

Ephes. i. 22.	καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.
Philip. iii. 21.	ὑποτάξαι ἑαυτῷ τὰ πάντα.
Hebrews ii. 10.	δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα, καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα.
Romans xi. 36.	ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα.
Coloss. i. 16.	τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν.
1 Cor. viii. 6.	εἷς θεὸς . . . . ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· καὶ εἷς Κύριος . . . . . δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα.
Hebrews ii. 14.	ἵνα . . . καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τουτ' ἐστι τὸν διάβολον.
2 Tim. i. 10.	καταργήσαντος μὲν τὸν θάνατον.[c]
Hebrews ii. 16.	σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ· that is, *christians*.
Galat. iii. 29.	εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ.
Galat. iii. 7.	οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοί εἰσιν υἱοὶ Ἀβραάμ.
Hebrews iii. 1.	κλήσεως ἐπουρανίου.
Philip. iii. 14.	τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ.
Romans xi. 29.	ἡ κλῆσις τοῦ θεοῦ.
Hebrews iv. 12.	ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ . . καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον.
Ephes. vi. 17.	τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα θεοῦ.[d]
Hebrews v. 8.	καίπερ ὢν υἱὸς, ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε τὴν ὑπακοήν.
Philip. ii. 8.	ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος, μέχρι θανάτου.
Hebrews v. 13.	νήπιος γάρ ἐστι.
1 Cor. iii. 1.	ὡς νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ.
Ephes. iv. 14.	ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν νήπιοι.
Romans ii. 20.	διδάσκαλον νηπίων.
Galat. iv. 3.	ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι.[e]
Hebrews v. 14.	τελείων δέ ἐστιν ἡ στερεὰ τροφή.
1 Cor. xiv. 20.	ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶ τέλειοι γίνεσθε.
Hebrews vi. 1.	τελειότητα.
Coloss. iii. 14.	σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος.
Hebrews vi. 3.	ἐάνπερ ἐπιτρέπῃ ὁ θεός.
1 Cor. xvi. 7.	ἐὰν ὁ κύριος ἐπιτρέπῃ.[f]
Hebrews vi. 10.	τῆς ἀγάπης ἧς ἐνεδείξασθε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, διακονήσαντες τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ διακονοῦντες.

[c] See De Groot's disputatio qua epistola ad Hebraeos cum Paulinis epistolis comparatur, pp. 44, 45.

[d] Ibid. pp. 76, 77. [e] Ibid. p. 91. [f] Ibid. p. 98.

2 Cor. viii. 24. *τὴν οὖν ἔνδειξιν τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν . . . . . εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνδείξασθε.*[g]

Hebrews viii. 5. *οἵτινες ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσι τῶν ἐπουρανίων.*
Hebrews x. 1. *σκιὰν γὰρ ἔχων ὁ νόμος τῶν μελλόντων.*
Coloss. ii. 17. *ἅ ἐστι σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων . . . .* [h]

Hebrews viii. 6. *κρείττονός ἐστι διαθήκης μεσίτης.*
1 Tim. ii. 5. *εἷς μεσίτης . . . . Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.*
Galat. iii. 19, 20. *ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου. ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν.*[i]

Hebrews viii. 10. *καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεὸν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαόν.*
2 Cor. vi. 16. *καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεὸς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι λαός.*[k]

Hebrews viii. 10. *καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς.*
Romans ii. 15. *τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν.*
2 Cor. iii. 3. *ἐγγεγραμμένη . . . . ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίας σαρκίναις.*

Hebrews ix. 15. *θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων.*
Romans iii. 25. *διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων.* The efficacy of Christ's atoning blood extends back to past ages.

Hebrews x. 19. *ἔχοντες . . . . παῤῥησίαν εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἰησοῦ.*
Romans v. 2. *δι' οὗ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν τῇ πίστει εἰς τὴν χάριν ταύτην.*
Ephes. ii. 18. *δι' αὐτοῦ ἔχομεν τὴν προσαγωγὴν . . . . . πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.*
Ephes. iii. 12. *ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν παῤῥησίαν καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει.*[l]

Hebrews x. 28. *ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ μάρτυσιν ἀποθνήσκει.*
2 Cor. xiii. 1. *ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.*
1 Tim. v. 19. *ἐπὶ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων.*[m]

Hebrews x. 30. *ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω.*
Romans xii. 19. *ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω.*[n]

[g] See De Groot's disputatio qua epistola ad Hebraeos cum Paulinis epistolis comparatur, p. 106.
[h] Ibid. p. 130. [i] Ibid. p. 132. [k] Ibid. p. 132.
[l] Ibid. pp. 151, 152. [m] Ibid. p. 155. [n] Ibid. p. 157.

Hebrews x. 32. ἄθλησιν . . . . . τῶν παθημάτων.
Philip. i. 30. τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες, οἷον εἴδετε ἐν ἐμοί.
Coloss. ii. 1. ἡλίκον ἀγῶνα ἔχω περὶ ὑμῶν.
1 Thessal. ii. 2. λαλῆσαι . . . . τὸ εὐαγγέλιον . . . . ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι.
Contest in regard to afflictions.

Hebrews x. 33. ὀνειδισμοῖς τε καὶ θλίψεσι θεατριζόμενοι.
1 Cor. iv. 9. θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ, κ. τ. λ.[o]

Hebrews x. 33. κοινωνοὶ τῶν οὕτως ἀναστρεφομένων γενηθέντες.
Philip. iv. 14. συγκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει.

Hebrews x. 38. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.
Romans i. 17. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.
Galat. iii. 11. ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.[p]

Hebrews xii. 1. τρέχωμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα.
1 Cor. ix. 24. οὕτω τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε.
Philip. iii. 14. τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος, κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκω.[q]

Hebrews xiii. 18. πεποίθαμεν γὰρ ὅτι καλὴν συνείδησιν ἔχομεν.
Acts xxiii. 1. ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι, κ. τ. λ.

Hebrews xiii. 20. ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης.
Romans xv. 33. ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης.

Hebrews xiii. 18. προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν.
1 Thessal. v. 25. προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν.

The greeting and benediction at the close of the epistle to the Hebrews are also Pauline.[r]

2. The following words found in the Septuagint or Apocrypha occur only in Paul's acknowledged epistles and that to the Hebrews:

ἀγών, ἀδόκιμος, αἱρέομαι, ἄκακος, ἀνωφελής, ἀόρατος, βεβαίωσις, βέβηλος, διάκρισις, διάφορος, δουλεία, ἔκβασις, ἐκτρέπομαι, ἔλεγχος, ἐνδείκνυμι, ἐνδυναμόω, ἐνίστημι, ἐπισυναγωγή, εὐάρεστος, θαῤῥέω, θίγω, ἱλαστήριον, καθάπερ, καύχημα, λειτουργός, μεσίτης, μετέχω, οἰκτιρμός, ὁμολογία, ὀνειδισμός, παιδεία, παιδευτής, παράβασις, περιβόλαιον, πλάξ, πόμα, στεφανόω, συγκεράννυμι, τελειότης, ὑπεναντίος, ὑπεράνω, ὑπόστασις, φράττω.[s]

3. The following words are not found either in the Septuagint

[o] See De Groot's disputatio qua epistola ad Hebraeos cum Paulinis epistolis comparatur, p. 158.

[p] Ibid. p. 161. [q] Ibid. p. 192. [r] Stuart, p. 124, et seqq.

[s] Forster, p. 77, et seqq.

or Apocrypha, but only in Paul's undisputed epistles and that to the Hebrews:

αἰδώς, ἀνυπότακτος, ἀπείθεια, ἀπεκδέχομαι, ἀπόλαυσις, ἀφιλάργυρος, ἔνδικος, ἐνεργής, ἐφάπαξ, μῆπω, νεκρόω, ὀρέγομαι, παρακοή, πηλίκος, πληροφορία, ταιγαροῦν, φιλοξενία.[t]

4. The following words occasionally occur elsewhere in the New Testament; but in the manner, or the frequency of their occurrence they are peculiar to the epistle to the Hebrews and Paul's undisputed epistles:

ἁγιασμός, ἄμεμπτος, ἀναμιμνήσκω, ἀνάμνησις, ἀνταποδίδωμι, πρόκειμαι, ἀπολύτρωσις, βέβαιος, βεβαιόω, γυμνάζω, ἐπίθεσις, ἐπουράνιος, καταργέω, κλῆσις, λειτουργέω, λόγιον, τὸ λοιπόν, μέμφομαι, μεταλαμβάνω, μετατίθημι, μιμητής, νήπιος, πάθημα, παραμένω, περιαιρέω, περιέρχομαι, περισσοτέρως, πόρνος, πρέπει, σαρκικός, σβέννυμι, σκιά, σκληρύνω, στοιχεῖον, συγκληρονόμος, συνείδησις, Τιμόθεος.[u]

5. The same peculiarity of grammatical construction relative to the use of a verb passive is found in the epistle to the Hebrews and the undisputed epistles of Paul.

Thus in Heb. vii. we meet with the expression *ὁ λαὸς ἐπ' αὐτῇ νενομοθέτητο*, where the nominative of the person is made the subject, instead of *νενομοθέτητο λαῷ*. This construction is found in Paul's epistles, as in Romans iii. 2; vi. 17; 1 Tim. i. 11.[w]

6. An adjective in the neuter gender is used to denote generic quality instead of a noun. Thus Heb. vi. 17; xii. 13, 21. Paul frequently employs the same, as in Romans i. 19; ii. 4; iii. 1; vii. 3; ix. 22; 1 Cor. i. 25.[x]

7. The figure of speech termed *paronomasia* is a feature in the style of the epistle to the Hebrews, as it is one of the distinguishing marks of Paul's style. See Heb. vii. 12, 13; ix. 16; viii. 13; x. 34; xi. 9. The play is sometimes on *the same words*, as Heb. xi. 27, compared with Romans i. 20; Coloss. i. 15, 16; Heb. vii. 23, 24, compared with Philippians i. 25; Heb. viii. 7, 8, compared with Romans ix. 19; Heb. ii. 2, compared with Romans v. 19 and v. 14; Heb. i. 1, compared with 2 Tim. iv. 2; Heb. v. 8, compared with 2 Tim. iii. 10-14; Heb. vii. 26, compared with 2 Tim. iii. 2; Heb. vii. 3, compared with Coloss. i. 22; Heb. xiii.

[t] Forster, p. 190, et seqq.
[u] Ibid. p. 234, et seqq.
[w] Stuart, p. 127.
[x] Ibid. p. 127.

1, 2, compared with Romans xii. 10, 13, and 1 Tim. iii. 3; Heb. xii. 12, 13, compared with 2 Cor. iii. 13, 14, where there is a transition from one sense to another.[y]

8. There is in Paul's style a species of digression which Paley calls *going off at a word.* It consists in turning aside from the subject on the occurrence of some particular word; forsaking the train of thought, and entering on a parenthetic sentence in which that word is the prevailing term. Examples of it are found in 2 Cor. ii. 14, at the word *savour;* iii. 1, at the word *epistle;* iii. 12, at the word *vail;* in Ephes. iv. 8-11, at the word *ascended,* and in v. 12-15, at the word *light.* Instances of the same peculiarity are said to exist in our epistle iii. 2, at the word *house;* xii. 18-29, at the words *voice, speaketh, shook;* xii. 5, at the word *chastening;* ii. 7-9, at the word *ὑποτάσσω,* an example which exactly agrees with 1 Cor. xv. 27, because in both instances the digression is on the same word.[z]

9. The epistle to the Hebrews exhibits certain modes of quotation which are characteristic of Paul. Thus Psalm viii. 6, occurs in Heb. ii. 8 and in 1 Cor. xv. 27, Ephes. i. 22. The changes are rung on the word *ὑποτάσσω* with an identity of manner.

Again, in Heb. i. 13 we have the following quotation of Psalm cx. 1, *κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.* The substance of this quotation is also found in Ephes. i. 20, and 1 Cor. xv. 25.

Ezekiel xxxvii. 26, is quoted in 2 Cor. vi. 16, and in Heb. viii. 10.

Habakkuk ii. 4, is cited in the epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews; in each with a slight variation from the Hebrew.

In Heb. vi. 14, 18, there is the same explanation of the covenant with Abraham, contained in Genesis xxii. 17, 18, as in the epistle to the Galatians iii. 8, etc.

Heb. x. 30 is quoted from Deuter. xxxii. 35, and the quotation is made in the same words by Paul in Romans xii. 19.

Besides, the epistle to the Hebrews and Paul's acknowledged epistles are distinguished from all other parts of the New Testament by the habit of accumulating passages from the Old Testa-

[y] Forster, p. 390, et seqq. [z] Ibid. p. 379.

ment; and by the use of the connecting phrase *καὶ πάλιν*, to link the quotations together.[a]

On the other hand, it was early felt that the language and style of the epistle are different from Paul's. Hence Clement thought that it had been *translated.* For the same reason, Origen attributed the thoughts to Paul, but the dress in which they are clothed to some other person. This distinguished father, who was no mean judge of Greek, as may be gathered from different parts of his writings, believed *ὅτι τὰ μὲν νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις* by some other: "*the sentiments* are the apostle's, but *the phraseology* and *putting together* were by another." He believed that the epistle, *in the texture of its style, is better Greek* than Paul's (*συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως ἑλληνικωτέρα*), and appeals to every judge of such matters. This critical judgment has been ratified by many eminent modern scholars, such as Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Ziegler, Schulz, Seyffarth, Boehme, Schott, Bleek, De Wette, Tholuck, Credner, and Wieseler. But it has been questioned by others, especially by Stuart and Forster.

And here it will be necessary to explain what is meant by the Greek of the epistle being better and purer than the language of Paul's acknowledged epistles. It is not meant that it is *classical,* or *almost classical.* That were absurd, because it is universally agreed that Greek *classical* writers do not extend beyond the time of Alexander the Great. Taking the *κοινὴ διάλεκτος* as the standard, it is asserted that the language of the epistle approaches much nearer to that than Paul's. It is not implied or alleged that the Greek of the epistle is not *Hebraised;* for an author of Jewish origin must necessarily exhibit a Greek diction coloured with the peculiarities of his nation; but it is asserted that his language is less Hebraised than Paul's, and therefore more conformed to the *κοινὴ διάλεκτος*, especially to the later Greek of Artemidorus and Appian. There must be a Hebrew complexion in the New Testament Greek; and the question before us is, whether this complexion be less distinctive than it is in Paul's acknowledged epistles, other elements appearing more prominently. In producing Hebraisms, therefore, from our epistle, for the purpose of annihilating the force of what Origen terms its

[a] Forster, p. 396, et seqq.

φράσις Ἑλληνικωτέρα, it is beside the mark to quote religious terms which have been transferred from the Old Testament into the theological language of every nation, as well as the Greek tongue; for such were unavoidable in the nature of things. It should be proved by the dissentients from Origen's opinion, that the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has employed Hebraistic expressions to symbolise ideas *for which the Greek language has more direct and appropriate words of its own.* Let this be done from a *lexical* point of view, and something effective will be accomplished. Till then, such writers as Stuart accomplish little by their industrious array of Hebraisms. They do not take the proper stand-point.

All the *grammatical* Hebraisms in the epistle which can be properly adduced are the following: the genitive of a substantive along with another substantive, in place of an adjective, as in i. 3; iv. 2; v. 13; vi. 1; the non-declining of foreign names, such as Ἀαρών, vii. 11; ix. 4; Χερουβίμ, ix. 5; Ἰεριχώ, xi. 30; Ἰερουσαλήμ, xii. 22; the use of the forms belonging to the first aorist in the second, as in ix. 12.

The following are all the examples of a *lexical* kind which appear: λαλέω applied to divine disclosures, i. 1; ii. 2; ix. 19; γεύομαι θανάτου, ii. 9; σπέρμα for *posterity*, ii. 16; xi. 18; σάρξ καὶ αἷμα for *corporeity*, ii. 14; παῤῥησία in the sense of *confidence*, iii. 6; iv. 16; x. 19, 35: χάριν εὑρίσκειν, iv. 16; ὁμολογία in the sense of *confession of faith*, or rather, *the faith professed*, iii. 1; εὐλογία for *blessing*, vi. 7; xii. 17; τὸ ὄνομα θεοῦ as a periphrasis for God himself; οἰκτιρμοί, x. 28; ἐγκαινίζειν, ix. 18; x. 20; ἐργάζεσθαι δικαιοσύνην, xi. 33; ὀλοθρεύω, xi. 28; ὁμολογεῖν τινί, xiii. 15; ῥῆμα in the sense of *promise*, vi. 5; ἐξέρχομαι ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος, vii. 5; ἰδεῖν θάνατον, xi. 5; οὐχ' εὑρίσκετο, xi. 5; μὴ προστεθῆναι αὐτοῖς λόγον, xii. 19; περιπατέω ἐν, xiii. 9; καρπὸς χειλέων, xiii. 15; ἐνώπιον θεοῦ, xiii. 21; κοπή in the sense of *overthrow*, vii. 1 (but this word is taken from the Septuagint); καρπὸς εἰρηνικὸς, xii. 11.

In a syntactical respect we have the Hebraising constructions ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ instead of the genitive, iii. 12; λαλεῖν ἐν for διὰ, i. 1; ὄμνυμι κατά τινος, vi. 13; καταπαύειν intrans. with ἀπό, iv. 10; εἶναι εἴς τι, 8; ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας instead of τὸν θεόν, ii. 17.

Mr. Stuart has gathered together a very great catalogue of Hebraisms, for the purpose of shewing, what none disputes, that the language of the epistle is far from *classical*, and much Hebraised. It is not maintained that it is free from Hebraisms; but rather, that the diction is much purer than Paul's. In respect to purity, it stands on a level with the latter half of the Acts, where are many of the expressions quoted by Stuart from the epistle to the Hebrews as Hebraisms. We cut down his long list of examples by the principle already mentioned. Tried by his mode of procedure, any of Paul's epistles not only exhibits as many Hebraisms as this one addressed to the Hebrews, but *would exhibit far more*, if a similar one could be found among them, namely, one addressed solely to Jewish christians, and occupied with a description of the Jewish economy in relation to the new and spiritual dispensation to which it was merely preparatory. The subject itself necessarily leads to the use of more Hebraisms than any other treated of by Paul; and yet the epistle has really fewer.[b]

The following peculiarities of language are adduced by De Wette for the purpose of shewing diversity of authorship between the Pauline epistles and that to the Hebrews. They have been carefully collected out of the works of preceding critics.

Different formulae introductory to quotations: λέγει, μαρτυρεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, or ὁ θεὸς, or merely λέγει, εἴρηκε, μαρτυρεῖ, φησί, i. 5, 6, etc., 13; iii. 7, 15; iv. 3, 4, etc., 7; v. 5, etc.; vi. 14; vii. 14, 17, 21; viii. 5, 8, 13; x. 5, 8, 9, 15, etc., 30; xi. 18; xii. 5, 20, 26. (On the contrary, Paul has γέγραπται, καθὼς γέγραπται, ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, ἐγράφη, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος; or Μωϋσῆς γράφει, Δαβὶδ λέγει, ὁ νόμος λέγει, and the like. There are only Ephes. iv. 8, and v. 14, like the epistle to the Hebrews. Rom. xv. 10; 2 Cor. vi. 2; Galat. iii. 16, are somewhat similar.)

Instead of the forms ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, we have here only ὁ κύριος, ii. 3; vii. 14; ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ii. 9; iii. 1; iv. 14; vi. 20; vii. 22; x. 19; xii. 2, 24; xiii. 12; or Χριστός, iii. 6, 14; v. 5; vi. 1; ix. 11, 14, 24, 28; xi. 26. It is only in x. 10; xiii. 8, 21, that Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς occurs; and

[b] See Tholuck, p. 25, et seqq.

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς in xiii. 20. ἀπόστολος is applied to Christ, iii. 1; μισθαποδοσία, ii. 2; x. 35; xi. 26 (μισθός in Paul); ὁρκωμοσία, vii. 20, 21; αἱματεκχυσία, ix. 22—words compounded with εὐ and ἀνά, as εὐαρεστεῖν, εὐποιΐα, εὐπερίστατος ἀναλογίζεσθαι, ἀναδέχεσθαι—οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα, ii. 5; τὰ μέλλοντα ἀγαθά, ix. 11; x. 1; μέτοχον εἶναι, γίνεσθαι, iii. 1, 14; vi. 4; xii. 8 (in Paul κοινωνὸν, συγκοινωνὸν εἶναι, κοινωνεῖν, συγκοινωνεῖν); ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, i. 3; ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, viii. 1; ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ, xii. 2; ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, x. 12 (in Ephes. i. 20, ἐκάθισεν (αὐτὸν θεὸς) ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις; in Col. iii. 1, ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενος); ἡγούμενοι, xiii. 7, 17, 24; κακουχεῖσθαι, xi. 37; xiii. 2; συγκακουχεῖσθαι, xi. 25; θρόνος τῆς μεγαλωσύνης, viii. 1; θρόνος τῆς χάριτος, iv. 16; τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνυβρίζειν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καταπατεῖν, x. 29. Several feminine substantives derived from verbs: ἀθέτησις, vii. 18; ix. 26; μετάθεσις, vii. 12; xi. 5; xii. 27; κατάπαυσις, iii. 11, 18; iv. 1, 3, 5, 10, 11, etc., etc.; τελειοῦν, ii. 10; v. 9; vii. 19, 28; ix. 9; x. 1, 14; xi. 40; xii. 23; τελείωσις, vii. 11; προσφέρειν, προσφορά, very often; λαμβάνειν frequently used in part in a peculiar way, as πειρᾶν, ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν; προσέρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ, iv. 16; vii. 25; xx. 1, 22; xi. 6; κρείττων in a peculiar sense, i. 4; vi. 9; vii. 7, 19, 22; viii. 6; ix. 23; x. 34; xi. 16, 35, 40; αἰώνιος, v. 9; vi. 2; ix. 12, 14, 15; xiii. 20; εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς, vii. 3; x. 1, 12, 14; εἰς τὸ παντελὲς, vii. 25; διαπαντός, ix. 6; xiii. 15; ζῶν in the sense of everlasting, spiritually powerful; θεὸς ζῶν, iii. 12; ix. 14; x. 31; xii. 22; λόγος ζῶν, iv. 12; ὁδὸς ζῶσα, x. 20; ἐάνπερ, iii. 6, 14; vi. 3; the frequently occurring ὅθεν, ὅσον, τοσοῦτο, ἀδύνατον; παρά after the comparative, i. 4; ix. 23; xi. 4; xii. 24; the frequent use of πᾶς in the singular. On the other hand, such Pauline phrases as οὐ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν and many others are wanting.[a]

Let us look at the mode in which the peculiarities now stated have been explained consistently with the Pauline authorship of the epistle to the Hebrews. The introductory formulas of quotations have been already examined, and require on the present occasion no additional remarks. We have seen that the charac-

[a] De Wette, Einleit. u. s. w., pp. 319, 320.

teristic formula applied by Paul to Christ is ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, while the epistle to the Hebrews has only the second appellation twice, and ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς once.

Mr. Stuart[d] has endeavoured to rebut the force of this consideration, and with some success, *in the way it is stated by Schulz;* but not as it *should have been*, and *is now presented.* When we compare the phraseology of our epistle with that of Paul, we should certainly expect a more frequent use of the compound appellations. It may indeed be correct, as Stuart affirms, that those compound formulas occur but sixty-eight times in all the letters written by Paul; but even then, we should look for appellations compounded with κύριος oftener than they appear in our epistle. For while only one such is found in it, there are at least seventeen in the epistle to the Romans. Hence the extreme paucity of formulas compounded with κύριος is striking. Again, ὁ Ἰησοῦς occurs seven times in our epistle; whereas in the epistle to the Romans, which is longer, it is found but twice, and in the first letter to the Corinthians no more than once. These are facts which Stuart has not shaken—facts which tell so far against the Pauline authorship.

As to the use of words compounded with εὐ and ἀνά in our epistle, nothing can be built on them. It has been satisfactorily proved by Stuart[e] that they are very frequent in Paul's epistles, even more so than in the epistle to the Hebrews. Hence this particular is not well founded.

In relation to οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα, ii. 5, it here means *the christian dispensation*, and is not employed in Paul's acknowledged epistles. Stuart asks,[f] "Are not οἰκουμένη and αἰών employed as synonymous in the New Testament? and does not αἰὼν μέλλων occur in Heb. vi. 5 in the sense of 'christian dispensation?'" To this we answer, the expressions are *not* synonymous; neither does αἰὼν μέλλων mean the *christian dispensation* in Hebrews vi. 5. It denotes *the future world.*

As to ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης, κ. τ. λ., the question is not exactly that our author employs καθίζω in a neuter sense,

[d] Commentary, etc., p. 168. [e] Ibid. p. 180.
[f] Ibid. p. 143.

while Paul employs it *transitively*;[g] for according to Stuart, Paul employs the verb only four times, twice in a neuter, and twice in a transitive sense, shewing that his usage is equally divided. The point is, that *with the same context* the writer of our epistle uses it *intransitively:* "he *sat down* on the right hand of the throne of the majesty," etc., etc.; whereas the apostle of the Gentiles uses it *transitively* in the same connexion: "God the Father *seated* him at his own right hand," etc. Against the employment by the author of our epistle of such expressions as θρόνος τῆς μεγαλωσύνης, τῆς χάριτος, Stuart adduces πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, θειότης, ἀλήθεια τοῦ θεοῦ, ψεῦδος, *false god*, and πνεῦμα ζωῆς, from the epistle to the Romans. But the force of the particular lies in this, that *such* abstract appellations of Deity do not occur in Paul's writings. Hence the phrases are not apposite. They are unhappily chosen, especially as ἀλήθεια τοῦ θεοῦ is not equivalent to the *true God*, nor πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης to *the Holy Spirit*, nor πνεῦμα ζωῆς to *living Spirit*.

Nouns feminine in ις are unusually numerous in our epistle. This has not been answered by Stuart.

With regard to τελειοῦν, τελείωσις, τελειότης, in our epistle, Stuart says: "the verb is so employed [in the sense of *to bring to perfection, to advance to the highest place*] in ii. 10; v. 9; vii. 28; xii. 23; but in a different acceptation in vii. 19; ix. 9; x. 1, 14; xi. 40 (perhaps the last instance belongs to the other category). To the former *peculiar* sense of τελειόω (as alleged) Paul is no stranger: Philip. iii. 12, compare 2 Cor. xii. 9. Other Hellenists also employ it in the same manner: Luke xiii. 32. The derivative forms τελείωσις and τελειότης, vii. 11, xii. 2, occur once only in this epistle: τελείωσις also in Luke i. 45."[h] These remarks are altogether unsatisfactory, and are of no avail in shaking the force of the peculiar expression τελειοῦν in our epistle. It occurs no where else in the signification it bears here, Philip. iii. 12 not excepted. The term is exceedingly comprehensive and important in our epistle, since it describes the work of redemption both in its subjective and objective aspects. It is a leading term in the doctrinal terminology of the letter, and could not have been selected without design, because it shews the view taken of the

[g] Commentary, etc., p. 174. [h] Ibid. p. 179.

work of redemption throughout the epistle. It is therefore strange that it should not have been elsewhere employed by the apostle.

As to προσφέρειν and προσφορά, Stuart's answer is quite satisfactory; inasmuch as the nature of the subject discussed in the epistle—Christ's death, as typified by the Jewish offerings—seemed to require such words.

In relation to the peculiar use of λαμβάνειν with the accusative, such as πειρᾶν, etc., Stuart heaps together a number of accusatives joined with the same verb in Paul's writings. But his reply does not reach the point in question; for in the instances he gives the verb is not employed in the same manner. It means in them to *receive* grace, apostleship, reconciliation, etc., etc.; whereas in the examples quoted from our epistle, it signifies to *make* trial, commencement, etc., etc.

It is alleged by the opponents of the Pauline authorship that κρείττων is used in our epistle in a peculiar way, viz. the sense of *more excellent*. To this Stuart answers, that Paul uses it in the same sense in 1 Cor. xii. 31. But this is not sufficient, because one solitary instance out of Paul's thirteen epistles leaves the *frequency* of the adjective's peculiar usage in the epistle to the Hebrews untouched.

Αἰώνιος should not be adduced by De Wette, because Paul uses the word twenty-four times, our epistle only six.

With respect to διαπαντός it is never employed by the apostle; for in the citation Romans xi. 10, it is simply taken from the Seventy. Hence Stuart's remarks are of no weight against the use of the word in our epistle. As to ζῶν, Stuart remarks that Paul uses it often in the same sense as that which it bears in our epistle, such as Rom. ix. 26; 2 Cor. iii. 3; vi. 16; 1 Thessal. i. 9; 1 Tim. iii. 15; iv. 10. Hence it is of no use against the Pauline authorship.

The frequent use in the epistle of πᾶς in the singular has been noticed. But Stuart observes, that it occurs but sixteen times; while in the epistle to the Ephesians it is found twenty-three times.

The want of the Pauline phrases οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν—θέλω ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι—τοῦτο δέ φημι—γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν—οἶδα γὰρ—γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι—τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν—ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις—ἐρεῖς

οὖν μοι—ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε—μὴ γένοιτο—τί οὖν—τί γὰρ—μενοῦνγε— is sufficiently explained by the fact that our epistle belongs to a different class of writings from that to which the epistles containing these phrases belong. They are *dialectical;* ours is *rhetorical.* It should also be observed, that these phrases occur in the epistles to the Romans, second to Corinthians, and Galatians, almost exclusively. In the Ephesian, Philippian, and Colossian epistles, they do not appear.[1]

Here it may be remarked that an immense array of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα is not insisted now by the opponents of the Pauline authorship. There are no less than 118 in the epistle to the Hebrews; but it has been shewn by Stuart that there are 230 in the first epistle to the Corinthians, so that the argument goes to prove too much. There are however certain ἅπαξ λεγόμενα which indicate another author, having been chosen to suit the rhetorical character of the epistle. These alone properly pertain to the argument: the others are worthless. Hence De Wette has done right in retaining some such terms and phrases—those which occur no where else.

On looking at the kind of proof derived from similarity or dissimilarity of words and phrases, and its bearing on the question of authorship, we do not attribute any decisive weight to it. Advocates of the Pauline authorship gain little by it, because a disciple conversant with the apostle's doctrines and epistles may have presented the written phenomena on which they rely; while opponents of the Pauline authorship gain little by their list of dissimilar expressions, because they may be explained to a great extent by diversity of subject, circumstances, and readers. Mechanical repetition of the same words and phrases should not be insisted on in the case of any writer, much less the apostle Paul. Were we to give an opinion as to the respective claims of the conflicting arguments before us, we should assign the preference to those founded on similarity, because they are more numerous and striking than the opposite. Taking them by themselves, they outweigh the diversities. Still they are far from being con-

[1] See Petri Hofstede De Groot, in academia Groningana, theologiae candidati, disputatio qua epistola ad Hebraeos cum Paulinis epistolis comparatur, pp. 220, 221.

vincing. Little reliance can be placed upon them. They do not make probable, much less do they prove, that none but Paul wrote the epistle. And yet it is surprising that they should have been so much undervalued by the impugners of Paul's authorship, while the diversities adduced should have so important an influence assigned them as to turn the scale in favour of another author. As far as we are able to estimate evidence, the differences of words and phrases, so industriously held forth, are not sufficient to counterbalance the coincidences. Hence this diversity can never establish diversity of authorship, except by the aid of an exaggerated importance. Even the *doctrinal terminology* of our epistle is not so different from Paul's, as to create insuperable difficulty in the way of his writing it. Three or four expressions are certainly strange and peculiar, on the supposition that Paul wrote our epistle; but what are they, characteristic though they be, by the side of a host of words and phrases essentially Pauline?

We come now to consider the *style* of the epistle. Here every reader is struck with the fact that it is unlike Paul's. It is oratorical. The periods are regular and rounded, the rhythm smooth. The construction of sentences is more exact and complete. There is less abruptness and liveliness. Hence it abounds with full-toned expressions—with words of a poetical complexion. The tone is calm, solemn, dignified; unlike the apostle's fiery energy and irresistible excitement. We miss his dialectic method, and have in its stead the periodic, stately, polished eloquence of one who built up his sentences with regularity and rhythm. This oratorical character has had some influence on the choice of single words and phrases. It has led to the adoption of fuller terms and of finer rhythm. But it is not seen in them so much as in the conformation and succession of periods, in their flow and construction. Here it is unmistakeable, so much so as to indicate another hand than Paul's. In the case of single terms, this oratorical character appears by the use of less common in preference to colloquial ones, as is exemplified in several of the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα of our epistle, which should not be *counted*, but *weighed*. It is their *quality*, not their *number*, which gives them a voice against the Pauline authorship. They accord with the oratorical style of the entire letter, as when ἀπαύγασμα and χαρακτήρ are employed

instead of Paul's *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ*; or when such full-toned, poetical words as *μισθαποδοσία, μεγαλωσύνη, ὁρκωμοσία, αἱματεκχυσία, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως*, etc., etc., are selected.

The Greek particles are used in our epistle with greater copiousness and variety than in any of Paul's of equal length. In this respect it is like the Acts of the Apostles. Thus *τε* generally followed by *καί* occurs nineteen times; whereas in the epistle to the Romans, which contains three chapters more than ours, it occurs but thirteen times; and in first Corinthians, which has the same number of chapters as the epistle to the Hebrews, only four times. It is remarkable how often *γάρ* is used, even where other conjunctions might have been more appropriate. It seems to have been a favourite particle with the author. The use of *ἀλλά* before a negative question is singular (iii. 16); no instance of it being found in the epistle to the Romans. So too the employment of *εἶτα* in the progress of an argument, xii. 9; of *δήπου*, ii. 16.

The care observable in the conformation and construction of sentences has often been noticed. It is patent to the eye of every attentive reader. Euphony and rhetorical effect were alike studied by the author. This is exemplified at the very beginning of the epistle, in the first three verses: *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ, ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, δι' ἑαυτοῦ καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς*. Here there is the music of poetry, as well as its stately dignity and full-toned utterances. Take another example from vii. 4: *θεωρεῖτε δὲ, πηλίκος οὗτος, ᾧ δεκάτην Ἀβραὰμ ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων ὁ πατριάρχης*. The position of the word *πατριάρχης*, which Paul never uses, gives a fine effect to the sentence. Other instances may be seen in xii. 1, 2; vi. 4-6; v. 7-10; vii. 22; ix. 11, 12.

It is also perceptible that while the writer of our epistle abounds in participial constructions, which shew his mastery of the language, he keeps them from embarrassing the simplicity and regularity of

his periods, as they often do in Paul's epistles. Compare the first four verses with 2 Tim. i. 9, etc.

As contributing to the regularity and rounding of the periods, we find *protasis* and *apodosis*, the latter corresponding to the former where both occur in a sentence. Compare for example ii. 2-4, 14, 15; ix. 13, 14. There are no *anacolutha* so frequent in Paul. Long parentheses, with shorter ones thrown into the midst of them, as the impassioned spirit of the great apostle hurries forward, piling up clause on clause, do not turn aside the construction from the manner in which it commences. Interruptions, inversions, involutions, do not mark the sentences. The calmness of the writer prevails, and prevents these ruggednesses. There is still the evenly rounding of periods. Bleek quotes a striking example from xii. 18-24, where there is a long parenthesis, and within it a shorter one; and yet the thread of discourse is continued thereafter without irregularity, or deviation from the right construction. See also vii. 20-22; v. 7-10; xii. 1, 2. The only apparent exceptions are ii. 9; and iii. 15.

What now is the conclusion which should be drawn from this style belonging to the epistle? We have seen that the tone is elevated, rhetorical, calm, unlike the fiery force of Paul's manner. There is polish, care, elegance. It is true that the style of the apostle varies in his different epistles. But this will not account for the dissimilarity observable here, because the diversity appearing in his writings is not of a kind to prevent the exhibition of *substantial* unity, indicating sameness of authorship. It is also true, as Hug states, that Paul's relation to the christians of Palestine was different from his relation to other christians. He was not one of their teachers and guides. He could not therefore adopt the tone towards them which he employed towards the churches he had planted and watered. But he did not found the Roman church; and yet the style in the epistle addressed to that church is very different from the style of our present one. Nor will the object he had in view, and the subject he undertook to discuss, explain the elevated tone assumed; for these did not demand a loftier diction than the subjects of some other epistles. The contents of the epistle to the Romans demanded an equally elevated and oratorical style. Altered circumstances and subject matter will

not account for the very great dissimilarity. Some perhaps may think, that inasmuch as the epistle resembles a treatise on a great subject, it should be dignified, calm, solemn in its tone; but Paul's fire does not burst forth even in the hortatory and concluding part. The gravity is maintained throughout. No trace of the apostle's characteristic manner appears. Besides, would it not be anomalous that the apostle himself should adopt a purer Greek and a higher style of writing in an epistle addressed to Jewish christians in Palestine? Such readers were of all others the worst judges of good Greek. Had they been cultivated Gentiles, it would have been appropriate to employ a more elegant and elevated tone; but why polish the diction and round off the periods for the benefit of Palestinian believers? This was not at all needful. Neither the circumstances nor the readers required it.

There is little fear that any well-grounded objection can be brought against our position, viz. that Paul himself did not put the epistle into Greek, from a comparison of several discourses which he uttered as they are recorded in Acts, especially those before the Athenians, Festus, and Agrippa. If it were certain that the very words of Paul were given in them, there would be force in the comparison; but while the influence of Luke the writer appears in the dress given to such discourses, our conclusion is not affected by them. That the oratorical tone in some parts of them is like that of our epistle may be fairly allowed; but the circumstance merely shews the probability of Luke's having to do with the diction of our epistle.

After an attentive study of the present epistle we are thus brought to the position, that it did not receive its present form from the apostle Paul. It is better Greek than his. The style and manner of it are different.

In combating this conclusion, Mr. Stuart has indulged in much special pleading, without producing a single argument sufficient to overthrow it. It is only necessary to notice one position he lays down, since it may be thought to militate against us. "The manner of Paul's writing in respect to separating premises from conclusion, or protasis from apodosis, bears a striking resemblance to that which is found in the epistle to the Hebrews. I refer now to the manner of employing suspended sentences, and a species of

anacolutha or imperfect sentences; and also his custom of seizing hold of a word or phrase thrown out by the way and commenting on it, and then returning to his subject, and thus making frequent parentheses. Paul sometimes states the major and minor terms of a syllogism, or the first parts of a sentence or comparison; and then leaving it in this unfinished state, he turns aside to illustrate or confirm some hint which was suggested to his mind by what he had stated; or some train of thought is introduced to which the natural association of ideas would lead; and after descanting on this he returns, and, with or without repeating his proposition or sentence at first commenced, presents in full the conclusion or apodosis which is required to complete it."[1] After giving examples from Romans v. 12-18; ii. 6; and Ephesians iii. 1, he proceeds to look for similarly constructed paragraphs and sentences in our epistle. It should be noticed, however, that his explanation of Romans ii. 6 will not stand examination, though it has been adopted by several commentators. He connects the words "in the day when God will judge," etc. (verse 16), with the preceding "who will render to every man according to his works" (ver. 6), and thus nine verses of explanatory manner intervene between the first part of the sentence and its correspondent part. But grave objection lies against this exegesis. The true interpretation is that given by Rückert, Winer, and De Wette, who connect the sixteenth with the fifteenth verse in sense. We also object to Stuart's mode of construction in Ephesians iii. 1. Waving these things, however, it must be admitted, that the peculiarity mentioned does characterise the apostle of the Gentiles. The question is, does the writer of our epistle resemble him in it? So Stuart affirms, and produces examples. The first adduced is from Heb. iv. 6: "Seeing then it remains that some should enter into [the rest], and they to whom the good tidings were formerly proclaimed did not enter in through unbelief,"—after which the sentence is suspended and the concluding part given in the ninth verse,—"there remaineth then a rest for the people of God." Here the commentator errs. It is the seventh verse that corresponds with the sixth: "Since it remains that some enter into it, and those to whom the promise was given before did not enter in on account of their disobedience,

[1] Commentary, pp. 120, 121.

he limits again another day, saying in David," etc. De Wette and Lomb[k] have accurately marked the correspondence in the two verses by putting *Da* at the beginning of the one, and *So* at the commencement of the other; the two particles corresponding to each other in that position. The next example is Heb. iv. 2; but it is difficult to see its bearing on the present question. So too Heb. v. 6. Here Stuart says that the writer introduces the divine appointment of Christ as a priest after the order of Melchizedek, with a design to shew that this was an appointment of the most *solemn* nature, and of a higher order than that of the Jewish priests. He then suspends the consideration of this topic and introduces another in verses 7-9, after which he resumes the former. But he no sooner does this than he turns aside once more, to descant on the difficulties lying against an ample discussion of the subject. Not till we come to chap. vii. 1 is the subject of Melchizedek's priesthood resumed. The correctness of this interpretation may be questioned. Verses 7-10 are designed to shew that Christ did not arrogate to himself the office of high priest, but received it from God, as appears especially from ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε τὴν ὑπακοήν· καὶ τελειωθείς, which the subordinate clauses explain and illustrate. From v. 11 to vi. 20 the writer inserts a severe admonitory address, but this does not disturb the construction, nor is it such as to betray the apostle Paul.

In the next example, viz. Heb. vii. 1, the construction is easy enough, though there is a long parenthetic series of appositions between the subject "Melchizedek," and the verb μένει in the third verse. The regularity and perspicuity, notwithstanding the separation of nominative and verb, are the very particulars which point to another than the apostle; since in such cases he generally goes off into a different construction, and presents an *anacoluthon*.

Again, in Heb. ix. 7, the writer says, 'that the Jewish high priest entered into the holy place once in each year, with the blood of victims in order to make atonement.' This, according to Stuart, is designed as one member of a comparison; but the other member follows only in ix. 11, 12: there the antithesis is stated, viz. 'Jesus the high priest of future blessings, entered the sanctuary of the temple not made with hands, with his own blood, accomplish-

[k] Commentarius in divi Pauli Apostoli epistolam ad Hebraeos, p. 77.

ing eternal redemption.' But in all this there is nothing irregular or ambiguous. The simple view of the matter is, that from the sixth to the eighth verses the functions of the Jewish priests are described; and from the eleventh to the fourteenth the corresponding high priesthood of Christ the antitype.

Thus in all Stuart's examples there is little appearance of Paul's *anacolutha*, or imperfect sentences—little of his changed constructions. There are, it is true, parenthetic clauses, sometimes of considerable length; but they do not introduce obscurity into the paragraph. Collateral ideas are seized upon and pursued; a course which the most perspicuous writer may readily adopt. It is no sure mark of Paul, that the verb and nominative case are separated by a considerable interval; or that an idea or comparison is resumed after being dropped. The distance of premise and conclusion, too, is not a characteristic of his *by itself;* it may be so, *if associated with some other thing.*

There are no anacolutha in the epistle to the Hebrews like those in Galat. ii. 4-6; Romans ii. 17-21; v. 12-14; ix. 23; Ephes. ii. 1, etc.; iv. 2, etc.; Coloss. iii. 16; 1 Tim. i. 5.

In view of all the phenomena connected with the Greek style of our epistle, we cannot see that anything will satisfactorily account for the difference between it and Paul's, except the assumption of some other person's coöperation. The *more elaborate character* of the whole composition will hardly explain the superiority of its diction over that in which Paul usually wrote, for the epistle to the Romans exhibits "the same marks of a studious carefulness in the formation and arrangement of the author's argument," though Gurney ventures to state the opposite. "The Greek style of this epistle," says he, "became more polished than that in which he usually wrote, for the simple reason that it was more attended to—more *studied;*" an arbitrary assertion, for which no evidence can possibly be adduced. We come to the conclusion, that though Paul was the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, he did not put it into the phraseology and style it now bears.

Having arrived at this result, the next inquiry is, who coöperated with him in perfecting the composition. Here we have no certain or clear guide. Among all the persons whose names have

been suggested as concerned with the writing, Barnabas, Luke, Clement of Rome, Apollos, Silvanus, the most probable is Luke. Hence the ancients thought either of his being *translator* from Hebrew into Greek, as Clement of Alexandria believed; or *author*. That he was the proper author has been advocated in modern times by Grotius and others; that he merely coöperated with the author in polishing the diction, has been adopted by Hug. Let the phraseology of the preface to Luke's gospel be compared with our epistle; let the latter half of the Acts especially, be examined in connexion with it, and it will be seen that there is a great likeness between them in general correctness and elegance. The style and diction of the epistle to the Hebrews resemble Luke's in the Acts more nearly than any other part of the New Testament. Even single terms and phrases, not found elsewhere or very rarely occurring, are common to Luke and the present epistle, such as the following: εὐλαβεῖσθαι and εὐλάβεια, signifying *fear*, Acts xxiii. 10; Heb. v. 7; xi. 7; εἰς τὸ παντελές, *wholly*; Luke xiii. 11; Heb. vii. 25; compare εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, Heb. vii. 3; μαρτυρούμενος, *well reported of*, and μαρτυρεῖσθαι, *to give a good testimony*, Acts vi. 3; xvi. 2; Heb. vii. 8; xi. 2, 4, 39; χρηματίζεσθαι, *to give or receive a divine response*, Luke ii. 26; Acts x. 22; Heb. viii. 5; ἡγούμενος, *leader* or *chief*, Luke xxii. 26; Heb. xiii. 7, 17; ἀρχηγός, *captain*, Acts iii. 15; v. 31; Heb. ii. 10; xii. 2; πρός for περί, Luke xviii. 1; xix. 42; xx. 19; Acts xxviii. 25; Heb. v. 7, 8; ἱλάσκειν, Luke xviii. 13; Heb. ii. 17; βοηθεία, Acts xxvii. 17; Heb. iv. 16; αἴτιος, αἴτιον, Luke xxiii. 4, 14, 22; Acts xix. 40; Heb. v. 9; πατριαρχής, Acts ii. 29; vii. 8, 9; Heb. vii. 4; ἀνώτερον, Luke xiv. 10; Heb. x. 8; πρόσφατος, προσφατῶς, Acts xviii. 2; Heb. x. 20; ἄστρον, Luke xxi. 25; Acts vii. 43; ἀστεῖος, Acts vii. 20; Heb. xi. 23; ἀσάλευτος, Acts xxvii. 41; Heb. xii. 28; ἀπαλλάσσειν, Luke xii. 58; Acts xix. 12; Heb. ii. 15; μέτοχος, Luke v. 7; Heb. i. 9; iii. 1, 14; vi. 4; xii. 8; ἔνθετος, Luke ix. 62; xiv. 35; Heb. vi. 7; τελείωσις, Luke i. 45; Heb. vii. 11; λύτρωσις, Luke i. 68; ii. 38; Heb. ix. 12; διαβαίνειν, Luke xvi. 26; Acts xvi. 9; Heb. xi. 29; παροξυσμός, Acts xv. 39; Heb. x. 24; μέτοχος, Luke v. 7; Heb. i. 9; iii. 1, 14; vi. 4; xii. 8. In addition to these, Stein has pointed out constructions in which Luke agrees with the epistle to the Hebrews.

We are aware that the likeness between the style of our epistle and that of Luke's writings is by no means such as to shew identity of *authorship*. The reasons are strong for maintaining that Paul was the author, and that Luke did not *translate* it from one language into another. Yet this does not militate against the notion that Luke had a part in putting the thoughts and words of Paul into their present form. What was the nature of the service he rendered, it is impossible to discover. How far he polished the style cannot be known. He coöperated with the apostle in making it what it now appears.

As we do not believe that Luke was the *author*, the arguments adduced on the other side by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Boehme, Forster, and Bleek, need not be considered. They do not materially affect the view now advocated.

We are thus brought substantially to the conclusion which recommended itself to the mind of Origen in ancient, and of Lardner and Hug in modern times. Stier[1] has also expressed himself to the same effect; and Guerike[m] holds a like view, both however without fixing on any one in particular. If Origen believed that the *entire composition* belonged to one of Paul's amanuenses who gave the apostle's sentiments in his own words, he went too far perhaps in thus excluding the author from *all share* in the diction.

Perhaps it may be asked, at the conclusion of this discussion respecting the author, How shall we account for the fact that there was so much diversity of opinion among the early fathers and churches respecting the writer of this epistle? The question cannot be answered very satisfactorily from want of historical data.

The majority of the early christians attributed it to the apostle. When first written, it was doubtless sent to some one church, as the concluding verses clearly prove. That church, as we shall see, was probably at Jerusalem, the centre of the influence which the epistle was meant to reach. It would therefore be well known as the apostle's production in that place; and the knowledge be diffused round about in an always widening circle as the existence and contents of the letter were spoken of. Hence the majority of

[1] Der Brief an die Hebräer ausgelegt. Theil 1. [m] Einleitung.

the early christians received it as Paul's. Hence too the Eastern churches generally admitted it as his.

But many doubted or denied its Pauline origin, because the apostle's name was not openly attached to it, as it is to his other writings. Perhaps he refrained from prefixing his name that he might not unnecessarily excite an unfavourable prepossession among his readers by a knowledge of its origin. A few who were judges of style may have hesitated to receive it as Paul's solely on account of its dissimilarity in that respect to his other writings; or they may have been confirmed in their previous doubts of its Pauline origin by that circumstance; but the many who did not acknowledge it as Paul's were not commonly influenced by diction and style. The Western christians denied its Pauline origin because at a distance from the place to which it was originally addressed. The Easterns, who were nearer, took an opposite view. Surely the latter had better means of knowing the true state of the case.

II. *Canonical authority.*

The canonical credit and authority of the epistle to the Hebrews follow directly from its Pauline authorship. There is therefore no need for those who hold that it was written by an apostle to enter into an examination of the position to which it is entitled. Such indeed as reject our opinion are compelled to do so, indulging in various speculations, which are superfluous on our part.

In traversing the field of patristic testimony relating to the epistle's authorship, a few witnesses were passed over, because their voice is neither in favour of nor against Paul's authorship. But though they could not be appropriately adduced then, they may be brought forward in connexion with its canonical authority which they confirm. If we have proved that Paul was the writer, its canonical credit is *proved;* but the proof may be corroborated by other means.

Clement addressed an epistle from Rome to the church at Corinth about the close of the first century. In it are a good number of quotations more or less exact, from the epistle to the Hebrews.

[a]Ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ, τοσούτῳ μείζων ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον ὄνομα κεκληρονόμηκεν. Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως· ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ δεσπότης· υἱός μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε· αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη . . . . . καὶ πάλιν λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· κάθου ἐξ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.[n] (Compare Heb. i. 3, 7, 5, 13.)

"Who being the brightness of his majesty is so much greater than the angels, as he has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For so it is written: 'Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire. But of his Son, thus said the Lord: Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. And again he saith unto him: Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool.'"

. . . . . ὁ μακάριος πιστὸς θεράπων ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ Μωϋσῆς.[o] (Compare Heb. iii. 2, 5.)

"Moses that blessed and faithful servant in all his house."

Μωϋσῆς πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ [τῷ οἴκῳ] αὐτοῦ ἐκλήθη.[p] (Compare Heb. iii. 2.)

"Moses was called faithful in all his house."

Ἐρευνητὴς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων.[q] (Compare Heb. iv. 12.)

"For he is a searcher of the intents and thoughts."

Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατον παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, εἰ μὴ τὸ ψεύσασθαι.[r] (Compare Heb. vi. 18.)

"For nothing is impossible with God but to lie."

Ἐνὼχ ὃς ἐν ὑπακοῇ δίκαιος εὑρεθεὶς μετετέθη, καὶ οὐχ' εὑρέθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος.[s] (Compare Heb. xi. 5.)

. . . . "Enoch, who in obedience being found righteous, was translated, and his death was not found."

Νῶε πιστὸς εὑρεθεὶς, διὰ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ παλιγγενεσίαν κόσμῳ ἐκήρυξε, κ. τ. λ.[t] (Compare Heb. xi. 7.)

"Noah being found faithful, did by his ministry preach regeneration to the world," etc.

Ἀβραὰμ . . . . πιστὸς εὑρέθη ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν ὑπήκοον γενέσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῦ θεοῦ· οὗτος δι' ὑπακοῆς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ.[v] (Compare Heb. xi. 8.)

[n] Cap. xxxvi. [o] Cap. xliii. [p] Cap. xvii. [q] Cap. xxi.
[r] Cap. xxvii. [s] Cap. ix. [t] Cap. ix. [v] Cap. x.

"Abraham . . . . was found faithful in his being obedient to the words of God; he went out of his country by obedience," etc.

Διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώθη Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη. Ἐκπεμφθέντων γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ κατασκοπῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰεριχῶ . . . . . ἡ οὖν φιλόξενος Ῥαὰβ εἰσδεξαμένη αὐτοὺς ἔκρυψεν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶον ὑπὸ τὴν λινοκαλάμην.[w] (Compare Heb. xi. 31.)

"By faith and hospitality was Rahab the harlot saved. For when the spies were sent by Joshua, the son of Nun, to Jericho, the hospitable Rahab having received them, hid them on the top of her house, under stalks of flax."

Ἐδιώχθησαν δίκαιοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνόμων . . . . . ἐλιθάσθησαν ὑπὸ παρανόμων· ἀπεκτάνθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν μιαρῶν καὶ ἄδικον ζῆλον παρειληφότων. Ταῦτα πάσχοντες, εὐκλεῶς ἤνεγκαν.[x] (Compare Heb. xi. 36, 37.)

"The righteous were persecuted, but it was by the wicked. They were cast into prison, but it was by the impious. They were stoned by transgressors. They were killed by the polluted and those who had conceived unjust envy. When they suffered these things, they endured them gloriously."

Μιμηταὶ γενώμεθα κακείνων οἵτινες ἐν δέρμασιν αἰγείοις, καὶ μηλωταῖς περιεπάτησαν.[y] (Compare Heb. xi. 37.)

"Let us be imitators of those who went about in goat-skins and sheep-skins."

Πολλῶν οὖν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων μετειληφότες πραξέων, ἀπαναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν τῆς εἰρήνης σκόπον καὶ ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ κτιστὴν, κ. τ. λ.[z] (Compare Heb. xii. 1, 2.)

"Having therefore many great and glorious examples, let us return to the mark of peace, which from the beginning was set before us; and let us look steadfastly to the Father and Creator," etc.

Ἀναλάβωμεν παιδείαν ἐφ' ᾗ οὐδεὶς ἐφίλει ἀγανακτεῖν . . . . . ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται . . . . . καὶ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν παιδευτὴς θέλει νουθετηθῆναι ἡμᾶς, διὰ τῆς ὁσίας παιδείας αὐτοῦ.[a] (Compare Heb. xii. 5, 6.)

"Let us receive correction, at which no man ought to be angry. . . . . For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. . . . . For being a good instructor, he is willing we should be admonished by his holy discipline."

[w] Cap. xii. [x] Cap. xlv. [y] Cap. xvii. [z] Cap. xix. [a] Cap. lvi.

Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν, τὸν προστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν.[b] (Compare Heb. iv. 15; viii. 1-3.)

"Jesus Christ the high priest of our offerings, the president and succourer of our infirmity."

Διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.[c] (Compare Heb. iv. 15, etc.)

"By our high priest and president, Jesus Christ."

It will be observed, that scarcely any of these quotations is made in the precise words of the epistle to the Hebrews. They diverge more or less from the original, like the quotations of the earliest fathers from other New Testament books. Those who lived nearest to the apostles cited from memory; and therefore they do not give the *ipsissima verba* of the original. How thoroughly the sentiments of the epistle were in Clement's mind may be inferred from the number of allusions to it.

The least that can be said of these references is, that they prove the existence of the epistle to the Hebrews so early as A. D. 96. But what bearing have they on its credit or authority? It will not be maintained that they attest its Pauline authorship; for Clement does not speak of Paul as the writer. Nor has he given the name of any author quoted from the New Testament, except once in the case of the first epistle to the Corinthians, which was quite natural under the circumstances.

In looking at the introductory clauses of Clement's quotations, we find in one instance, συνεπιμαρτυρούσης καὶ τῆς γραφῆς prefixed to ὅτι ταχὺ ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ. If the latter be a quotation from Heb. x. 37, the formula shews that Clement regarded the epistle as a part of *Scripture*, and therefore possessing all the credit which any writing confessedly apostolic can have. But if the quotation be from Hab. ii. 3, the introductory formula contains no appeal to the *authority* of Heb. x. 37. Bleek and Tholuck think, that the quotation of Clement is from the Old Testament; Stuart, that it is from the New. The former opinion appears the more probable, because words from Malachi iii. 1, follow immediately ὅτι ταχὺ ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ under the same general heading συνεπιμαρτυρούσης καὶ τῆς γραφῆς. It is more likely that Clement would put together two passages from the Septuagint, in-

[b] Cap. xxxvi. [c] Cap. lviii.

troducing them by one and the same phrase, than that he should similarly combine a quotation from the epistle to the Hebrews and another from the Septuagint; especially as the former *is itself derived from the Septuagint.* Thus the prefatory formula here throws no light on the degree of credit or authority which Clement assigned to our epistle.

In the thirty-sixth chapter of Clement's epistle we also meet with γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως prefixed to ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα. Here the formula plainly appeals to an *authoritative* writing. But the passage it introduces is from Psalm civ. 4. Did Clement then mean to appeal to the original Psalm, or to Hebrews i. 7? Bleek and Tholuck maintain the former, Stuart the latter. A careful examination of the whole chapter leads us to believe that Clement had reference to the words as they are applied in the epistle to the Hebrews, rather than to the same words as they stand in the Old Testament. The preceding context favours this view, and *the application* of the original psalm to Christ in the first chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews confirms it. Hence the formula γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως shews that Clement appealed to our epistle as *authoritative Scripture.* It is the highest appeal he could make to an inspired standard.

In conformity with this view derived from the latter quotation is the great use Clement makes of the epistle to the Hebrews. Surely he would not have had it so much in his mind, nor allowed it to influence the current of his thought and expression so much as it has done, had he not considered it of canonical authority. He was satisfied of its having been written by inspiration. This alone accounts for the great attention he paid to it. An apocryphal writing he might refer to occasionally—he might sometimes quote an epistle to which a lower place was assigned than that belonging to a work directly proceeding from an apostle; but he has made more use of the epistle to the Hebrews than of any other portion of the New Testament. Does this look like a belief of its inferior value or doubtful credit? Certainly not. Rather does it point to the faith of Clement in its apostolic origin. In what light the ancients viewed the relation existing between Clement's epistle and that to the Hebrews, may be gathered from Eusebius's words:

"in which (the epistle to the Corinthians) inserting many of the sentiments of the epistle to the Hebrews, and employing its very phraseology, he shews most clearly that it is no modern composition."[d] Jerome expresses himself very much to the same effect.[e]

Whether Clement's epistle may be taken as an evidence of the opinion of the church at Rome is questionable. He wrote, indeed, in the name of that church; but the letter was composed by himself. All that can be legitimately inferred from the epistle is Clement's own opinion. Stuart goes too far and assumes too much when he says: "that the church at Rome, the metropolis of the world, in a letter addressed by their bishop to the church at Corinth, made repeated appeals to it as a book of divine authority, and in such a way as to imply a knowledge and acknowledgment of it by the Corinthian church, similar to their own."[f] Nor can it be inferred from the fact of Clement's letter being addressed to the church at Corinth, that it knew and acknowledged the epistle as a book of divine authority. This is an arbitrary assumption on the part of Stuart. It is impossible to tell how the epistle was then regarded in Greece.

The testimony of other early apostolic fathers in relation to our epistle is little worth. Quotations and allusions have been collected from Ignatius's epistles by Lardner; and more recently by Forster. But the researches of Cureton demonstrate, that no weight can be attached to supposed quotations contained in these epistles, except the passages are found in *the Syriac version* of the three epistles whose genuineness is clearly established. Neither can Polycarp be here adduced, because the two passages in his epistle cited by Lardner, are too vague to be regarded as probable allusions to our epistle. They are found in the fourth and twelfth chapters.

Two passages have also been taken from the epistle of Barnabas. They too are very indistinct and uncertain. No value whatever can be attached to them, because it can never be made out that they contain allusions to the epistle to the Hebrews. Besides, it is now admitted by the best critics, that the epistle was not written

[d] H. E. iii. 38. [e] Catal. c. 15.

[f] Commentary, etc., p. 60.

so early as was supposed by those who attributed it to Barnabas, Paul's companion.

In Justin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho, we meet with the following: *Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλεὺς Σαλὴμ, καὶ αἰώνιος ἱερεὺς ὑψίστου ὑπάρχων.*[g] (Compare Hebrews v. 9, 10; vi. 20; vii. 12).

"This is he, who, after the order of Melchizedek, is King of Salem, and everlasting priest of the Most High."

Καὶ αἰώνιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερέα, καὶ βασιλέα, καὶ Χριστὸν μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι.[h]

"About to be both everlasting priest of God, and King, and Christ."

Elsewhere he says: *καὶ ἄγγελος δὲ καλεῖται καὶ ἀπόστολος.*[i] (Hebrews iii. 1.)

"He is called both angel and apostle."

Christ is never termed an *apostle* except in our epistle.

These passages shew, that Justin knew and approved of the epistle. He quotes it in the same manner as he quotes other books; and there is no reason for supposing that he attributed any but canonical authority to it.

Again, the epistle to the Hebrews is contained in the Peshito or old Syriac version made in the second century. This fact shews, that the Syrian church regarded it in a favourable light. When we consider that the Peshito wanted several epistles which were not generally received as authentic so soon as the other books, the fact in question forms an important part of the early evidence favourable to our epistle's canonical reputation.

It is probable, that the old Latin version, the *Vetus Itala* of the second or early part of the third century, wanted it. We know that it has been inferred from the silence of Augustine and Jerome respecting its omission in this early version, that it had the epistle. But the fact that the part of the West in which the old Italic first appeared denied the Pauline origin, proves that the version wanted the epistle.

We have thus seen that the epistle was used and acknowledged as *Scripture* by Clement in Rome writing to the church at Corinth, *i. e.* about thirty years after it was written; by Justin

[g] P. 341. [h] P. 323. [i] Apol. i. p. 95.

Martyr; and probably by the Syrian church. Such credit it had obtained about the middle of the second century.

From the close of this century, the question of canonicity is identified with that of the Pauline authorship, which has been already examined.

III. *The persons to whom it was first addressed.*

It is difficult to arrive at a definite and satisfactory conclusion respecting the circle of readers for whom the epistle was originally designed. As long as the data furnished by the letter itself are not clear or convincing, we may expect different views. It is not necessary however to examine and refute most of the hypotheses which have been framed, because they are sufficiently weak in themselves to shew their futility. No sober inquirer can believe that the epistle was designed for Jewish believers generally wherever they were, as Euthalius, Oecumenius, Braun, Baumgarten, Heinrichs, and Schwegler suppose; or for the Hebrew christians of Asia (Ephesus, Miletus, and thereabout), Macedonia, Greece, etc., as Wall thinks; or for Jewish believers who had left Jerusalem when the war broke out, and were in Asia Minor, as Sir Isaac Newton, Bengel, and Bolten imagine; or for the same class of christians in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, as Bengel and Cramer think; or for Jewish christians in Galatia, as Storr, Mynster, and Rinck believe; or for the like individuals in Spain, as Nicolaus of Lyra and Ludwig think; or for Hebrew believers in Lycaonia, as Credner conjectures; or for the same at Thessalonica, as Semler and Noesselt think, without excluding the Jewish christians generally of Macedonia; or for the same at Rome, as Wetstein imagines; or at Alexandria, as Schmidt and Wieseler believe; or at Corinth, as Weber supposes; or at Antioch, as Boehme thinks; or at Laodicea, according to Stein, who may probably have taken up the idea from Philastrius;[k] or to the church at Ephesus consisting of Gentile christians, according to Roeth; or to the joint churches of the Ephesians and Colossians, according to Baumgarten-Crusius. The considerations in favour of these conjectures

[k] See Anger, über den Laodicener Brief, p. 29, et seqq.; and Wieseler's Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalter's, u. s. w., p. 481, et seqq.

are such as preclude the idea of all formal examination; for they are not entitled to it. To Jewish christians *living out of Palestine*, whether they be viewed generally, or restricted to one locality, it is pretty clear that the epistle was not sent in the first instance.[1] We hold that it was written for the special benefit of Jewish christians in Palestine. This appears to us the only tenable opinion. It was held by most of the fathers, as far as we have the means of enabling us to form a judgment respecting their views of the point; by the Alexandrian theologians, by Eusebius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, and others. The same view is adopted by the majority of modern scholars, as Bèza, Capellus, Spanheim, Mill, Pearson, Pritius, Harenberg, Hofmann, Lardner, Macknight, Michaelis, Hallet, Hug, Bertholdt, Schott, Bleek, Neudecker, Stuart. The following considerations, drawn from the epistle itself, are favourable to the prevailing hypothesis.

The general tenor of the letter shews that it was addressed to Jewish christians alone. No reference occurs to other converts. The reader will search in vain for an allusion to heathenism as the condition from which any of the parties had been saved. This fact points to Palestine, where alone the churches consisted of Jewish converts. Out of Judea, there were no such unmixed communities, as far as we can judge from the New Testament. Those founded by the apostle and his assistants were of a miscellaneous character, consisting of Jews and Gentiles in various proportions. While a few may have been almost wholly Gentile in their composition, *none* was entirely Jewish. If therefore the original readers of the epistle are to be sought out of Palestine, the church or churches they formed must have been partly Jewish and partly Gentile, or altogether the latter. And in that case the apostle would not have departed from his usual practice so far as to avoid allusion to the relation between the Gentile and Jewish converts. In the early churches these two classes were constantly exposed to collision, as we see by Paul's epistles. They did not unite harmoniously for a considerable time. Hence in all his other letters, he has some reference to the relation between them. In the present instance there is none whatever. And not only were the Hebrew believers to whom our epistle is addressed unmixed with

[1] See Neudecker's Lehrbuch der histor. kritisch. Einleitung, p. 603, et seqq.

Gentile converts, but they had a peculiar character distinguishing them from those described in his other writings. They had been accustomed to the temple service. They were familiar with the Levitical worship. Levitical services and a Jewish priesthood were things they had often seen. Even after their reception of christianity, they entertained a strong feeling in favour of their former ordinances. This does not apply to the Jewish converts out of Palestine in the same sense. For here the converts felt a great desire to return to the Jewish hierarchy and the institutions connected with it. The sacrifices offered in the temple they could scarcely forego, because they appeared essential for the expiation of sin, and consequently for the procurement of peace of conscience. They were in danger of apostasy from christianity. They could hardly renounce the idea of officiating priests and sacrificial offerings as necessarily connected with the forgiveness of sin. All this is not very applicable to Jews in any other country than Palestine; because they seldom attended the temple services. The mass of the people was ignorant of the ordinances and arrangements connected with the temple. The majority had not seen them. Hence they were in less danger of turning back from the simple forms and principles of the new religion. The Levitical worship made less impression on their minds, because they were at a distance from its seat and centre, where their senses were unaffected by the imposing ceremonial. But in Judea, and especially at Jerusalem, christianity would be less likely to acquire its full power over the Jewish converts because of the external influences and associations amid which they lived. There the lingering attachment to old habits would remain longest. The spirituality of christianity would be endangered by immediate contact with a carnal worship. Apostasy would be less uncommon. They would not understand so well the superiority of the christian to the Jewish religion.

Now the letter before us is exactly suited to the state and predilections of such persons. It is largely occupied with discussing Christ's priesthood, comparing it with the Jewish priesthood, and proving the typical, transitory nature of the latter, by the side of the all-prevailing, unchangeable condition of the former. In regard to the temple ordinances also, their adumbration of the

spiritual institutions of christianity is asserted. The holy places and vessels are described. Minute allusions are found to the entire temple ritual. All this apparatus is so contrasted with the arrangements of christianity, as to evince the superiority of the latter. It is implied that the readers were accustomed to look with veneration on the Mosaic law and ritual—to attach pre-eminence to the system—to hold it forth to admiration—to boast of the temple's external magnificence. Hence the writer enters fully and minutely into the superiority of the new religion, shewing that the various Levitical institutions were designed to be similitudes of a more spiritual and perfect system. He demonstrates the pre-eminence of Christ, and the dispensation he introduced, over the angel-mediators of the Sinaitic law, and the Jewish ritual, with its priesthood, sacred places and utensils.

Again, the readers are warned against apostasy. They are told to beware of the fearful consequences of returning to Judaism, and so crucifying the Son of God afresh. They are represented as babes in Christ, when they ought to be far advanced in their knowledge of the principles of his religion. In short, they are addressed as persons familiar with the Levitical worship, and largely affected by its ceremonies, so as to be in great danger of falling back into their former system. This points to Palestine as their dwelling-place.

Besides these general remarks affecting the character of the epistle as a whole, there are a few particulars which favour the same conclusion. Thus in xiii. 12 it is stated, without further explanation, that Christ suffered without the gate, supposing the readers' familiarity with Jerusalem.

Again, we find it mentioned in x. 32-34, that the persons addressed had been exposed to reproaches and persecution from their fellow-countrymen. Before the epistle was written, the christians in Judea had been variously afflicted. After the death of Stephen there was a general persecution. Herod Agrippa had stretched forth his hand against the converts. The influence of the Sanhedrim had stirred such a spirit in Judea. But the Roman magistrates and laws out of Palestine were adverse to persecution. There the christians enjoyed religious freedom. The Jews were unable to raise any general persecution against the christians

there, however much they may have desired it. Hence the persons addressed as having suffered grievously must be looked for in Judea.

Other considerations have been adduced by Lardner[m] and Michaelis[n] which will not bear the test of examination, and whose unsuitableness Mr. Stuart has satisfactorily disposed of.[o] But one adduced by himself is equally futile, viz. that not one word is said in the epistle which implies that their teachers were wanting in anything pertaining either to the knowledge or duties of their office. All is commendation. This argument proves too much. The same is true of the epistle to the Philippians; and yet the teachers there were not apostles or immediate disciples of Christ, as Stuart infers in the case of our epistle from the unqualified commendation of them. There is some force, however, in the circumstance that there is not a word which shews the writer to have been the religious teacher of those he addresses. Immediately or mediately, all other churches abroad, as far as we know them, had been influenced by the apostle when the letter was written.

In addition to the circumstances just mentioned, the inscription *πρὸς Ἑβραίους* favours the same opinion. It cannot of course be maintained, with Credner,[p] that it proceeded from the author himself. All the titles belonging to the New Testament books are of later origin; and this seems to be no exception. No inscription was prefixed, because the readers were at once recognised by the contents, especially the commencement. In the present case, it is most likely that none was put. But though not originating with the writer himself, it must have been affixed very early, because it is found in fathers of the second century, such as Clement of Alexandria and his master Pantaenus. Tertullian also knew it. Indeed no Greek or Latin father knew of any other. The oldest versions, too, are evidences of the same fact. The Vetus Itala, as well as Jerome's revised edition, has the same inscription. Nothing can be inferred from the omission of the title in the Latin of the

[m] Works, vol. iii. p. 325, et seqq.

[n] Introduction to the N. T. translated by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 193, et seqq., sect. 4.

[o] Commentary, etc., p. 23, et seqq., sect. 10. [p] Einleit. p. 561, sect. 208.

two Greek-Latin codices, viz. Claromontanus and San Germanensis, the one a copy of the other. The Peshito or old Syriac accords with the general tradition. In short, all MSS. have the title *To the Hebrews*, except the Codex Boernerianus, in which we find, after the letter to Philemon, the words *Ad Laudicenses incipit epistola*, which refer to our epistle. In the fragment on the canon published by Muratori, it is quite uncertain whether *ad Alexandrinos* means the epistle to the Hebrews.

Thus the oldest witnesses exhibit the present title and none other, with a single exception; and therefore there is good ground for concluding, that the appellation rests on a very early and universal tradition. Indeed it is not improbable, that it was affixed to some copies made from the original autograph.

But what is the *meaning* of the term *Hebrews* in the title? The signification of it may be determined both *biblically* and *ecclesiastically*. According to the New Testament usage of Ἑβραῖος, it denotes in its general and widest sense a descendant of Abraham; a Hebrew by religion and nation, an Israelite; as in Phil. iii. 5; 2 Cor. xi. 22. But in Acts vi. 1 it is used in a limited acceptation to denote Jews living in Palestine and speaking the Aramaean dialect, in contradistinction to Ἑλληνισταί, that is, Jews speaking Greek and living among the Gentiles.[q] Now in choosing between these two acceptations of Ἑβραῖος as employed in the title of the epistle before us, we must be guided by *ecclesiastical* usage. That must determine which of them should be adopted. Here there is not the difficulty which Tholuck represents. The title of the first gospel, as it was in the hands of the early Jewish christians, viz. εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἑβραίους, shews that the word is restricted to Jews living in Palestine, and speaking Hebrew or Aramaean.

Thus the title of the epistle favours the idea that the document was addressed to Jewish christians in Palestine.

But there are difficulties in the way of this opinion. Objections to it have been drawn from the epistle, and urged by various critics, especially by Storr,[r] Eichhorn, Mynster,[s] and Wieseler.

[q] Compare Wahl, in his Clavis s. v.; Bretschneider, in his Lexicon s. v. Wilke is more diffuse on the word in his Clavis, but less accurate.

[r] Pauli Brief an die Hebraer erläutert. Einleit. p. 59, et seqq.

[s] Kleine Theol. Schriften, p. 91 et, seqq., and in Theol. Stud. und Kritiken, vol. ii. H. 2.

They do not, however, appear to be of sufficient force to overthrow it.

1. According to xii. 4, and x. 32, the readers had endured persecutions, but without the sacrifice of life. They had not yet resisted unto blood. Now it is alleged that this does not agree with Acts viii. 1-3; xii. 1, from which it would appear they had suffered even to the death. Both Stephen and James had suffered martyrdom.

It will not suffice to reply that only *teachers*, not private christians, had suffered martyrdom in Judea; and as the epistle is directed to christians as a body, not to office-bearers of churches, the language might be employed, "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood," though some of their teachers had suffered death. It can never be shewn, that no blood was shed except that of Stephen during the persecution noticed in Acts vi. to viii.; and none save that of James under Herod Agrippa (Acts xii. 1-3). What Paul says in Acts xxvi. 10 is too plain to be evaded: "*when they were slain*, I gave my vote against *them*." A positive statement like this cannot be fairly set aside by a negative one, such as Paul's not stating that he was guilty of blood, except in the case of Stephen. The *clearer* should be interpreted by the aid of the *more obscure*, not *vice versa*, as Stuart has explained them.[t] Hence the apostle was actively engaged in the murder of more persons than one, Stephen being but one out of several who lost their lives during that persecution. Indeed the attempt to shew that none but the teachers or officers of the churches had suffered martyrdom in Palestine before the epistle was written, is futile. If so, it is equally vain to affirm that private christians in Palestine, irrespective of their teachers, are addressed.

We need not stop to explain the expression "resisted unto blood," or to shew that the writer does not say that *they had not yet been persecuted unto death*. The language is manifestly figurative, denoting the last extremity of spiritual contest. This contest was not with *persecutors*, for resistance was not a duty in regard to outward persecutions; but it was with inward temptations to apostatise from the christian faith. Of course, the word *sin* does not mean *sinners* or *persecutors*, the abstract for the con-

[t] Commentary, etc., p. 35, et seqq.

crete, as some commentators assert. The verb with which it is joined indicates its right sense. What the writer states is, that the spiritual contest against temptation which those whom he addresses waged, had not yet proceeded to the extreme.

Though several persons belonging to the church or churches had been put to death, yet the language in xii. 4 is quite appropriate. The writer speaks to *the generation then living*, not to its predecessor.

2. In vi. 10; x. 33, etc.; xiii. 16, allusions are found to the liberality of the christians; whence they would seem to have been rich, or at least to have possessed a comfortable abundance of the world's goods. This does not harmonise with what is stated in the epistle to the Romans, xv. 25, etc., etc., and elsewhere. The christians in Judea and at Jerusalem were poor, for which reason they had been assisted by the contributions of churches abroad.

Here however it is not implied, that *all* the churches addressed were poor; nor are *all* in the one church peculiarly alluded to. The body of the church at Jerusalem may have been so, and another part in tolerable affluence, or able at least to assist the needy and prisoners.

3. The passage ii. 3 implies that the receivers of the letter had heard the gospel from ear-witnesses, and were consequently remote from the original source of it, viz. Jerusalem. Here again it is only necessary to suppose, as before, that the writer particularly addresses *the generation then living*, whose predecessors, standing in immediate relation to the apostles, had delivered the evangelical doctrine to them.

4. The passage v. 12 has been adduced by Mynster[u] as unsuitable to Palestinian churches, especially that at Jerusalem, which was the mother church, and whence almost all teachers of christianity went forth.

It will be observed that this objection is only of force, and even then inconsiderably so, against the view by which the readers of the epistle are limited to the church at Jerusalem. If they belonged to the churches of the land generally, it possesses little weight. All that is necessary to the right understanding of the passage and its reconciliation with the opinion already advocated,

[u] Theol. Studien und Kritiken for 1829, p. 338, et seqq.

is to suppose the letter written after the death of James; and the *majority*, the *mass* of believers in Judea, or at Jerusalem, to be specifically addressed. He blames them for the little advancement they had made in divine knowledge, considering the length of time since their conversion. The body of the people may be thus characterised, while yet various distinguished teachers proceeded from their midst.

5. It is thought most likely, that the epistle would have been composed in Aramaean had it been addressed to Jewish christians in Palestine. But Greek was also current in the land, and well understood by the majority.

Such are the strongest objections against the view most generally advocated in relation to the parties addressed in the epistle. It is true that we have not mentioned the most weighty one in the opinion of De Wette;[v] but that is because it assumes that Paul was not the author of the epistle. A Pauline individual, as he conceives, could scarcely have stood in so friendly a relation to Palestinian churches as xiii. 19, 23 implies. The same remark applies to his friend Timothy. He thinks also, that the writer in question was hardly justified in applying to Jewish christians of Palestine such censures as are contained in v. 11-vi. 8. Strong as the objections in question appear to some minds, an impartial judge of evidence will hardly consider them in that light. As to the peculiar circumstances recently urged by Wieseler against the more prevalent view, we do not attribute much weight to them. He has not succeeded in disproving it, or in shewing that the epistle was originally addressed to Jewish christians in Egypt, and at Alexandria particularly.[w]

Having thus endeavoured to render it probable that the epistle was intended for Palestinian Jews, it remains for us to consider the church to which in particular it was originally addressed. That it was sent at first to some *one*, there can be little doubt. The expressions employed in the closing verses sufficiently evince it. That local church was to be the medium through which the Jewish christians of Palestine, and finally believers everywhere, should receive it. It was probably near the centre of the great influence which the writer meant to reach. Hence some have

[v] Einleit. p. 322. [w] See Chronologie, u. s. w., p. 485, et seqq.

fixed on Jerusalem; others on Caesarea. The greater number of critics have thought of the former: few of the latter, because it was really out of Judea.

The claims of Caesarea have been ingeniously advocated by Stuart,[x] who adduces in its favour the following circumstances:

Paul had repeated opportunities of becoming acquainted with christians there, as is apparent from the Acts of the Apostles, ix. 30; xviii. 22; xxi. 8-10, 12, 13; xxiv. 23, 27. A rich and powerful body of Jews resided in the city, who were strong zealots for the temple-worship. Herod Agrippa, in order to ingratiate himself with these Jews, caused James to be killed, imprisoned Peter, and vexed others of the church.

Peter planted the church at Caesarea. This agrees with the epistle to the Hebrews, whence it appears that the writer had not been the first teacher of it. The teachers of the church are applauded without exception, which agrees with the fact that the first instructors of the christian society at Caesarea were apostles and primitive evangelists. The persons to whom the epistle was addressed had often bestowed charity to relieve the indigent, especially prisoners; which corresponds with such expressions as those found in x. 34. The Hebrews addressed in our epistle had been early converted to christianity. So the church at Caesarea was the first gathered out of the ancient limits of Judea. Herod Agrippa persecuted the church A. D. 44; and Caesarea was his capital. May not the christians in it have suffered at that time, for the Hebrews mentioned in our epistle had lost their property in some early persecution, and had been imprisoned (x. 32, etc.)? The epistle to the Hebrews presents images drawn from the Grecian games and public shows (x. 32; xii. 1, etc.). Now at Caesarea such allusions would be most pertinent, because Herod the Great had instituted all the Grecian games there, and built a splendid theatre. Again, the writer mentions Timothy as his friend, and one in whom the persons he writes to would feel a deep interest. Accordingly, Timothy was with Paul at Caesarea, some part of the two years during which the apostle was a prisoner. The request of the writer that he might be restored to the christians (xiii. 19), and the frequent visits he had made to the

[x] P. 44, et seqq.

Caesareans, the strong attachment they had shewn to him, the long residence he had made among them—correspond well with such a request.

Further, the Jews at Caesarea had a full and intimate acquaintance with all the Jewish ritual, as the city was only two days' journey from Jerusalem. The power, wealth, and overbearing spirit of the Jews there must have pressed hard on the christian Jews, and tempted them to apostatise. Again, the majority of the inhabitants were Greeks, and of course the current language was Greek; which accounts for the circumstance that the epistle was written in Greek, instead of the Palestinian dialect.

We confess that these various particulars do not render probable the view which they are adduced to support. It is a fatal objection to the hypothesis in question, that the church at Caesarea must have been Gentile in a large proportion; whereas the epistle makes no allusion to Gentiles, or to the relation between them and Hebrew believers. Even if the majority of the members were Jews, this would scarcely meet the requirements of the case. The epistle presupposes, as far as we can judge from itself and from analogy, the exclusively Jewish element.

On the whole, we abide by the opinion that the church at Jerusalem was the local church to which the epistle was sent in the first instance. Here was the central seat of the influence against which the document is directed. What other place so likely as the metropolis to be the medium of communication with the Jewish christians throughout the land? We are sensible of difficulties that lie in the way of this opinion; but Stuart himself admits that none of them is insuperable.

IV. *Time and place of writing.*

The epistle could not have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem, as Orelli[y] asserts; for that is abundantly refuted by internal evidence. Still less could it have been composed towards the end of the first century, as Schwegler argues, appealing to x. 32; xiii. 7; xii. 23. The temple still stood, and the Levitical worship continued. This appears from such passages as viii. 4;

[y] Selecta patrum eccles. capita ad εἰσαγωγικην sacram pertinentia, part iii. p. 4, et seqq.

ix. 6, 7, 25; xiii. 11-13. The persons addressed had been long converted to christianity (v. 12); they had suffered much in its service (x. 32-37; xii. 4, 5); many of their teachers were dead (xiii. 7); and they were evidently exposed to various trials which exercised their patience and christian principle. But these circumstances do not shew, either singly or together, that the epistle was written after Paul's death, A.D. 68, as Hertwig[z] conjectures, or A.D. 69, as Koehler[a] supposes; and they are still farther from proving the truth of Schwegler's view. If therefore the letter was written by Paul, it could only have proceeded from him during the first two years of his imprisonment noticed at the close of the Acts. It preceded the second to Timothy, A.D. 62 or 63. It was thus composed in Italy, according to xiii. 24, and in accordance as well with the subscription of many MSS. *ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας*, as that of others *ἀπὸ Ῥώμης*. But there is a difficulty in supposing that *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* would have been employed by the author, if he were at Rome; a difficulty which we cannot satisfactorily solve. Holding the Pauline authorship as we do—believing in the one captivity of Paul at Rome, and unable to perceive the propriety of such an expression as *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* if the writer were at Rome,—our way towards a solution of the problem is hedged up. The only possible mode of proceeding is by supposing that the author *did use* *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, though he was a prisoner in Rome.

It is needless to examine such hypotheses respecting the place as involve a denial of the Pauline origin, and the irreconcilableness of *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* with Italy itself. No good reason can be assigned for thinking that the letter was written in Greece, or Macedonia, or Asia Minor, or Egypt, or Antioch,—all which places have been mentioned.

V. *Language.*

The great majority of critics believe, that the epistle was originally written in Greek. Yet there have not been wanting those who think that it was composed in the vernacular language of Palestine, viz. the Aramaean or later Hebrew.

[z] Tabellen zur Einleitung ins Neue Testament, p. 44.

[a] Versuch, u. s. w., p. 200.

The arguments of such as hold an Aramaean original are the following:

1. The epistle was written for the use of Jewish christians in Palestine or Jerusalem. Hence the propriety of its being composed in their own tongue. To this it has been replied, that when Paul wrote to the Romans, he did not write in Latin; yet there was no difficulty in making his epistle be understood, for the knowledge of Greek was common at Rome. Though he knew Latin, he understood Greek so much better that he preferred writing in it. In like manner, it is more probable that he would write the epistle to the Hebrews in Greek. After many years of preaching, writing, and conversing in this language, he preferred writing in it now.

The reply is not sufficient or conclusive. It is true that Paul did not write to the Romans in Latin, because Greek was well known at Rome. But it would be difficult to prove that the case is analogous respecting the knowledge of Greek in Jerusalem. When Paul wrote to the Romans, there was a general liking for Greek. It had become fashionable. It was eagerly cultivated among all classes. Latin had fallen into neglect through zeal for everything Greek. But the case was otherwise in Jerusalem. There the inhabitants tenaciously adhered to their vernacular tongue. They did not wish to lay it aside for a strange one. They liked their own far better, because Greek was associated with Gentilism. All their cherished desires favoured the old rather than the new tongue. Hence it might be argued, that the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews would naturally avail himself of the vernacular dialect instead of Greek; because the parties addressed liked it better. He would avoid the very appearance of offending their prejudices, where he could do so without compromise.

In relation to his habitual use of Greek, that is of no moment, unless it could be shewn that he was incapable of writing in Aramaean. He might, however, be familiar with the one, and yet not so forgetful or ignorant of the other as to forbear its use when occasion required.

2. Paul's mode of writing Greek is totally different, whether we regard the choice of single words, the manner of connecting them, or the construction and rotundity of the periods. To this it is

replied, that the diversity of style is not so great as to shew that it could not have been written by Paul under circumstances different to those which gave rise to his other letters. It is even maintained that the style is essentially the same.

Our estimate of this argument, and of the reply to it, may be gathered from former remarks on the authorship. Neither the one side nor the other has been stated cautiously by their respective advocates. We approve entirely of neither, so far as this particular is concerned.

3. Another argument is derived by Michaelis[b] from the quotations taken from the Old Testament. These he thinks were made by a translator, not by the author; because, put as they commonly are in the words of the Septuagint, they are sometimes foreign to the purpose for which they were introduced; whereas the same passages as worded in the Hebrew are exactly in point. If the author himself had quoted the Old Testament in Greek, he would have given his own Greek translation of the Hebrew. Examples are found in xi. 21; i. 7; ix. 11, 23, 24; iii. 4; vi. 19; ix. 4; and the omission of Enosh between Abel and Enoch, xi. 4, 5, of whom the Septuagint states what is exactly suited to the writer's purpose.

This new argument of Michaelis's has not commended itself to the approbation of critics, who, on the other side, reason from the manner of quotation in favour of the originality of the Greek. The interpretations which Michaelis gives of the quotations are very precarious, and have been generally rejected with good reason. It cannot be proved that mistakes have been made in these citations as they now stand; or that they are so unsuitable as not to have proceeded from an original writer.

4. Ancient authorities favour the Aramaean original. Thus Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Jerome *probably*, Theodoret, Euthalius, John Damascenus, Cosmas Indicopleustes, Oecumenius, Nicephorus, Theophylact, and others, held it. The subscription to cod. 31 says, that the epistle was written in Hebrew. Indeed this was the prevailing opinion in the Eastern church.

In the West too, Jerome held the same view, in consequence of whose name it prevailed there afterward; as is apparent from

[b] Introduction to the New Testament by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 221, et seqq.

Primasius, Haimo, Thomas Aquinas, Nicolaus of Lyra, Sixtus of Siene, Baronius, and Bellarmine.

To this it is replied, that the belief of these fathers did not rest on any historical tradition reaching up to the period of the letter's composition. They merely *conjectured* that it was written in Hebrew, for the purpose of explaining the diversity of language and style between it and Paul's acknowledged letters; while the fact of its being addressed to Palestinian Jews contributed to the same solution. Whoever first thought of this way of accounting for the peculiar phenomena of the epistle was followed by other fathers.

Here the answer is scarcely fair or sufficient. Certainly the most ancient opinion was, that the epistle was written in Hebrew. Nor is there any known reason for affirming that it was a conjecture on the part of the first person who made it. It was the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, who is the earliest recorded witness in favour of it. But the basis of his belief is not given. He may have followed a prior tradition, or have been led to think so by the circumstances stated. Eusebius agrees in the main with Clement; but Origen differs from him. All therefore that can be properly advanced on this head is, that the most ancient opinion favours a Hebrew original. Yet early writers were not unanimous. Nor can all succeeding authorities be resolved into the first without a most arbitrary assumption. No reason can be assigned for the allegation that one simply echoed another.

In reviewing the preceding arguments in favour of a Hebrew original, we cannot attach much weight to them. It cannot be said that they prove its existence. They may by themselves make it somewhat probable; but when viewed in connexion with other circumstances, they lose all independent value, and are wholly neutralised. As to the replies usually given to them, they are scarcely adequate. On the whole, the question regarding the original language is not much advanced by the discussion referred to. It remains nearly in the same state in which it was before. The positive arguments for a Hebrew original are weak; and the answers are far from decisive.

The advocates of a Greek original having repelled the arguments of Michaelis and others in favour of a Hebrew one, are wont to

adduce several positive grounds for the purpose of shewing that the epistle could not have been written at first in any other language than Greek.

1. The purè flowing style of the epistle. It has the freedom and spirit of an original.[c]

This argument is of no force. It shews merely that a translation is well executed. If a translator render the original with freedom and spirit, as he can do if thorough master of the two languages, his work will have the marks of an original. Hence the argument in question amounts simply to saying, that the version is an excellent one. Besides, there are numerous Hebraisms in the epistle, notwithstanding the alleged character of the style, which bring it toward the Septuagint.

2. The Old Testament is quoted and used according to the Septagint even where the latter makes mistakes (x. 5, compare Psalm xl. 7; i. 6, compare Psalm xcvii. 7; ii. 7, compare Psalm viii. 7; x. 38, compare Hab. ii. 4).

We cannot admit the truth of this allegation. The Old Testament is quoted and applied where it *differs from* the Hebrew; but the differences, important though they be, *are not errors*. It can be satisfactorily shewn that *the ideas* are retained, though *the words* be unlike.

Let us consider the quotations in question. Heb. x. 5, from Psalm xl. 7.

Here we must proceed on the assumption, that the Hebrew text was as it now stands, when the Greek translator rendered it into another tongue. The Hebrew signifies, *mine ears hast thou opened*—the Greek, *a body hast thou prepared for me.* The meaning of the former is, *thou hast made me attentive or obedient to thy will;* that of the latter, *thou hast provided me a body in which that obedience may be exemplified.* The argument turns on the sentence, *thou desiredst not sacrifices but the fulfilment of thy will.* The ancient sacrifices are declared to be of no avail, and doing the will of God is substituted for them. In the clause σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι, *the manner* of doing the will of God perfectly is *incidentally* noticed, though not *essential* to the argument, since it is *the thing itself* which is contrasted with the Jewish sacri-

[c] See Braun, Comment. in epist. ad Hebraeos, p. 23.

fices, viz. *willing obedience to God*, or *the doing of his will*, rather than *the manner* of it. Hence no essential part of the argument is built on the clause under consideration; and the futility of Hug's assertion appears:[d] "if the epistle had been written in Hebrew, the deduction from the quotation as to the offering of a body, and all which is further said of the single offering that made every other superfluous, could have had no foundation." The Septuagint rendering of the clause gives *the sense* of the Hebrew, and the quotation is taken from the Septuagint as more *palpably* apposite to the writer's purpose in the context.

Heb. i. 6, compared with Psalm xcvii. 7. This quotation is taken mainly from Psalm xcvii. 7, though it cannot be denied that the words of the Septuagint in Deut. xxxii. 43, may have been before the writer's mind, and that his memory mixed up the words of both passages. Jewish interpreters have regarded the Psalm as Messianic, so that in the view of the Rabbins no mistake is made in applying it to Messiah. But the mistake is said to lie in translating אֱלֹהִים by ἄγγελοι; whereas the Hebrew word can only mean *gods*, i. e. *the gods of the heathen*. Hengstenberg,[e] for example, affirms, that the *usus loquendi* is decisive against the direct reference to angels, because Elohim never signifies *angels*. He thinks that the Septuagint translator could not understand the representation given by the Psalmist, and therefore substituted *angels* for *gods*. In like manner Gesenius[f] denies that it denotes angels. But it may be fairly questioned if the ancient authority be not an equivalent to the modern. The Septuagint has the same translation in Psalm viii. 6, where the Targum confirms it; and n Psalm cxxxvii. 1 (cxxxviii. 1). The usual sense of Elohim is certainly not that of *angels;* but modern lexicographers give no good reason for denying that it can *ever* bear that sense.

Heb. ii. 7, from Psalm viii. 7. Here again Elohim is rendered ἄγγελοι. And with respect to the turn given to the passage, it is neither incorrect nor inconsistent with the original. The words of David apply to the human nature of the Messiah and his people in connexion with him. That union is close and inseparable.

[d] Introduction by Fosdick, p. 583.

[e] Commentary on the Psalms, English translation, vol. iii. p. 185.

[f] Thesaurus, s. v.

Hence there is an allusion to redeemed humanity in association with Messiah—or the Messiah at the head of redeemed humanity.[g]

Heb. x. 38, from Hab. ii. 4. Here the Septuagint which the writer follows, does not give, it is alleged, a fair representation of the original. The Seventy seem to have read בֶּאֱמוּנָתִי instead of בֶּאֱמוּנָתוֹ. But the two clauses, the Hebrew, *see, he whose soul is unbelieving shall be unhappy on this account;* and the Greek, *if he draw back, my soul is not pleased with him*, are very unlike. "The sentiment of the Hebrew is, that the scorner or unbeliever of that day should be unhappy; the sentiment of the apostle, that the unbeliever, *i. e.* the apostate christian who renounces his religion, should incur divine disapprobation. The same sentiment lies at the foundation, in both cases. Such disapprobation the last clause expresses, *οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ*, where the negative form of expression is employed instead of the affirmative, *i. e.* he shall be an object of my displeasure."[h] Thus *the sense* is given by the ancient translator. The apostle, however, has not followed the Seventy closely. He has changed the order of the last two clauses, and put *μου* after *δίκαιος* instead of *πίστεως*.

Though it be admitted that the Septuagint is generally quoted in the epistle, yet this peculiarity may be ascribed to a translator as easily as to the author himself. If a translator were satisfied with the substantial correctness of that version in the passages quoted; or if he had apostolic sanction and approbation, he might readily adopt the existing Greek.

3. There are paronomasias which are possible only in the Greek (ix. 16, etc.; v. 8; ix. 10; xi. 35).

Many have abandoned this argument, though De Wette and others still adhere to it. The list of examples has been reduced by the former scholar to those given. But paronomasias may unquestionably occur in a translation. And most of the examples adduced are not instances of *designed* but of unavoidable similarity of sound. Michaelis thinks, that there is but one instance of a real paronomasia, viz. v. 8, *ἔμαθε ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε ὑπακοήν*, which he explains consistently with the hypothesis of a Hebrew original. Stuart again supposes, that one in x. 34, betrays marks of design; but attaches no weight to it, because, as he justly remarks,

[g] See my Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 506. [h] Stuart on Heb. x. 38.

designed paronomasias may occur even in a translation. Yet it is not even named by De Wette.

4. In ix. 16, 17, Christ is said, in allusion to the old covenant under Moses, to be the mediator of a new and better *covenant*, בְּרִית, in Greek *διαθήκη*. But from the double meaning of the Greek *διαθήκη*, viz. *covenant* and *testament*, the writer observes that the new *διαθήκη* has received its full confirmation as a *testament* by the death of the testator; and he proceeds to say that a *διαθήκη*, i. e. *testament*, has no force while the testator is living. This reasoning depends on the twofold sense of *διαθήκη*; for the original Hebrew בְּרִית never means *testament* or *will*. Consequently the epistle must have been written in Greek.

This argument also has been abandoned by many; but Hug and Stuart insist on it still. Calvin laid the greatest stress on it, so that he ventured to assert, "Haec una ratio sani judicii hominibus sufficiet ad probandum, quod dixi, Graeco sermone scriptam fuisse epistolam." But it is invalid, unless the term *διαθήκη* in the passage *necessarily* signifies *testament* or *will*. If the usual meaning belong to the word, the argument built on its alleged twofold application falls to the ground. The whole passage is perplexing. It would require a long discussion to bring out its full meaning. We cannot however perceive a necessity for departing from the meaning *covenant* throughout. This is the sense of the word in every other New Testament passage; and it should not be hastily abandoned in the present instance. The paragraph is capable of a satisfactory explanation on the assumption that *διαθήκη* bears its usual sense. We believe that it does not mean *testament*.[1]

5. The Hebrew name *Melchizedek* is interpreted (Heb. vii. 2) by the Greek words *βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης*; and the Hebrew *Salem* by *εἰρήνη*.

These explanations may have been added by the translator. There is nothing in the text to shew clearly that they proceeded *a primâ manu*.

6. It has been said, that as the Syriac translation was made

[1] See Barnes in the American Biblical Repository for July 1842, p. 51, et seqq. Stuart's reply to ditto in the same, p. 356, et seqq. Prof. Scholefield's hints for an improved version of the New Testament, p. 100, et seqq. (second edition).

from the Greek, no Hebrew original was extant at the beginning of the second century. But the conclusion does not follow from the premise, as has been proved in the analogous case of Matthew's gospel; to which the reader is referred.[k]

From the remarks just made it will be seen, that the positive arguments in favour of a Greek original are neither important nor forcible. Answers which would satisfy many minds might be given to them all. Yet we are inclined to believe in *the originality of the Greek*, because Greek words are found in the epistle which could only have been expressed in Hebrew by a circumlocution, such as πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως (i. 1), ἀπαύγασμα (i. 3), εὐπερίστατος (xii. 1), μετριοπαθεῖν (v. 2), πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑπὸ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ (ii. 8). The verb in this clause is repeated in the context, οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλοις ὑπέταξε τὴν οἰκουμένην (v. 5), ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, οὐδὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ ἀνυπότακτον . . . ὁρῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα (v. 8). But in Hebrew the verb ὑποτάσσω is expressed by a periphrasis: שִׁית תַּחַת רַגְלַיִם *to place under the feet;* and if the epistle was written in Hebrew, the expressions derived from ὑποτάσσω could not have been employed in that language in consequence of the often repeated circumlocution.

Another circumstance favourable to the same conclusion is, that the writer cites the Septuagint, and usually follows it closely where it differs very considerably from the Hebrew, even in cases of reasoning. It is possible that a translator might adopt this course; but it is not probable, especially where the Greek rendering makes his argumentation more palpable and convincing. Had the original author of the Aramaean, supposing such to have been the language of the epistle, not made his reasoning as good as did the translator by adopting the Septuagint version in certain cases, he would have shewn himself so far inferior to the humble translator, *i. e.* the inspired apostle to some unknown person, probably if not certainly uninspired. It is supposable indeed, that the translator had the author's sanction and superintendence throughout; but that is no more than affirming that the first issue of the work was

[k] See Hallet's Dissertatio de auctore et lingua originali epist. ad Hebraeos, (translated into Latin by Wolfius, and inserted in the 4th vol. of his *Curae Philologicae*), p. 833, et seqq.

inferior to the second. Surely this would have looked strange to the Jewish christians. If the early tradition in favour of a Hebrew original were uniform, we might have greater hesitation in adopting a Greek original; but Origen departs from Clement his predecessor, in maintaining the Greek alone.

The only consideration of weight on the opposite side is drawn from the parties to whom the epistle was originally addressed, whose vernacular dialect was Aramaean, not Greek. Why should not the apostle Paul, who was well acquainted with that dialect, for he could both speak (Acts xxi. 40) and write in it, agreeably to his principle of becoming all things to all men, take advantage of his countrymen's partiality for their own tongue, and procure a readier acceptance by using Aramaean? Deniers of the Pauline authorship escape the force of this argument. It falls with all its weight on those who maintain that apostolic authorship and the Greek originality together.

If the time when the epistle to the Hebrews was written be looked at, the difficulty will be lessened. Since the first gospel had been composed by Matthew in Hebrew, about twenty years had elapsed, during which the Greek tongue was rapidly acquiring greater currency among all classes in Palestine. It had encroached much on the vernacular dialect of the Hebrews. The destruction of Jerusalem was now approaching. Within a very few years the metropolis was to be laid waste, and with it Judaism as a system was doomed to fall. The Hebrew polity was near its close. Under such circumstances it would have been almost superfluous to compose the letter before us in Hebrew. The Jewish christians were soon to be incorporated more closely with the Gentiles in one body, with one common tongue. To write in Greek, was therefore to facilitate an amalgamation of all believers both Jews and Gentiles, especially as the apostle foresaw that Judaism was virtually extinct. Hence he wisely consulted at once the benefit of the Jewish christians in Palestine, and of all future believers, by writing the letter in Greek. In this way it would be understood by more persons, being fitted for a range as wide as christianity itself had reached.

VI. *Integrity and genuineness.*

The epistle's genuineness and integrity have not been disputed. No part of it has been considered spurious. It has always been accepted as a whole. The text of it also is in as good a state as the text of any other epistle.

VII. *Occasion and object.*

The immediate cause which gave rise to the letter was the state of the Palestinian Jews who had embraced christianity. While their believing countrymen elsewhere were uniting more closely with the Gentiles, and attaching less value to the institutions of Moses, *they* did not part with their prepossessions and national faith so easily. Out of Palestine, Jewish converts were more influenced by their Gentile fellow-believers. They became more liberal. They coalesced with others more readily. But such as resided in Palestine, being near the central seat of Judaism, were more tenacious of ancient usages. And in proportion as the believing Jews in other lands united more closely and cordially with the Gentiles, did they separate from the Palestinian christians. The latter hesitated about renouncing all connexion with the Jewish church. They were reluctant to alienate themselves wholly from their countrymen who adhered to their ancient faith. Surrounded as they were by Jewish influences, they were longer subject to them. This was particularly the case when they were deprived of the superintendence and example of apostles. Then did they cool in their love towards christianity, and absent themselves from the assemblies of worshippers. They were thus in danger of apostatising from christianity and returning to Judaism. In consequence of the hazard to which they were exposed, the apostle determined to write to them, that they might not continue wavering and unsettled, but be established in the true religion. The question he proposes to discuss was not a new one. It had given Paul much anxiety already. The claims of Judaism in relation to christianity had frequently been pressed on his attention. He had resisted the attempts of Jewish christians to impose observance of the Mosaic institutions on all believers. He had awakened the animosity of the Jews by advocating freedom from the yoke of Jewish observances and rites. His principles and

conduct had come athwart their prejudices. The conflict between Jewish feelings, maintaining the permanence of Mosaic institutions under the christian dispensation, and the belief of their uselessness, had braced his energies during his active career in the service of Christ. When therefore he saw the Jewish christians in Palestine in danger of falling back into their old religion, he conceived the design of writing a treatise which might not only keep them from apostasy and confirm them in the faith, but might also settle the long-agitated question between the two dispensations. He purposed to point out the superiority of the one to the other in a deliberate and decided, but at the same time conciliatory tone; to draw a full comparison between them, so as to do justice to the one and treat it with due respect, while shewing the superior value of the other, in every point brought under review. The treatise, therefore, is not *polemic*, but *apologetic*. In endeavouring to prove the decided advantages of the one system over the other, he does not attack the Jewish economy. Its true uses and character are fairly stated. It was preparatory and typical. It was designed to introduce a better system, by presenting it in type and shadow. Christianity is its *consummation* and *substance*, the *spiritual antitype* of its shadowy forms and imposing ceremonies.

VIII. *Analysis of contents.*

The epistle before us has been variously divided. Some separate it into three leading parts, others into two. The latter is nearer the truth. According to it, from ch. i. 1-x. 18 is *doctrinal;* and from x. 19 to xiii. 25 *hortatory.* Bleek,[1] however, objects to the twofold division as unsuitable and improper, because the character of the whole epistle is admonitory. He observes, that in the former part, the didactic statements are intersected by admonitions; and in the latter, the doctrinal and hortatory are not separated. Both are intermingled throughout. But it appears to us, that the didactic and doctrinal element certainly preponderates in i. 1-x. 18; while the practical prevails in the remainder of the letter. It is true that the former part has warnings and admonitions interspersed, in the shape of digressions. But the

[1] Einleit. u. s. w., sect. 18, p. 64, et seqq.

apostle does not strictly separate the two in his other epistles. It is also true, that the doctrinal element appears in the second part; but it is there subordinate to the practical. Without therefore meaning to intimate, that the writer himself had such division in his mind, it appears most convenient to make a separation at x. 19, what precedes being *chiefly* doctrinal—what follows being mainly of a practical character. From xiii. 18 to the end is a sort of appendix to the whole. The two leading parts into which the epistle separates itself contain the following subdivisions or paragraphs:—(*a*) chaps. i. and ii.; (*b*) iii. 1-iv. 13; (*c*) iv. 14-vi. 20; (*d*) vii. 1-x. 18; (*e*) x. 19-xiii. 25.

To shew the superiority of christianity to Judaism the apostle begins with comparing Christ, the founder of the new economy, with the mediators of the old. Angels took part in the promulgation of the law, and Moses was mediator between God and the Israelites. Accordingly, Christ, the mediator of the new dispensation, is compared with both, and shewn to be more exalted than they. To him belongs a higher name, with dignity and power superior to the angels. He is the Son of God, the eternal monarch of the mediatorial kingdom, the everlasting Creator of heaven and earth; whereas angels are commanded to worship the Son; and instead of being like him at the head of the kingdom, are only ministering spirits to his redeemed, employed in executing the commands of a superior (ch. i.).

In application of this argument, an admonition is subjoined regarding the greater attention due to the salvation announced by Christ. If neglect of the law given by the mediation of angels could not be tolerated with impunity, much less can disregard of the gospel be allowed (ii. 1-4).

In prosecuting the proof of Christ's superiority to angels, and by implication the superiority of his revelation to that given by the ministration of angels, he states, that the future world is not subjected to them but to the Son, as is proved by the eighth Psalm. The Son alone is Lord, all things being subjected to his dominion. But in asserting Christ's supreme dominion he feels that an objection might arise. *We do not yet see all things put under him.* To obviate it, he shews why Christ must take a lower station than the angels, and suffer death in it. His humiliation unto death was

necessary in fulfilment of the divine design to provide an atonement for human guilt. It was only by assuming human nature—the same nature which belongs to those he intended to redeem—that he could destroy the power of death and be a faithful high priest before God (ii. 5-18).

The writer now proceeds to compare Christ with Moses, the executive head of the old dispensation. Here his statement takes the form of exhortation. Look to Christ, who is as faithful to God as Moses was, and is yet so far elevated above Moses. *He* was counted worthy of greater honour than Moses, as the founder of a community is greater than the community itself. Moses himself was a servant to the founder of the house; Christ was his Son. To this argument is appended a warning against unbelief, drawn from the unbelief of the Israelites in the wilderness. Quoting from the ninety-fifth Psalm, he expatiates on the meaning of the citation, shewing that the promised rest, into which the Israelites could not enter because of unbelief, included a spiritual rest still remaining to the people of God. It did not refer either to the rest which God is said to have taken on the seventh day, nor exclusively to the peaceable possession of Canaan, but included a spiritual rest in heaven. We should strive therefore to enter into that rest, for the word of God, especially his commination, has a living power that seizes on the spirit with a process of judicial retribution (iii. 1-iv. 13).

Having thus instituted a brief comparison of Christ as an apostle with Moses, and gone off into an admonitory digression, he considers Christ as a high priest, as had been proposed at the first verse of the third chapter. The proof that he is a high priest commences with a parallel between him and the Jewish high priest. Appointed for the service and benefit of men, a human priest partakes of the weaknesses of humanity, and is thus able to sympathise with erring men by entering into their feelings. As the earthly high priest is appointed of God, so is Christ. His office was not usurped any more than theirs. It was of divine appointment. But the parallel between Christ and the high priest is here postponed, the writer introducing the old priestly king Melchizedek, instead of the Levitical high priest. Before, however, he proceeds to draw out the parallel between Christ and Mel-

chizedek, he inserts a hortatory passage, complaining of the slowness of understanding evinced by his readers, and affirming that they needed instruction in first principles rather than in the difficult truths he had alluded to. But he waives the discussion of elementary christian doctrine, and proceeds to the higher religious truths, justifying such course by the fact that it is impossible to restore the fallen. In this manner he warns them of the dangers of apostatising to Judaism, assuming in the end a milder tone by expressing a hope that they would use their utmost diligence in attaining the full assurance of hope. And to encourage them in this, he refers to Abraham's example, calling attention to the promise confirmed to him and all believers by an oath (iv. 14-vi. 20).

He now returns to the point from which he had digressed, viz. the representation of Christ's priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, shewing in this manner, its superiority to the Levitical priesthood. Christ's priesthood is perpetual. It is above the Levitical, because Abraham himself, the progenitor of the Jewish people, paid tithes to Melchizedek, the less being blessed by the greater; and in Abraham all his descendants may be considered as likewise acknowledging Melchizedek's superiority. From the fact of Christ's priesthood being after Melchizedek's order, the conclusion is drawn that the Levitical priesthood, as a weak and transitory thing, was superseded by it. And if the priesthood be changed, the law must also be changed, both being parts of the same system. The difference of the christian priesthood, or that after the similitude of Melchizedek, is exhibited in descent, and in the power of an endless office, as is testified in Psalm cx. The Mosaic law, which was abrogated, is contrasted with that introduced in its stead. The one was weak and unprofitable; the other introduced a better hope. The Levitical priests were made without an oath; the new priesthood was appointed by an oath. The Levitical line are mortal; but Christ lives for ever. The Aaronic priests are sinful, and must offer sacrifices both for themselves and the people; Christ is unspotted, and offered himself a sacrifice once for all. Christ is a high priest of the heavenly sanctuary, whose service is superior in proportion as the covenant he established is better. God himself did not regard the first dispensation

as permanent and complete, but promised a better one, as is proved from the Old Testament (vii. 1-viii. 13).

The apostle now reverts to the comparison of the ministrations performed by the high priests under the old covenant and him of the new, describing the sanctuary with its apartments and furniture, the service of the priests belonging to it, the symbolical use of it as a provisional intermediate arrangement, and its unsatisfying character. But Christ the high priest of the new covenant entered once for all into the heavenly sanctuary by means of his own blood, having obtained eternal redemption. If the blood and ashes of beasts had a purifying power, much more had the blood of Christ. If *they* conferred ceremonial purification, *this* purifies the conscience. He proceeds to prove that Christ by means of his death became the founder of a new covenant, and abolished the guilt of sin for ever by the one sacrifice of himself. It was necessary that he should die, for every covenant is ratified by the death of a victim; and accordingly, the Mosaic covenant itself was confirmed by the shedding of blood. On the other hand, the sacrifice of the heavenly high priest was a superior ratification, inasmuch as he appeared once to destroy sin, and will not appear again till he comes the second time after having abolished it. In continuation of the leading idea that Christ took away sin by the sacrifice of himself, he affirms that the sacrifices of the law, which were repeated yearly, could not bestow perfect peace of conscience, else they should not have been repeated; and then proves out of the fortieth Psalm, that whereas God takes no pleasure in sacrifice, he willed that we should be sanctified by the offering of Christ's body. This sanctification, accomplished by the one offering of Christ, agrees with a promise made respecting the new covenant in the book of Jeremiah, to the effect that no more sacrifices should be required (ix. 1-x. 18).

x. 19-xiii. 25.—This part contains a variety of admonitions. In it the writer exhorts his readers to maintain faith in Christ and hope in the promises, referring them to the example of the Old Testament saints; to continue steadfast amid chastisements and persecution, to beware of apostasy, and to exhibit a christian conversation becoming the gospel.

The apostle exhorts them to appropriate the benefits of Christ's

priesthood, and to beware of apostasy, since heavy judgment would overtake such as by falling away despised the grace of God; and encourages them to return to their first love, by reminding them of the steadfastness they had shewn soon after their conversion, which they should continue to exhibit in the spirit of a firm faith. The characteristics of faith are briefly stated; and a long series of Old Testament saints exemplifying its power is enumerated. He describes it as a strong confidence in things hoped for —a conviction of things not seen. Examples are adduced from the period before the flood; from the patriarchal age till Moses; from the Exodus till the occupation of Canaan; and from the time when Canaan was possessed till the Maccabees. All these did not realise the promised coming of Messiah, while God provided something better for us, that they should not attain to completeness without us and our dispensation. The last-mentioned examples of patient endurance lead the apostle to exhort his readers to like steadfastness. To these witnesses, as well as to the sufferings of Christ himself, he refers them. They were called upon to endure chastisement, since it was a salutary discipline appointed by God for His children's good. He admonishes them to follow peace with all the brethren, working in unison, and guarding against remissness, impurity, and sinful inclination to forsake God, whence the transition to a solemn warning against apostasy is natural. To the warning itself not to abandon the better covenant is prefixed a comparison of the manner in which God manifested himself to the Israelites at the giving of the law with the communion of the new covenant into which christians have entered. Let christians therefore be thankful for such a kingdom as they have, serving God with reverence and fear, for He too is a consuming fire (x. 19-xii. 29).

The first seventeen verses of the last chapter contain a number of general exhortations. The writer recommends individual virtues, such as brotherly love, hospitality, compassion, chastity, contentment with present things apart from covetousness. His readers are admonished to the exercise of steadfastness in the christian faith and worship, after the example of their departed teachers; and warned against attachment to the Jewish worship, which is inconsistent with a share in the redemption of Christ.

After enjoining subjection to their pastors, the writer concludes with a few personal notices. He desires an interest in the prayers of his readers, hoping that he might the sooner be restored to them, and closes with the apostolic salutation (xiii. 1-25).[m]

The importance of this epistle has been variously estimated by theologians. On the one hand, Feilmöser, the catholic, declares, that among all the writings of the New Testament, except the Apocalypse, it is of least use in our days. The representations and proofs presented presuppose for the most part Jewish readers, an Alexandrian taste for allegory, and are often mere *argumenta ad hominem*. On the other hand, Dr. Owen observes, that "the world may as well want the sun as the church this epistle." These are extreme views; the former unjustly derogatory, the latter exaggerated and extravagant. We believe the epistle to be of high theological importance. Without it our knowledge of christian truth would have been defective. It enlarges our ideas of the christian system by unfolding truths not delivered elsewhere, and by expounding others with greater copiousness and perspicuity than they assume in any other part of the sacred volume.

The connexion between the Old Testament and the New is explicitly taught. Here are explained the uses of the ancient economy. We learn that the priestly office prefigured Christ's priesthood, the sacrifices adumbrating the sacrifice which he offered of himself—that the office, with its sacrificial observances, was abrogated by the Redeemer's one offering—and that the Jewish institutions were in themselves utterly incapable of atoning for sin. The Jewish dispensation was only intended to be temporary, being superseded by a spiritual dispensation presenting *the substance* and *reality* of its ceremonial ordinances. It is only in the epistle to the Hebrews that *the priesthood* of Christ is explained; the notice of it in Psalm cx. being meagre and unsatisfactory to the believer. Here it is amply unfolded in its various particulars and practical results. It is indeed *the great doctrine* which pervades the epistle, and gives it its chief value in the eye of the christian.

[m] See *Horae Hebraicae;* an attempt to discover how the argument of the epistle to the Hebrews must have been understood by those therein addressed, by George, Duke of Manchester; a work containing many excellent illustrations of the course of thought pursued by the inspired writer.

Again, though we cannot hold with Bishop Shuttleworth that the primary truth which it is the object of the epistle to enforce is the divinity of Christ; yet his divine character and dignity are set forth *more prominently* than in any other New Testament epistle. In like manner, the operation of faith is described at greater length than elsewhere. But the preciousness of the composition before us consists in the aspects it gives of the Saviour's person and official character. As an high priest he offered himself an atonement for the sins of humanity—an atonement perfect, all-sufficient, complete.

At the close of our examination of the Pauline epistles, we may now arrange them in chronological order, agreeably to the results arrived at in the preceding pages. They are fourteen in number, including the epistle to the Hebrews, and were written at the times and places here specified:

1st epistle to the Thessalonians	A.D. 52,	written at Corinth.
2nd epistle to the Thessalonians	A.D. 53,	,, at Corinth.
Epistle to the Galatians . . .	A.D. 55,	,, at Ephesus.
1st epistle to Timothy . . .	A.D. 56,	,, in Macedonia.
1st epistle to the Corinthians .	A.D. 57,	,, at Ephesus.
Epistle to Titus	A.D. 57,	,, at Ephesus.
2nd epistle to the Corinthians .	A.D. 58,	,, in Macedonia.
Epistle to the Romans . . .	A.D. 58,	,, at Corinth.
Epistle to Philemon	A.D. 62,	,, at Rome.
Epistle to the Colossians . . .	A.D. 62,	,, at Rome.
Epistle to the Ephesians . . .	A.D. 62,	,, at Rome.
Epistle to the Philippians . .	A.D. 62,	,, at Rome.
Epistle to the Hebrews . . .	A.D. 63,	,, in Italy, Rome?
2nd epistle to Timothy . . .	A.D. 63,	,, at Rome.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

THERE is a series of epistles distinct from the Pauline, called *catholic* epistles. These form a peculiar collection, and were never attributed to Paul. From the time of Eusebius, seven have been classed together under the one appellation, containing writings of James, Peter, John, and Jude. But the origin of the application of the term *catholic* (*ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ*) to these epistles is uncertain.

Three views of the meaning attached to *καθολικός* are most worthy of attention.

1. That which understands by *ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ*, encyclical letters addressed to catholic christians in general. This was the opinion of Oecumenius and Leontius, as the following quotations prove. Oecumenius writes: *Καθολικαὶ λέγονται αὗται, οἱονεὶ ἐγκύκλιοι. Οὐ γὰρ ἀφορισμένως ἔθνει ἑνὶ ἢ πόλει, ὡς ὁ θεῖος Παῦλος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἢ Κορινθίοις προσφωνεῖ ταύτας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὁ τῶν τοιούτων τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν θίασος, ἀλλὰ καθόλου τοῖς πιστοῖς, ἤτοι Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πέτρος, ἢ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν πίστιν χριστιανοῖς τελοῦσιν*:[n]

"These are called *catholic*, equivalent to *circular*. For the company of such disciples of the Lord does not address these epistles to one nation or city separately, as St. Paul to the Romans or Corinthians, but to the faithful generally; either to the Jews of the dispersion, as Peter does, or even to all christians who hold the same faith."

Leontius says: *Καθολικαὶ δὲ ἐκλήθησαν, ἐπειδὰν οὐ πρὸς ἓν ἔθνος ἐγράφησαν, ὡς αἱ τοῦ Παύλου, ἀλλὰ καθόλου πρὸς πάντα*:[o]

"They were called catholic, inasmuch as they were not written to one nation, as Paul's, but generally to all."

Grotius's view is substantially similar, though it cannot be called *exactly* the same: "*ἐγκύκλιος* (circularis) non uni ecclesiae

[n] Prolegom. in ep. Jacob.

[o] De Sectis, cap. 2.

destinatae, ut illae Pauli, sed multis exemplis missa est in plures locos, ut inde et alia fierent exempla, et alio mitterentur:"[p] "*circular*, not intended for one church, as Paul's, but sent in many copies to several places, both that other copies might be made there, and that they might be sent elsewhere." Wolf expresses the same sentiment.

2. A second opinion is that of Noesselt,[q] who thought that the first epistles of John and Peter were at first denominated *catholic* epistles to distinguish them from the other epistles of John and Peter, which were not, like these two, regarded by the catholic church as authentic, and consequently not canonical. Subsequently, however, when the judgment of the catholic church altered in favour of the last two epistles of John, the second of Peter, and those of James and Jude, the name was transferred to these five likewise, and the seven distinguished by it from the Pauline collection. Noesselt was followed by Ziegler. Hammond's explanation of the matter, as given by Macknight,[r] is nearly the same with Noesselt's; but we have been unable to find in his Paraphrase the opinion attributed to him by Macknight. On the contrary, he says, in his preface to the epistle of James: "Such epistles as these are those which are anciently called ἐγκύκλιοι, which being delivered to the church of some one city, were appointed by them to be transcribed, and sent about to all the other churches within such a κύκλος, *compass* or *circuit*."

3. Salmeron, Tirinus, Cornelius a Lapide, and Schmidt, think that the name *catholic* was given to these letters, because their contents perfectly agreed with the doctrine of the catholic church. They contributed to the settlement of the catholic system of doctrine.

1. As far as we can trace the history of the expression, this was the first application of it. It is found in Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Apollonius applied it in the same manner. The first writes: κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν καθολικὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἁπάντων, "according to the catholic epistle of all the apostles," *i. e.* the decree which was meant for the Gentile christians in

[p] Annot. in ep. Jacobi. [q] Opuscula, ii. p. 303, et seqq.
[r] Preface to James.

Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia. It was intended for several churches in different countries, and was consequently a *circular* letter.

Eichhorn and Hug erroneously interpret *καθολικήν* in this passage as meaning *in which all the apostles had a share, the joint production of the apostles.*

Origen says: *ἐν δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῇ λέγεται*: "in the catholic epistle of John himself." Again: *παρὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ*: "in Peter, in the catholic epistle." In another place: "Judas apostolus in epistola catholica dicit:" "Jude the apostle says, in the catholic epistle." Thus Origen styles three epistles, namely, 1 John, 1 Peter, and Jude, *catholic.*

But in what sense did he apply the term to them? Eichhorn[s] thinks that he used it synonymously with *apostolic* and *authentic.* When general use was made of an epistle in the church because an apostle was believed to be its author, it was called *catholic.* In proof of this he brings two passages into juxtaposition, where Origen speaks of Peter's first epistle, calling it in the former *catholic,* and in the latter speaking of it as *ὁμολογουμένη*; whence the inference is drawn by the critic, that *καθολική* and *ὁμολογουμένη* were synonymous in Origen's view. But this does not follow; for in the former passage the authenticity of Peter's first epistle seems to have been far from Origen's thoughts, and the epistle of Jude was not generally received as an apostolic production. It is questionable even, whether he himself believed it to have been written by the *apostle* Jude; for it is only in the Latin translation of his works, that we find *apostolus* with "Judas." But whatever may have been his own opinion, the epistle of Jude was not generally received as an apostolic production when he flourished. Hence Origen must have applied the word *catholic* to these three epistles in the sense in which Clement applied it to the apostolic letter given in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, as nearly equivalent to *ἐγκύκλιος.*

Apollonius writes: *καὶ Θεμίσων . . . . ἐτόλμησε μιμούμενος τὸν ἀπόστολον, καθολικὴν τινα συνταξάμενος ἐπιστολήν, κατηχεῖν μὲν τοὺς ἄμεινον αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκότας*:[t] "And Themison dared to instruct those who had a better belief than his own, by composing a certain catholic letter in imitation of the apostle (John)."

[s] Einleitung, vol. iii. p. 559.

[t] Ap. Euseb. H. E. v. 18.

Here Eichhorn assigns to *catholic* the meaning of "promoting the orthodox faith." But this is incorrect, because Themison, the Montanist, is blamed by Apollonius for writing the letter in question. Hence the meaning is *general* or *encyclical*, with reference to the destination of its contents.

In like manner Dionysius of Alexandria, Origen's pupil: *οὐ μὴν ῥαδίως ἂν συνθείμην τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἀπόστολον, τὸν υἱὸν Ζεβεδαίου, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰακώβου· οὗ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐπιγεγραμμένον καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολική. . . . . ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐαγγελιστὴς οὐδαμοῦ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ παρεγγράφει, οὐδε κηρύσσει ἑαυτὸν, οὔτε διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὔτε διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς. . . . . Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένῃ Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτῃ, καίτοι βραχείαις οὔσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, ὁ Ἰωάννης ὀνομαστὶ πρόκειται, ἀλλ' ἀνωνύμως ὁ πρεσβύτερος γέγραπται:*[u] "I would not easily agree that this was the apostle the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, who is the author of the gospel, and the catholic epistle that bears his name. . . . For the evangelist never prefixes his name, nor proclaims himself either by the gospel or the epistle. . . . . But neither in the second nor third epistle ascribed to John, though they are very brief, is the name of John presented; but anonymously it is written, *the presbyter*." Here *ἐπιστολὴ φερομένη*, applied to the second and third epistles of John, is not contrasted with *ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ*, the epithet attributed to the epistle, as if the one meant *attributed to John only by hearsay*, and the other, *universally attributed to John as the author*, which is Eichhorn's explanation; but there is every reason to suppose, that *καθολική* means *circular* or *encyclical*.

Subsequently, from the beginning of the fourth century, the word *καθολικός*, as applied to any of these seven epistles, meant *publicly read in churches*, without reference to the question whether their authenticity was established or doubted. This is the sense in which Eusebius employs it: *Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία ἡ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ προτέρα ἀνωμολόγηται. . . . . τὴν δὲ φερομένην αὐτοῦ δευτέραν οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν· ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν. . . . τό τε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα:*[v]

[u] H. E. vii. 25.

[v] H. E. iii. 3.

"One of Peter's epistles, called the first, is acknowledged as authentic. But the second which is ascribed to him we have not understood to be embodied with the sacred books. Yet, as it appeared useful to many, it was diligently read with the other scriptures. . . . As to what is called his preaching (praedicatio) and his Apocalypse, I do not know that they have been handed down at all in the list of the catholic works." It is evident from this passage, that Eusebius employs καθολικός in the sense of *publicly read in the catholic church.*

An examination of the patristic testimony just considered respecting the use of the epithet before us, leads to the following results:

First, that it was originally applied to the first epistle of John, the first epistle of Peter, and the epistle of Jude, in the sense of *intended for a wide circle* of readers, as distinguished from Paul's epistles which were addressed for the most part to particular churches.

Secondly, that *before* the time of Eusebius, probably in the last half of the third century, the epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, received the same appellation; being added to the other three, and forming with them one collection. The entire collection was now called *catholic*, as *being read publicly in the churches.* The historian did not use *catholic* as synonymous with *canonical* or *apostolic*, any more than his predecessors.

After the time of Eusebius, when the seven catholic epistles were incorporated into the canon, and put by the side of the Pauline collection, the appellation *catholic* came gradually to be identified with *canonical* or *apostolic.* Junilius is the first writer on record who employed *catholic* as synonymous with *canonical.*[w] He was followed by Cassiodorus.[x]

From this historical investigation, it will appear how much truth there is in the opinions enumerated.

1. The view of Oecumenius and Leontius is the most ancient, as far as can be traced. It is no valid objection that it does not suit all the epistles, for example, the second and third of John, which are epistles to private persons; because they were not so styled at

[w] De partibus legis divinae, i. 6. [x] Divin. Instit. cap. 8.

first. They were added to 1 Peter, 1 John, and Jude, when the term *catholic* seems to have acquired another meaning.

2. The opinion of Noesselt and Ziegler, viz. that *catholic* is equivalent to *canonical*, is supported by the usage of a later period long after the collection of the epistles termed *catholic* had been made. It is not, however, agreeable to the earlier usage. And then we have not been able to find any ancient writer whose authority sustains the assertion of Noesselt, which has been often repeated since, namely, that the title *catholic* was applied at first to the first epistle of Peter and the first of John *alone*. Origen is the earliest known author who speaks of Peter's *catholic* epistle, that is, his first, and repeatedly of John's *catholic* epistle; but he speaks in like manner of Jude's *catholic* epistle. He also applies the same epithet to the epistle of Barnabas: *γέγραπται ἐν τῇ Βαρνάβα καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ*: "it is written in the catholic epistle of Barnabas."[y]

3. The hypothesis of Salmeron, Tirinus, etc., viz. that *catholic* means *contributing to the maintenance and increase of the orthodox, catholic faith*, is also supported by the later usage; for when *catholic* came to mean *apostolic* or *canonical*, the idea was equivalent. But this is not the earliest usage of the epithet.

It is certain, that the early usage of the epithet *καθολικός* had no reference to the idea of *authenticity*, *canonicity*, or *apostolic authorship*. Till after the time of Eusebius, such a notion is not met with.

Hug's opinion is a singular one. He thinks that *καθολικός* is "a technical expression for a class of biblical writings to which it belongs exclusively of all others, namely, for the class which comprises the didactic writings of all the apostles (Paul excepted) together, *καθολικῶς, i. e. καθόλου καὶ συλλήβδην*. When the Gospels and Acts had been constituted one division, and the works of Paul another, there yet remained the writings of various authors to compose a third division, to which some name must be given. It was most appropriate to call it the common collection, *καθολικὸν σύνταγμα*, of the apostles, and the writings which it comprised *κοινάς* and *καθολικάς*, which were often synonymous words with the Greeks."[z] It is superfluous to state that this opinion is unsupported by antiquity.

[y] Contra Celsum, i. cap. 63.

[z] Introduction by Fosdick, p. 605.

In modern times, the right view of the appellation *catholic* has been given by Credner, Neudecker, Koester, and De Wette.

In the most ancient MSS. the catholic epistles follow the Acts of the Apostles, and thus precede the Pauline. Hence Lachmann and Tischendorf, in their editions, place them in this manner.

EPISTLE OF JAMES.

In examining the epistle of James, our observations will be arranged under the following heads:—

I. The Author of the Epistle.
II. The Characteristics of the Writer and his Epistle.
III. The Persons for whom it was primarily written.
IV. Time and Place of writing.
V. Its leading Object.
VI. Authenticity.
VII. Language.
VIII. Analysis of Contents.

I. *The author of the epistle.*

In the New Testament three persons called James are mentioned.

First, James the son of Zebedee and brother of John. This James was beheaded by Herod Agrippa, as is related in Acts xii. 1, 2, about A. D. 44. He is generally styled *the greater* or *elder*.

Secondly, Another James is mentioned as the son of Alpheus (Matth. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts, i. 13). According to Mark, his mother's name was Mary (xv. 40). This Mary is called the wife of Cleophas in John xix. 25; but the names *Cleophas* and *Alpheus* (Κλωπᾶς, Ἁλφαῖος), are probably identical, the former a Hebraising, and the latter a Greek form of the same original term. The present James is usually termed James the *less*, (ὁ μικρὸς), either because he was younger than the other, or on account of his stature.

Thirdly, Another James is spoken of as *the Lord's brother* (Gal. i. 19; Joseph. Antiqq. xx. 9, 1). In Matthew xiii. 55, and Mark vi. 3, the Pharisees are represented as asking, "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, and the brother of James and Joses, and of Simon and Judas?"

The question now presents itself, How are the last two Jameses related to each other?

Some contend that they were different persons. This was the opinion of Hegesippus, Eusebius, Gregory Nyssene, and the Apostolic Constitutions: indeed the majority of the fathers held it.

Hegesippus says, according to the extract given by Eusebius: *διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου χρόνων μέχρι καὶ ἡμῶν. Ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ Ἰάκωβοι ἐκαλοῦντο*: "James the brother of the Lord, took upon him the government of the church with (received it from?) the apostles. He has been called *the just* by all from the times of our Lord even to our own. For many have been named James."[a]

So too Eusebius: . . . . . *δέκα καὶ τέσσαρες ποιήσει τοὺς πάντας (ἀποστόλους) ὧν δώδεκα μὲν τοὺς πρώτους ἀποστόλους εἴποις ἂν εἶναι, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν Παῦλον . . . . . καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον γεγονέναι, τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου, ὃς πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταστῆναι τοῦ σωτῆρος μνημονεύεται*[b] " . . . . will make fourteen apostles in all, twelve of whom you would say were the first apostles, and Paul not inferior to them in virtue . . . . . and there was James the Lord's brother, who is mentioned as having been appointed first bishop of the church at Jerusalem by the Saviour himself." Again, in the Pseudo-clementine writings he is always spoken of as *a brother of the Lord*, not as an apostle; and in the Apostolic Constitutions he is expressly distinguished from the apostles: *Ἡμεῖς . . . . . μάρτυρες τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ σὺν Ἰακώβῳ τῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἀδελφῷ*:[c] "We . . . . are witnesses of his appearance with James the Lord's brother." So also in another place: *ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα συνελθόντες εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ . . . . . ἐπεσκεπτόμεθα ἅμα Ἰακώβῳ τῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἀδελφῷ*:[d] "We, the twelve, having

[a] Ap. Euseb. H. E. ii. 23.
[b] Comment. ad Jesai. xvii. 5.
[c] ii. 55.
[d] vi. 12.

met together at Jerusalem . . . . . considered, along with James the Lord's brother."

It is needless to refer to Guerike's[e] attempt to shew that Hegesippus's words do not at all sustain the fact for which they have been adduced. His zeal has outrun his discretion in this instance as in many others.

If the diversity of the two Jameses in question be maintained, James the Lord's brother was either *the full brother* or *half brother* of Jesus, for—

1. This is the natural, primary, obvious signification of the term ἀδελφός, which is corroborated by the usage of Josephus. In the New Testament no example of its tropical use to denote *relative* or *cousin* can be adduced, irrespectively of the case before us. Monod[f] appeals indeed to Matthew i. 11, where ἀδελφοί is said to mean uncles, but that is matter of doubt; and, besides, the list of generations there given is taken directly from the Hebrew. Nor can the fathers be appealed to for instances of the tropical sense; for it is more than doubtful whether the passages in Eusebius,[g] to which Kern and others refer, and one from Hegesippus in the same historian[h] prove the extended use of the term. Though the wider signification after the manner of the Hebrew אָח is *possible;* yet it is without example in the sacred writings of the New Testament.

Several of the fathers took *the brother of the Lord* literally, as we learn from Eusebius[i] and Origen.[k]

2. The brethren of Jesus appear in close connexion with his mother (Matth. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3; John ii. 12). Hence it is natural to think of them as her *sons.*

3. They did not believe on him (John vii. 5). This was *after* the time that James the son of Alphaeus had been chosen an apostle. In answer to this Pott remarks, that John does not write πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοί, but merely ἀδελφοί; as if not *all,* but *some* of his brethren only were devoid of faith in him. Monod[l] repeats the assertion.

[e] Einleitung, p. 488. [f] Introduction à l'épître de Saint Jaques, p. 29.
[g] H. E. ii. 4, iv. 5. [h] H. E. iv. 22.
[i] H. E. ii. 1. [k] In Matth. tom. x. iii. 462.
[l] Introduction à l'épître de Saint Jaques, p. 28.

But this is trifling; for those who identify James the Lord's brother with James the son of Alpheus, thereby making him an apostle, suppose that two other brethren, viz. Simon and Judas, were also apostles. Thus one of four remains, and it is unlikely that John should say, "*his brethren* did not believe on him," if *three* of the four included in the term were already apostles. Lardner adopts Grotius's comment. "The meaning is, not that they did not believe at all, but that they did not believe as they should."[m] Hug takes the same view. It appears to us, however, that it is not natural. It is too like a subterfuge to avoid a difficulty. We take the expression in its obvious sense, viz. they did not believe in His Messiahship. If so, they could scarcely have been apostles.

4. Again, in Acts i. 14, the brethren are spoken of as *distinct from* the apostles, shewing that different individuals are meant.

5. In no catalogue of the apostles does James the son of Alpheus appear as the Lord's brother.

We believe, therefore, that the brethren of the Lord, James, Joses (or Joseph as in some copies), Simon, and Judas, were literally the brothers of Jesus; and that none of them belonged to the list of apostles. They were not sons of Alpheus, and consequently James *the Lord's brother* is a different person from James the son of Alpheus.

How then, it may be asked, were they literally *brothers* of Jesus?

The account given by Epiphanius and Theophylact is, that Cleophas and Joseph were brothers. The former died without issue, and agreeably to the Levitical law, Joseph married his brother's widow, and had children. James, being the firstborn, was called the son of Cleophas. This account is quite improbable. Others thought, that they were sons of Joseph by a former wife. This opinion is *mentioned* by Origen. It was held by Epiphanius, Gregory Nyssene, Chrysostom, Nicephorus Callisti, Hilary of Poictiers, Ambrose, Ambrosiaster, etc.; and in modern times by Valesius, J. G. Vossius, Basnage, and Cave. Lardner was also inclined to it. According to Jerome[n] it was drawn from apocryphal gospels. It is certainly a gratuitous assumption. Others

[m] Works, 4to. edition, vol. iii. p. 382. [n] Ad Matth. xiii.

again suppose, that the four individuals called *brethren* of Jesus, were born after him, being the sons of Joseph and Mary. This seems well supported by the epithet πρωτότοκος, *firstborn*, applied to Jesus in Matth. i. 25; which, though erased from the text by Lachmann and Tischendorf, should stand in it by the weight of evidence in its favour; and which certainly belongs to Luke ii. 7. Mary must have had other children if Jesus was the *firstborn*. "I admit," says Greswell,[o] "that the name of a *firstborn* may possibly be given even to an *only* child. But if an only child must be the first, he must also be the last: and had that been the nature of the relation here intended, both the reason of the thing and the matter of fact would have required the evangelist to say, τὸν μονογενῆ, not τὸν πρωτότοκον: and to have omitted the other part of the assertion, καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτήν, altogether."

It has been objected to this view, that our Lord, before expiring on the cross, committed his mother to the care of John the son of Zebedee. Had James been her son, or even her step-son, it is alleged that Jesus would not have transferred the charge of his mother to one who did not sustain that relation.[p] But this consideration derives much of its weight from the implied assumption that James and the other brethren had already become believers. If they still continued not to disbelieve his Messiahship, is it likely that she would have been intrusted to the care of any one of them rather than to the beloved apostle John, who was also, as we suppose, a relative? The first time the brethren of Jesus appear as believers is in Acts i. 14; and until we know that they had changed their opinion respecting him *before his death on the cross*, it must be considered more probable that Mary the mother of Jesus should have been intrusted to the guardianship of the apostle John; especially as it is narrated that on a certain occasion the Saviour "looked round about on them which sat about him and said, Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother" (Mark iii. 34, 35).

We have thus endeavoured to shew, that James *the Lord's*

[o] Dissertations upon the principles and arrangement of an Harmony, etc., vol. ii. p. 110.

[p] See Michaelis Introduction to the New Test. by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 273.

brother was a different person from James son of Cleophas or Alpheus. He was not therefore an apostle.

This is the opinion of Grotius, Hammond, Richard Simon, Herder, Fritzsche, Kern, Jachmann, Neander, Clemen, Mayerhoff, Credner, Schaf, Blom, of Schott and Neudecker in part, Wieseler, De Wette, and Olshausen.

There is only one objection of weight against the view now proposed. In Galatians i. 19 we read, "Other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother." Does not this place James the Lord's brother among the apostles, and of course identify him with James the son of Alpheus? Certainly that is the simplest interpretation. But in consequence of other considerations, it must be departed from. With Fritzsche[q] we refer εἶδον not τῶν ἀποστόλων, to James. "Another of the apostles I saw not, except that in addition to Peter, I saw James." This version is possible, as Winer[r] himself admits, notwithstanding all that has been written against it. It is *not* contrary to the use of εἰ μή, as has been contended by many.

Others *identify* the Lord's brother with the son of Alpheus.

In favour of their identity it has been argued, that a narrative contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as quoted by Jerome, represents James the Just, the Lord's brother, as present at the institution of the Eucharist; that the superscription of the old apocryphal gospel of James assumes the same view; that Clement of Alexandria, Jerome, Theodoret, and Chrysostom held their identity; that only two of the name appear in the Acts of the Apostles; that the James who occupies a prominent place in Jerusalem after the death of Zebedee's son is not distinguished from the son of Alpheus; that he is not specified as one of the Lord's brethren in Acts i. 14; but, on the contrary, is reckoned among the apostles in Gal. i. 19, according to the most obvious explanation of the passage.

Much weight cannot be attached to these considerations when set over against those already adduced in proof of the distinctness of the two persons. *The earliest writers*, commencing with Hegesippus, a native of Palestine, separated them.

[q] Commentarius in Matth., p. 482.
[r] In Galat. pp. 61, 62, 3rd edition.

Those who identify the two commonly suppose, that James was son of Mary sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, and wife of Cleophas. This is founded on John xix. 25, where Mary wife of Cleophas *appears* to be called a sister of the Virgin Mary. But the construction by no means requires this; and it is a great difficulty to conceive of two sisters having exactly the same name. It is more probable, that four females, instead of three, are mentioned in the passage; the sister of Jesus's mother being Salome, mother of Zebedee's children.[s] In any case, ἀδελφός cannot well be taken either as *cousin*, or *second cousin*, or *relative*. Jerome[t] seems to have been the first who conjectured that the Lord's *brother* meant *cousin;* after whom and Augustine, who came to adopt the same view, the interpretation became general in the West.

We have now to consider, with which of the two Jameses several notices in the Acts of the Apostles should be connected. There are various allusions to James, in chapters xii. 17; xv. 13; xxi. 18, etc., compared with Gal. ii. 9, and 1 Cor. xv. 7. From these passages it would appear, that he occupied a high official station in the church at Jerusalem, having held the office of bishop there, according to tradition, for many years, even for thirty, according to Jerome. But whether his influence was owing to age, or to personal character, or official position, it is now impossible to determine. After the death of Festus the procurator, he suffered martyrdom in a tumult at the temple, as related by Eusebius and Josephus. The exact circumstances of his death cannot be certainly ascertained, though Eusebius occupies a large part of the twenty-third chapter of the second book of his Ecclesiastical History with them, quoting Hegesippus, Clement, and Josephus. Josephus's narrative has been suspected by Le Clerc, Lardner, Credner, and Kern, though Pearson, Neander,[u] and Neudecker,[v] have undertaken its defence. It is clear that *Hegesippus's* narration is intermingled with the fabulous. But

[s] See Wieseler in the Studien und Kritiken for 1840, H. 3, p. 648, et seqq.

[t] Ad Matth. xii.

[u] Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w., vol. ii., p. 580, note 2, 4th edition.

[v] Einleitung in das N. T. p. 653, note 2.

amid the conflicting accounts one thing is apparent, viz. that he was put to death by the unbelieving Jews at the temple in Jerusalem, having been struck with a fuller's pole. He had been called *the Just* (ὁ δίκαιος), on account of his eminent virtue, as Hegesippus relates.

It has been usually assumed, that James the Lord's brother was head of the church at Jerusalem. This is the view of the earlier writers; and it has been followed accordingly by the moderns. But we are inclined with Stier and Wieseler to depart from it. It agrees better with the Acts to conceive, that an *apostle* presided over the church at Jerusalem, occupied a prominent position in ecclesiastical matters, was present at the council there and gave that opinion, after other apostles, which was adopted,—than to suppose that *a brother of our Lord*, who had become a believer after his resurrection, should have attained to such influence by virtue of his relationship and personal character, especially among the Jewish christians. That one who was an apostle should never be mentioned in the Acts, while another of the same name, who was not, should be so conspicuous, is most improbable. It has been intimated indeed, that the writer of the Acts has confounded the one with the other, or neglected to distinguish them definitely, with the view of injuring his veracity; but surmises of this sort must bear the nature of *proofs* before they be entitled to consideration. Let it first be *proved*, that Luke has been guilty of the thing laid to his charge. Why should it be *arbitrarily supposed*, instead of being carefully stated and supported?

To our opinion De Wette and others object, that it does not agree well with Gal. i. 19; ii. 9, 12. To the former passage allusion has been made already, with the view of shewing that the construction does not absolutely require James the Lord's brother to be regarded as an apostle. Many argue, however, that the James here styled the Lord's brother was identical with the James associated with Peter and John in Gal. ii. 9, 12. If this be true, then must James the Lord's brother have been prominent in the church at Jerusalem, and not the son of Alpheus, assuming them to be distinct persons. But we are unable to see any such necessary connexion between the first and second chapters of the Galatian epistle as to identify the Jameses mentioned in them. If the two

be the same, as is argued, why does the addition of *ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου* appear in Gal. i. 19? James the Less was best known among the christians of that time, and in opposing the Judaising party, Paul would have no need to specify by any addition the James whom that party professedly looked on as favourable to their sentiments. They would think at once of James the apostle, when his name was mentioned. Why then should Paul use a superfluous clause along with his name? To this indeed Hug[w] replies, because the other James, the son of Zebedee and brother of John, was still living at the time of which Paul spoke, and hence a mistake would have been possible, without the distinctive designation to James's name. An ingenious answer this, but not quite satisfactory. On the same principle, some distinctive designation was required in the second chapter of the Galatians, where *James* simply is mentioned along with Peter and John. Why is not James *the Lord's brother* spoken of there, as well as in the first chapter; or at least, why is there not *ἐκεῖνος*, or some such demonstrative, intimating that the same James is spoken of as before? It is tolerably clear, that while it was needful to distinguish *the Lord's brother* from James the Less, it was not needful to distinguish the latter from the elder James, the son of Zebedee. The peculiar position occupied by James the Less was such as to render it unnecessary to give any more than his name; while James *the Lord's brother*, as one who though not an apostle obtained high influence among the early christians, is specified by Paul.

We believe then that the addition to the name of "the less," distinguishing James in Gal. i. 19, separated him from the James spoken of in Gal. ii. 9, 12. The clause *brother of the Lord*, seems inserted, indeed, for this very purpose.

Again; Paul, in arguing against the Judaising teachers, gained nothing by saying that he had seen James the Lord's brother, if he were the same person as the apostle James. Indeed James was the very apostle to whom his opponents appealed, and on whose authority they rested. Hence in affirming that he had seen James during his visit to Jerusalem, without stating the days he had

[w] Introduction to the New Testament translated by Fosdick, p. 618.

passed in his society, the apostle of the Gentiles damaged his own argument.

And if the two Jameses were identical, then had he seen all those who were reputed pillars, except John. He had seen two out of the three apostles who were the most eminent. Surely this kind of reasoning against the Judaisers was ill calculated to advance his claims to an independent apostleship.

Hence it appears, that the Jameses in the first and second chapters of the Galatian epistle were different persons.[x]

We are quite aware of the fact, that ecclesiastical tradition ascribes the presidency of the church at Jerusalem to James the Lord's brother, and not to James the son of Alpheus; but on the subject before us, the accounts of the fathers are confused, obscure, and contradictory. It is impossible to make out from their writings a plain, straightforward account, either of two or three persons so called. We fully sympathise with Lardner when he says: "To write the history of this person from ancient authors is a difficult task, as I have found, after trying more than once, and at distant spaces of time."[y] It is better to follow the intimations of the New Testament itself, than the accounts of the fathers.

To which of these three Jameses should the epistle be ascribed?

Not to the first, because the circumstances in which it was written, as ascertained from itself, require a later origin. Perhaps also he died too early to allow of the supposition that he wrote the epistle. And yet the subscription of an old Latin version of the epistle published by Martianay and Sabatier, as well as the subscriptions of the old Syriac in the editions of Widmanstadt, Tremellius, and Trost, ascribe the writing of the epistle to the elder James.

It must have been written either by James the son of Alpheus, or by James our Lord's brother.

According to the view already advocated, there is no room for choosing the latter. He who is so prominent in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the epistle to the Galatians is represented as one of the three leading apostles, must be the writer of the present epistle. It is true that the author styles himself at the commence-

[x] See Wieseler in the Studien und Kritiken, for 1842, H. i. p. 89, et seqq.

[y] Works, vol. iii. p. 370.

ment, *θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ;* but this predicate is consistent with his apostleship. He might do so from modesty. Paul had strong reasons for appending to his name the term *apostle* at the beginning of his epistles, because his adversaries disputed his authority; and therefore his case is not analogous. And even two of his letters shew, that *δοῦλος Χριστοῦ* is suitable to an apostle (Romans i. 1; Philipp. i. 1). So John in the Apocalypse calls himself *a servant* (*δοῦλος*) of God. It is also true that in the time of Eusebius, several attributed the epistle to *the Lord's brother;* but little weight can be attached to their opinion. He who presided over the mother church at Jerusalem, taking a prominent part in ecclesiastical matters, and possessing great influence there among the Jewish christians, was in all probability the writer of an epistle to *the twelve tribes scattered abroad.* His name would command attention. It would be of authority among that class of believers to whom the epistle is directed. Respect and obedience would be given to his counsels, because he was the acknowledged head of the church in the holy city itself.

It is consistent in those critics who suppose James the Lord's brother to have been bishop of Jerusalem to assume that *he* wrote the epistle, for there is every reason in favour of that position; but since we have advocated the view that James, son of Alpheus, is the person who appears as a leading character in the council at Jerusalem and on other occasions, there remains no other alternative than to assign the epistle to him. In so doing, it must be admitted that we depart from most of the early fathers; but we have already departed from them in the particular which necessitates an abandonment of their guidance in this. Of course those fathers, like Jerome, who identify *the Lord's brother* with *James the son of Alpheus*, cannot be represented as opposed to our view.

II. *Characteristics of the writer and his epistle.*

The character of the epistle before us is peculiar, forming a contrast to that of Paul's writings. Here the christian system is seen but faintly. The statement of christian doctrine is imperfect and incomplete. The position which the writer occupies is Jewish rather than christian. Hence the acknowledgment of Jesus as the

Messiah is considered a necessary ingredient of true Judaism, and christianity only the complement and consummation of Judaism. Believers too are the only genuine Jews. The ideas are christian; but they partake of a Jewish colouring. They are cast in a Jewish mould. Christian doctrine is not exhibited fully. Indeed, no one important portion of the christian system is clearly unfolded. Even the name of Christ occurs but twice, i. 1, and ii. 1. The entire epistle exhibits no deep insight into the doctrines of the New Testament. It is only the threshold of the new system we are permitted to behold. The purely christian ideas appear in an isolated form. The central point of all that is precious is scarcely touched, viz. the atonement of Jesus. The teaching of a christian Jew who had recently emerged out of the trammels of his old system is seen, rather than the teacher who had attained to a high or comprehensive perception of the spiritual doctrines and motives constituting the essence of Jesus's religion. We are struck with an imperfect doctrinal development in the sentiments uttered. The christian knowledge is of a rudimental character. The writer occupies a Jewish more than a purely christian platform of observation, appearing as a teacher of the Jews, guiding them in their transition state from one dispensation to another, without conducting them into the interior of the latter, or giving them more than a few insulated ideas peculiar to it. To be convinced of the truth of these observations it is only necessary to read the entire epistle. Thus, in warning his readers against transgression of the law by partiality to individuals, the writer adduces Jewish motives, not such as are purely christian (ii. 8-13). Of the same character is the greater part of the third chapter respecting the government of the tongue, in which the example of Christ is not once alluded to. On the contrary the illustrations are derived from objects in nature. In like manner the warning against uncharitable judgments does not refer to Christ, or God who has put his Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers, but the law (iv. 10-12). He who judges his neighbour, judges the law. To the same category belongs the exhortation to feel and act under a constant remembrance of the dependence of our life on God (iv. 13-17). He that knows good and does it not is admonished earnestly to practise virtue, and to avoid self-security, without reference to the higher christian

motives connected with redemption. Job and the prophets are quoted as examples of patience, not Christ; and the efficacy of prayer is proved by the instance of Elias, without allusion to the Saviour's promise (v. 17). The epistle is wound up after the same Jewish mode; though the opportunity of alluding to Christ who gave himself a sacrifice for sin, presented itself so naturally.[z]

The method too in which the author writes is Hebraistic. His sentences are short and weighty, like the proverbial sayings of the Jews. They resemble the Proverbs of Solomon. There is no logical connexion between them. One follows another without a perceptible link of connexion. Even when a topic is treated somewhat more fully, an epigrammatic sentence closes it (i. 5-8, 10-12, 13-17, 22-27; ii. 1-13, 14-26; iii. 1-5, 6-8, 13-18; iv. 1-10, 11, 12, 13-17; v. 1-6, 7-11). The author's mode of proof is by the law, and by examples occurring in the Old Testament. We are reminded by it of Jewish disputation. Besides, the purely christian ideas are clothed in the garb of the Old Testament economy, and approach to the spiritual Judaism of the period.

There are two ways of explaining the phenomena of the epistle to which reference has just been made. We have seen that the ideas peculiar to christianity are intimated rather than developed —that they appear in their incipient state, not in their full unfolding. The author may have adopted this method of instruction in consequence of the state of mind belonging to the persons addressed. In this case, he adapted himself, by a wise condescension, to the spiritual condition of his hearers, becoming as a Jew to the Jews. He fed them with milk, not with strong meat, because they were not able to bear the latter. Or, his own doctrinal development may have been imperfect. He did not proceed right onward to the full christian system, but stopped near the Jewish standing point, because he had not advanced far in christian knowledge. Compared with Paul, he stood on the threshold of the doctrinal system peculiar to the new religion; not because he deemed it wise to do so, but because he had no deep insight into it himself. The latter explanation has been generally approved by recent critics. They think that a teacher and guide must have written in a different and higher strain—that it could not have

[z] See Schwegler's Nachapostolische Zeitalter, vol. i. pp. 422, 3.

been needful to condescend so much as is here done—that the christian system must have been presented in a clearer light, had the author been capable of higher things. Any other explanation is *insufficient.* But we are unable to assent to this opinion. We cannot believe, as Schneckenburger[a] does, that James wrote the epistle at a time when christianity had not thoroughly penetrated his spiritual life; because there is no proof that his doctrinal views were enlarged at a later period. Nor do we imagine, that any of the apostles, after the day of Pentecost, became still more enlightened in their view of divine things. Their doctrinal development seems complete after that crisis. It is very doubtful too, whether we are justified in drawing a portrait of James's mental characteristics from one short epistle. And yet Neander[b] is inclined to do so; for he supposes that James remained in the narrow circle of doctrinal ideas which are so imperfectly unfolded here; and that he could do little more than conduct his countrymen from the old to the new dispensation. He reckons him a teacher of Jews, rather than a teacher of the christian system, one who was unable to instruct men in christian knowledge so that they could have anything like a complete, full, or comprehensive view of it. But surely this is a hasty mode of arriving at a conclusion. Had James written various epistles, and especially had he written to Gentiles, there would have been sufficient ground for arriving at a definite opinion; but as long as only one letter is before us, and that too addressed to Jewish believers just after they had emerged out of their old faith, it appears precipitate, as well as unphilosophical to infer, that James possessed such a meagre and elementary acquaintance with the doctrines of the christian religion. Rather is the tone and character of the letter to be attributed to the state of those with whom the writer had to do. They had as yet advanced but a step. Christianity had not penetrated their inner life. It was novel to them. They retained their Jewish habits and modes of thought. Hence the apostle furnishes them with but a little mental food. He does not take them into the *arcana* of the new religion, but gives them a few christian ideas. Their carnal state of mind is wisely consulted.

[a] Beiträge zur Einleitung ins neue Testament, p. 202.

[b] Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w., p. 579.

In accounting for the peculiar character of the epistle in this manner, we would not maintain that the mental idiosyncrasy of James was equal in elevation to that of Paul, or of John. Probably it was not. Neither would we hold that the individuality of the writer is not seen in the epistle. All that can be safely asserted is, that *the entire* individual portrait of the apostle cannot be deduced from it, even in connexion with what we know of him from the Acts and other sources. Perhaps his very *leading* mental characteristics cannot be so discerned. The letter discloses *something* of the man from whom it proceeded; but not his entire mind and heart. We perceive glimpses of his mental features, without obtaining a full or complete view of them. He was mild and tolerant. Firm in his attachment to christianity, he exhibited a calmness and moderation which secured for him a long ministry in the centre of unbelieving Judaism. His heart was penetrated by love to Jesus; but it did not give expression to its feelings in violent outbursts. The new religion pervaded his life and conduct gradually and surely. He looked at *the ethics* more than *the doctrines* of christianity. He was a shrewd observer of human nature, attending to the effects of christianity as seen in the conduct. He was eminently a practical man. We have no reason for supposing that his speculative ability was equal to that of Paul or of John. Probably his cast of mind was not reflective like theirs. But he must have known the essence of all christian doctrine notwithstanding. He was led by the Spirit infallibly into all truth. Hence we cannot believe that the mind of James did not go beyond the views of christian doctrine contained in his epistle, or that it could not have developed the christian system and adduced the high motives to duty derived from the sacrifice of Christ, in the manner of Peter. He was not called to do so on the present occasion. The circumstances did not require it. On the contrary the rudimental state of his hearers in knowledge and piety demanded a different treatment.

From the peculiar standing point of the persons addressed, it might be expected that the epistle should bear some resemblance to the teachings of our Lord. It will be found accordingly, that many of James's apophthegms are the echo of passages embodied in the sermon on the mount. As the epistle forms a link between

the discourses of Christ and Paul's development of the christian scheme, though much nearer the former than the latter because of the like position which the persons addressed by the Master and his disciple occupied, the fact in question is natural. Compare, for example, James i. 5, 6, with Matth. vii. 7; xxi. 22;—ii. 5, with Matth. v. 3;—ii. 8, with Matth. xxii. 39;—ii. 13, with Matth. vii. 1, 2; xxv. 34-36;—iii. 1, with Matth. xxiii. 14;—iii. 12, with Matth. vii. 16;—iii. 18, with Matth. v. 9, 16;—v. 6, with Matth. v. 39;—v. 12, 13, with Matth. v. 34-37. These coincidences cannot be accounted for by the circumstance that James quoted or referred to the written Gospel of Matthew, as a well known document at the time. There is not a single passage in the whole epistle exhibiting a *clear* or *decided* reference to the earliest of the four gospels. The attempts to find such in ii. 5 to Matth. v. 3, in iii. 1 to Matth. vii. 1, and in iv. 5 to Matth. vi. 24, are wholly unavailing. The teachings of our Lord were known by oral communication, rather than through written forms; and even if Matthew's Hebrew gospel were composed at the time in question, it is highly improbable that James's readers—the Jews of the dispersion—were acquainted with it.

III. *The persons to whom it was primarily written.*

If the character of the epistle has been rightly apprehended, the persons to whom it was originally addressed are sufficiently marked. According to i. 1, the epistle is directed "to *the twelve tribes* which are scattered abroad." The expression *αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ* would seem to include the Jews generally. Hence Lardner thought that the epistle was written for the use of *all Jews*—descendants of Jacob of every denomination throughout the world, in Judea and out of it. A similar opinion is held by Macknight, Theile, Credner, Wolf, Hug, and others. But it was evidently intended only for those who had embraced christianity; and it may be doubted whether any apostle thought of writing to others than christian converts. There is not a word of intimation that some of the readers had not received christianity. No distinction is made by the author between mere Jews, and Jewish converts to the gospel; though it would have been almost unavoidable, had he *intended* to address unbelieving as well as believing Jews. At

the very commencement, the words "the trying of your faith worketh patience," respect believers. So also ii. 1: "Have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons." In like manner, the seventh verse of the second chapter points to the same conclusion: "Do they not blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called," the name of *Christ* being probably the worthy name alluded to.

It is idle to contend, that the epistle was designed for the unconverted as well as the converted, because there is only a general salutation at the beginning, and no christian benediction at the end—just as if James were Paul. Nor is it correct to affirm that the wars and fightings (iv. 1-10) mean the mutinies and insurrections raised by the unbelievers, especially the zealots. The third chapter too, was not intended for the unbelieving as well as the believing. In ch. v. 1-5, the rich are not addressed directly, but are threatened with destruction in the form of an apostrophe, that the believing ones might be sustained and consoled. This view of the passage is not refuted by *ἄγε νῦν*, as De Wette affirms.

The obvious meaning of the inscription is, to all the Jewish christians out of Palestine. The only concession that can be reasonably made to those who contend that unconverted as well as converted Jews are addressed is, that in some passages the writer appears to have disposed his materials as if they were meant to be read by the former. He probably wished and knew, that the epistle might fall into the hands of some of them, especially the rich, the oppressor, and the luxurious. Such parties are indirectly glanced at here and there. But this does not hinder us from maintaining, that James wrote for the special benefit of the Jews who had embraced christianity. The leading scope of his writing points to them; and if others be occasionally referred to, it is only in subordination to his main purpose, and in the prosecution of it. The two classes of the Jews had not yet completely separated from each other. The distinction was not particularly marked in its outward relations. Even its inward aspect was not greatly diverse. Hence it was natural in the writer to construct a few portions of the letter as he has done.

But it may be asked, Were these Jewish christians out of

Palestine numerous at the time when the epistle seems to have been composed? In what country or countries were they? Were they scattered through many lands, or confined to a comparatively limited tract? Various circumstances connected with the epistle have led several commentators to limit the circle of readers. Indeed the theological character of the entire epistle presupposes certain characteristics in the readers, which again, are essentially connected with the idea of a fixed period of writing.

We believe that the epistle was addressed to the disciples who were scattered abroad after the death of Stephen (Acts viii. 1), and before the preaching of the gospel was extended to the Gentiles. It was directed to Jewish christian churches unmixed with Gentiles, or to such, at least, as had in them so few individuals from among the heathen as to render them of no account. Gentile christian churches had not yet been regularly formed and fully organised. Hence there is no allusion to Gentile converts; nor to the relation of Gentiles to Jews when incorporated into one spiritual body; nor to any of the questions which began to agitate the churches soon after the Gentiles turned to Christ. With this agrees the use of the term *συναγωγή*, shewing that the readers retained Jewish forms, instead of the christian word *ἐκκλησία*. Where these purely Jewish christian churches were, it is not easy to determine; since we know so little of the earliest spread of christianity. Probably they should be looked for in Syria and the neighbouring parts.

All this is opposed to the view taken by Kern, who brings the epistle to a date immediately before the death of James our Lord's brother; and enters into a copious examination of the sentiments held by Neander and Schneckenburger, with which our own substantially agree. It is unnecessary, however, to shew the untenableness of his hypothesis; or to refute his *attempted* refutation of the two authors just named. The acuteness of Kern has not prevented him from falling into error, especially where he asserts that the persons described by James were divided among themselves in doctrinal sentiments; that the members of the christian church [churches] were thoroughly separated in consequence of bitter disputes about principles; and that their modes of thought being diverse, their expressed doctrinal belief was decidedly unlike.

Surely this rests on an erroneous interpretation of the epistle.[c] It is also opposed to the view of Schwegler, who argues at length in favour of a late date, combating all that has been advanced by Schneckenburger and Neander in a manner peculiar to the school of theology to which he belongs. But the point of view from which he surveys the entire epistle, indeed the whole of the New Testament writings, is arbitrary. It appears to us to be wholly wrong. And the conclusions which he draws even from his own premises do violence to all rational logic. Sobriety itself revolts from such speculative, perverse criticism.[d]

IV. *The time and place of writing.*

The epistle must have been written some time before the council at Jerusalem, when the disputes between Gentiles and Jews had arisen. It is the earliest of all the epistles, belonging to A.D. 45.

The *place* of writing Hug[e] has attempted to deduce from certain internal marks, which in his opinion clearly point to Palestine. Thus the author's native land was situate not far from the sea (i. 6; iii. 4); and was blessed with valuable productions, such as figs, oil, and wine (iii. 12). Springs of saline and bitter water were familiar to the writer (iii. 12). The land was much exposed to drought; and there was often scarcity of productions for want of rain (v. 17, 18). Sudden devastations of the vegetable kingdom were occasioned by a *fiery wind* (i. 11). The early and latter rains were familiar (v. 7). These circumstances however do not necessarily point to Palestine, since they existed in many other countries of the East. Yet it is most probable that Palestine was the country where he wrote, and *Jerusalem* the city. As far as is known, the writer never left that city. He remained there and taught for a number of years, till he was put to death by the Jews. It would appear that he did not go abroad, like the rest of the apostles; but stayed in Palestine, superintending the affairs of the mother church in the holy city.

In determining the persons for whom the epistle was written at

[c] Der Brief Jakobi untersucht und erklärt, u. s. w., p. 93, et seqq., 104.

[d] Das Nachapostolische Zeitalter, vol. i. p. 428, et seqq.

[e] Introduction, translated by Fosdick, p. 587.

first, and the time when it appeared, we are supported by Schneckenburger and Neander. Nor does Noesselt[f] differ widely from the same view, though he seems to confine the letter too much to the church at Antioch. Eichhorn,[g] in bringing down the epistle a little later, and concluding that it was meant for the Jewish christians in heathen countries, whom Paul and Barnabas had converted (Acts xiii. xiv.), has subjected himself to one objection at least, which is of considerable weight. It is not likely that it should be placed so late as he has put it.

De Wette[h] believes, after Koester,[i] Kern,[k] Mauduit,[l] and Neudecker,[m] that the letter was addressed to all christians out of Palestine. This view is supposed conformable not only to the entire character of the document, but also to the inscription at the commencement. *Αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ* is reckoned equivalent to *τὸ δωδεκάφυλον* (Acts xxvi. 7); or to the *Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ* (Galat. vi. 16), viz. *christendom.* But the natural and proper signification of the phrase *the twelve tribes*, in connexion with its context, points to *Jewish christians* generally, and *to them alone.* It is true that, in one sense, all believers are *the true Israel of God;* but if the writer had intended to address all christians without distinction or exception, his selection of the phrase, *the twelve tribes*, is inexplicable. In Acts xxvi. 7 the compound term *δωδεκάφυλον* signifies *the people of* Israel; and therefore *αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ* should have the same meaning.

It must not be concealed, however, that the view we have given of the original readers of the epistle, and the time when it was written, is liable to objection. Difficulties have been stated against it. It is commonly supposed, that the epistle was not written till after A.D. 60. Let us glance at some of the arguments which support this view.

1. If the letter was originally intended only for the Jewish

[f] Conjecturae ad historiam catholicae Jacobi epistolae, Fascic. ii. p. 308 et seqq.

[g] Einleitung in das neue Testament, vol. iii. p. 585.

[h] Einleitung, u. s. w., pp. 338, 339, fifth edition.

[i] In the Studien und Kritiken for 1831, p. 588 et seqq.

[k] In the Tübingen Zeitschrift for 1835, H. 2, p. 70 et seqq.

[l] Apud Wolfium, Curae Philologicae, vol. v. p. 8.

[m] Einleitung, pp. 671, 672.

christians in Syria, and perhaps Cilicia, who still met in the synagogues, it has been asked by De Wette, Who founded such communities? Paul and Barnabas were the only persons who had taught in those parts; and according to Acts xiii. 46; xiv. 1, 27, Paul planted churches consisting partly of Jewish and partly of Gentile christians, or of Gentile christians alone.

This objection is probably insuperable against the time assumed by Eichhorn. If the epistle was not written till after the first missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas, and if it was addressed to churches consisting of Jewish christians only, it is difficult to find such communities. But it does not militate against the date which we have assigned. It is written in Acts xi. 19, that the persons scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only. Besides, our knowledge of the spread of christianity at this time is very defective. The book of Acts does not contain a full history of its diffusion. Before Paul and Barnabas set out on their first missionary tour, we know little of the effects which followed the preaching of those who had been dispersed by persecution. It is certain that many Jews in various places had believed; especially in the region of Syria and its vicinity, before the first missionary journey was completed.

2. Though the christians were accustomed to meet together from the first, yet it is thought that the external conveniences of such assemblies, which are alluded to in ii. 2, etc., betray a later period.

In this statement it is implied, that the believing Jews did not meet with other Jews in the synagogues at the time of writing the epistle; and that the rich and poor, spoken of in ii. 5-7, and i. 9, 10, must mean christians. Some therefore reply that the synagogue was the place of meeting for those specially addressed, as is deducible from ii. 2; and that they met there along with their brethren who did not believe in Christ. In repairing to the synagogues in common, and worshipping there together as one brotherhood, there is nothing strange, if the imperfect knowledge of the Jewish christians be regarded. Their notions were in a great degree carnal. They had only attained to a feeble perception of christian truth. Their Jewish creed was not wholly

discarded. In embracing christianity, they brought into it many ideas peculiar to their old faith, and incompatible with the spirituality of true religion. They might therefore meet still with their unbelieving brethren in the synagogues, without much scruple of conscience. As yet they did not stand far apart from them. Agitating questions had not arisen between them. They had got possession of *the central idea* of christianity, viz. that Jesus was the true Messiah, on whom they should believe; but they had not advanced much farther.

This reasoning is equally ingenious and plausible. But it is scarcely admissible, being based on an erroneous view of the word *συναγωγή synagogue*, in ii. 2. What hinders us from supposing that the christians to whom James writes had all the external conveniences in their places of worship, which the passage ii. 2, etc., *legitimately* implies, we are unable to perceive. Too much is extracted from it by De Wette, for the purpose of pointing his argument.

Nor is it certain, that the rich mentioned in the epistle were always members of the christian communities. As Neander has appositely remarked, "the author may refer partly to the rich among the Jews who were far from christianity, partly to the rich among the christians, who however formed a very small minority. From the contrast between i. 9 and 10, it does not follow that by the rich in the latter verse only christians are intended. By those of low degree who were to rejoice in being exalted, he could indeed mean only christians; but among the rich he might include those wealthy Jews who by their entire devotedness to the earthly were prevented from becoming christians."[n]

3. It is not improbable that the author had read the epistles to the Galatians, Romans, and Hebrews, and borrowed ideas as well as forms of expression from Paul. Thus we are directed to compare i. 2, 3, with Romans v. 3;—i. 15, with Romans vii. 7, 8;—i. 18, with Romans viii. 23;—i. 22, with Romans ii. 13;—ii. 21, with Galatians iii. 6; Romans iv. 3;—iv. 1, with Romans vi. 13; vii. 23;—iv. 4, with Romans viii. 7;—iv. 12, with Romans xiv. 4. In adducing the example of Rahab to shew the importance of

[n] History of the planting and training, etc., etc., translated by Ryland, vol. ii. p. 19 (note).

faith, it is thought that there is a reference to Hebrews xi. 31, where the same example is presented. Even other epistles of the apostle of the Gentiles are supposed to have been consulted by James, because he is thought to have used expressions derived from them; for example, i. 4, compared with 1 Cor. i. 7; i. 6, compared with Ephes. iv. 14; i. 12, compared with 2 Tim. iv. 8; i. 21, compared with Coloss. iii. 8; ii. 5, compared with 1 Cor. i. 27. The phrases *δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει, ἐκ πίστεως, ἐκ νόμου; παραβάτης τοῦ νόμου; τελεῖν τὸν νόμον; καρπὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης; μὴ πλανᾶσθε; ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις;* and the words *ἐλευθερία, ἀκροατής, ποιητής, μέλη, παραλογίζεσθαι, ὁλόκληρος*, are also brought forward, to shew a verbal coincidence between Paul and James which could not have been accidental.[o]

All this is very doubtful. The similarity between the two writers in the use of theological phrases may be satisfactorily explained without the supposition that James had read the Pauline epistles referred to. The Pauline phraseology itself was not new. It arose out of Judaism. It appropriated Jewish words already in use, giving them a new turn and combination. Even the leading terms *δικαιόω* and *πίστις*, as employed by the apostle of the Gentiles, were not new. The example of Abraham, as a man distinguished for his faith, must have been common among the Jews; while the example of Rahab, a female, may have been current in the mouths of the people. Two inspired writers treating of the same topic with reference to Jewish christians, themselves Jews by birth and education, would naturally exhibit some leading ideas in Jewish-Greek phraseology of a similar aspect. We cannot see any proof, in all that has been adduced, that James had read the epistles of Paul addressed to the Romans and Galatians, or that he had a particular reference to any doctrine propounded in them.

4. Allied to the preceding is another argument, which favours a late date, viz. that James intended to prevent a misconstruction of Paul's doctrine respecting faith. We shall shew hereafter that the supposition is erroneous.

5. According to Macknight[p] and others, the epistle was written in A.D. 62, because the wars and insurrections which ended in the

[o] See Schott's Isagoge, p. 393, note 20. [p] Preface to James, sect. 2.

destruction of the Jewish commonwealth are referred to in it (ch. iv. 1-10); and the coming of Christ to destroy Jerusalem, and break the power of the unbelieving part of the nation, is said (ch. v. 8) to be near.

But the wars and fightings which arose from their inordinate covetous desires, allude to disputes among them respecting property. They contended about the world and its possessions. The expression the "coming of the Lord draweth nigh" (v. 8) is ambiguous. It *may* refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, but probably it does not. Even if it did certainly denote that fearful catastrophe, Michaelis has shewn that it would not prove the epistle to have been written so late as A.D. 60. It agrees equally well with A.D. 44 or 45. The meaning of it seems to be simply, the time when God shall call the oppressor to account for his sins, and vindicate the rights of the injured.

In relation to other circumstances in the epistle which are thought to throw light on the time when it was written, none of them is of such a nature as to form a valid objection against the early date which has been advocated. Thus we cannot, with De Wette and others, find an allusion to the name *Χριστιανοί* in ii. 7, by which the date would be posterior to Acts xi. 26, when the disciples were first called *christians* at Antioch. The name of *Christ* appears to be *the worthy name* specified. It is admitted too, even by the advocates of the late date, that the expression, *elders of the church*, shewing that the societies to which the readers belonged were organised, agrees with the constitution of the earliest christian churches. Whatever ecclesiastical order or organisation is implied in ii. 2, or v. 14, harmonises with an earlier, as well as a later date.

The picture of the christians addressed is not minute. It consists of a few general strokes wanting *specific* colouring. It is graphic as far as it extends, but it is far from being definite or complete. As far as we can gather from it, the Jewish believers presented the following aspect.

(*a*) Some of them *may not have* wholly separated from the synagogues. But they had done so generally, since we understand *συναγωγή* (equivalent to *ἐκκλησία* in ch. v. 14) to mean *a christian congregation* (not a Jewish synagogue, or the per-

sons meeting together in it) agreeably to the point of view from which James contemplated christianity and its ordinances, as well as the still remaining Jewish ideas of the readers. We do not deny that the term συναγωγή may be taken, with Kern, in its proper, literal sense; nor is it likely that all the Jewish christians addressed had ceased to frequent the Jewish synagogues; but the majority of them were probably no longer regular worshippers there.[q] They had places of assembly of their own, and elders appointed for the government of the congregations. It appears also, that teaching was not yet restricted or appropriated to these office-bearers, since many were eager to instruct their brethren. (Compare ii. 2. 6, 7; v. 14; iii. 1.)

(*b*) They were for the most, poor, though there were also several rich among them who were elated with their condition (i. 10, 11).

(*c*) Hence they were oppressed in various ways by the rich, not certainly by the rich among themselves, but by the unbelieving Jews. Privations and persecutions of various kinds overtook them. Under the force of these adverse circumstances they were inclined to shield themselves from responsibility by pleading the power of outward temptations which they ascribed to God's providence (i. 11-13; ii. 6; v. 8-11).

(*d*) In their assemblies they exhibited partiality towards the rich. They made distinctions among the brethren on account of differences in worldly station. Thus was christian love disregarded (ii. 1-6, 8-13).

(*e*) Their hearts generally had not been deeply penetrated by the power of religion. Attracted as many of them had been to christianity by sensuous hopes and expectations, their whole nature had not been leavened by it. It was new to them, and produced as yet little practical effect on their conduct. Hence they were largely under the dominion of worldly lusts and inordinate desires. They were addicted to dispute and detraction. They manifested violence of temper. They sought to effect their ends by contention. Envious, uncharitable, censorious, not self-judging, they did not even put such restraint on their language as prevented their swearing in common conversation. Their

[q] See Jachmann's Commentar über die katholischen Briefe, p. 39.

hearts were too much set upon the world (i. 19-21; iii. 10-18; iv. v. 12):

(*f*) Besides violating the law of love, they overvalued faith to the neglect of good works, contented with such an assent to the truth of christianity as left their hearts unchanged, and produced no real fruits of righteousness in the life (ii. 14-26).

(*g*) They were also too forward to assume the office of religious teachers. Many pressed themselves into this duty who had no proper control over their tongue, or right views of their responsibility in so doing (iii. 1, etc.).

V. *Its leading object.*

The object with which the epistle was written is to console the readers in their adverse circumstances, to admonish and encourage them, and to censure the errors connected with their christian state. They were exposed to outward trials. They were suffering from oppression. Accordingly the author exhorts them to be steadfast, maintaining their trust in the divine word amid discouragements. Certain faults appeared among them which needed rectification. As professing christians, they were guilty of improprieties. Hence the writer designed to console, animate, reprove. He was aware of the general circumstances affecting the persons addressed, and the errors they had fallen into. These errors presented a marked contrast to the state of the mother church, as it then appeared in its simplicity.

We need not look for any definite circumstance of an outward kind which led James to write, farther than the condition of the Jewish christians, to whom he stood in a peculiar relation. The impulse of his own mind, directed by the Spirit of God; the fatherly care he exercised over the church at Jerusalem and the believing Jews in Palestine, combined with the information he had received of other Jewish believers, prompted him to extend the circle of his influence to his scattered countrymen, that they too might profit by his lessons. He saw that there were hindrances to the spread of christianity among the Jews which required to be removed, and he desired to contribute to their disappearance.

Some have ventured to affirm, that it was the design of James

to oppose the Pauline doctrine of justification. This view needs no refutation. A small part only of the epistle treats of justification. Besides, two apostles, both infallible, could not err, or contradict one another. We see from the Acts of the Apostles, that Paul and James were on terms of fellowship. They recognised one another as true apostles; and therefore their sentiments agreed.

Others rejecting this extreme view, have maintained that James meant to combat an error which the Jewish converts had deduced from Paul's writings. He attacked the erroneous interpretations they put upon Paul's arguments. The misapprehension was not on the part of James, but of those to whom he writes. So Hug thinks. If it be so, then was the epistle written not long before the death of James, after Paul's writings had become current, and the later Jewish-christian views which referred to them for support had been developed. We have seen already that the epistle was addressed to Jewish christians alone, not to churches composed of a mixed population. The superscription shews this to have been its destination. How then could such churches have adopted the Pauline doctrine of justification? They were generally averse to it. Their modes of thinking could not at once be reconciled to its truth. It did not readily commend itself to their approbation. So far from receiving and misapprehending it, they were disinclined to it at the outset. They could not assent to it. It is true that the Pauline doctrine of justification was perverted at a subsequent time. The apostle's view of faith was erroneously applied to the detriment of practical religion. But this antinomianism was not of Jewish origin. It was a gnostic tendency, presenting the aspect of an ideal, contemplative state of mind, having no vital power over the life. It was a mental direction allied to the dreamy speculativeness of oriental thought.

The erroneous conception of faith which James combats must be considered in relation to the Jewish spirit, and in connexion with the tenor of the entire epistle. According to the general strain of the writing, there was some false principle which gave rise to various errors, shewing that the prevalent conception of faith among the readers was not an isolated thing. It was but one

shoot from a common stock. We know that the Jews prided themselves in a knowledge of the law, without attending to the practical requirements of it. They studied its letter, without perceiving or appreciating its spirit. They adhered to outward forms, on which they laid undue stress, instead of insisting on the reality and life of true religion. Attentive to matters of ritual, they neglected the spirit of love manifesting itself in works of obedience. Their love was nothing but a bare profession, without its deeds. While the disposition was unchanged, they fancied they were devout, because clinging to external acts of worship. Their faith in Jehovah and Messiah was a barren principle, leading them to imagine that they were justified before God; though their conduct was opposed to the demands of the moral law. When, therefore, this Jewish spirit was transplanted into christianity, instead of being subdued and rectified, it frequently appeared in the new soil. Connecting itself with faith in Jesus as the Messiah, it often proceeded little farther. Wherever christianity did not effect a complete change in the heart, the old Jewish spirit naturally manifested itself in the professed converts.

It was this false principle which James opposes in the letter—that tendency of mind so common among the Jews to be satisfied with intellectual knowledge without corresponding practice—with the outward legal forms rather than the life which alone gives them efficacy. Their idea of faith was one-sided. It consisted in a cold assent to the fact that there was one Jehovah, and that Jesus was the Messiah; as though that were sufficient to justify before God. But the heart was barren. The disposition was unchanged. Living fruits of godliness were absent. Faith was a passive thing, forced upon them as it were by the overpowering nature of evidence. Their energies were overwhelmed by it. It did not partake either of the spontaneity or activity of true faith. The one is life and power—the other inertness and passivity. In the one, evidence is appropriated and assimilated—in the other an external influence is felt, but not cordially admitted. In the one, there is sympathy between the recipient will and the truth addressed to it—in the other, there is no amalgamation or point of contact. The one quickens, while it subdues—the other subdues without

quickening. The breath of life accompanies the one—the other possesses no vitalising power, leaving all dead as before.

We are satisfied, therefore, that the individuals addressed by James were not such as had made an improper application of the Pauline doctrine. That doctrine they had not received, inasmuch as they were purely Jewish christians. And even if they had misapprehended or misappropriated it, the opposition to it would have been conducted in another way. "No man whose object was merely to prevent the doctrine of another from being falsely understood, would express himself in such a manner, that his readers might suppose he meant to combat the doctrine itself. Whoever subscribes to the doctrine advanced by another, but is apprehensive that it may be falsely understood, will limit and explain that doctrine; and will not make use of terms which have the appearance rather of a confutation than an explanation."[r] Doubtless they were under serious misapprehensions respecting faith; but that arose from their carnal Judaism which they brought over into christianity. They rested on an abstract idea of faith which was inoperative and passive.

It has been argued by Kern,[s] that James must have had respect to Paul's adherents in consequence of the way he has given expression to his ideas of *faith*, and *justification by works;* but it is difficult to see the conclusiveness of the critic's reasoning, or the successful refutation of the view now given, which he has attempted. Carefully and minutely as he has examined the entire epistle, we are unable to assent to the truth of many views deduced by him from it, or rather put into it by ingenious processes of fantastic reasoning.

These observations will serve to shew, that James's doctrine of justification by works, and Paul's by faith, are quite reconcilable. The sentiments of both writers were substantially the same; but their manner of conveying instruction differed, according to the mental idiosyncrasy of each, and the spiritual condition of the churches they had in view. They take opposite points of view from which to contemplate the great requisites of the christian character. The one arrives at the existence of faith through the

[r] Michaelis, by Marsh, vol. iv. pp. 305, 306.

[s] Der Brief Jakobi untersucht, u. s. w., p. 67, et seqq.

medium of works evidencing it; the other, having established the necessity of faith, arrives at the necessary conclusion, that where sincere belief exists, good works must unavoidably follow. When therefore they appear to contradict one another, especially in reference to the examples of Abraham and Rahab, the contradiction is removed by attending to the different ways in which they employ the term *faith*. James means by it a sort of theoretical belief which does not influence the conduct—a Pharisaic monotheism—a passive state of mind possessing no regulating control over the whole life. This appears from his predicating πίστις of the devils; "the devils also believe (πιστεύουσι) and tremble." Paul again means by it heartfelt trust and confidence in God. He does not apply πίστις to any other state of mind than that which must inevitably lead to holy conduct; nor is it likely that he would have attributed πίστις to the devils, as James does. In opposition to a righteousness relying on works merely, Paul insists on the inward principle as sufficient; and therefore he affirms, that Abraham was justified by faith alone. In opposition to a vain faith which did not penetrate the heart and quicken the will, James affirms that Abraham was justified by his works, *i. e.* his faith proved itself complete by those works. It coöperated with them. He proved himself a righteous man in the eye of others by the evidence of his faith in his deeds; whereas before God such an outward manifestation of the internal principle was unnecessary.[t]

VI. *Authenticity.*

The earliest evidence which has been adduced to shew, that the epistle is a genuine document of the apostolic age is the first epistle of Peter, in which several passages coincide with passages in ours. Compare, for example, James i. 2, 3, with 1 Peter i. 6, 7; i. 10, 11, with 1 Peter i. 24; i. 18, with 1 Peter i. 3, 23; i. 21, with 1 Peter ii. 1, 2; iv. 6, 10, with 1 Peter v. 5, 6; v. 20, with 1 Peter iv. 8. In several of these places there is not only a similarity of ideas but also of language, which strikes the reader, and may be exhibited to the eye with effect, as has been done by Hug. But

[t] Neander's Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 564, et seqq., fourth edition; p. 858, et seqq.; and his Kleine Gelegenheitsschriften, pp. 1—39.

the coincidence may be accounted for without supposing that Peter read and followed the epistle of James. The intercourse which existed between the writers, their touching on like particulars, above all, the one divine source of their knowledge and guide of their writing, may explain all the likeness observable. In one of the examples it is not surprising that their language is alike, because both quote the same passage from Proverbs. Although, therefore the similarity of tone in the two cases is striking, it is hardly necessary to assume that Peter read the production of his fellow apostle, to account for it.[v] Even if he did so, it is not probable he would imitate the ideas and language. Every view of this point which we can take convinces us of the doubtful argument relied on by the zealous advocates of James's epistle. "If," says Hug, "as was really the case, James composed his epistle first, the parts alluded to must certainly have been drawn from James." Such strong language is most unjustifiable, where the proof is by no means patent or palpable. It appears indeed to fail entirely.

The first testimony in favour of the epistle on which reliance can be placed, is furnished by Clement of Rome, who writes to the Corinthians,—

Ἀβραὰμ ὁ φίλος προσαγορευθείς, πιστὸς εὑρέθη, ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν ὑπήκοον γενέσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῦ θεοῦ . . . . . διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐδόθη αὐτῷ υἱὸς ἐν γήρᾳ καὶ δι' ὑπακοῆς προσήνεγκεν αὐτὸν θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ. (Compare James ii. 21, 23.)[w]

"Abraham called (God's) friend was found faithful in that he was obedient to the words of God. . . . . Through faith and hospitality a son was given him in his old age; and by obedience he offered him a sacrifice to God."

Διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐσώθη Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη. (Compare James ii. 25 and Hebrews xi. 31.)[x]

"By faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot was saved."

From the first passage it seems probable, that Clement had read the epistle. The second is somewhat uncertain. Others which have been quoted by Lardner and Kirchhofer are more than doubtful.

[v] See Kern, Der brief Jakobi untersucht und erklärt, u. s. w., pp. 11, 12.

[w] Ad Corinth. cap. x.

[x] Ibid. cap. 12.

It has been also thought that Hermas has alluded to our epistle, at least in one place: "Si enim resistitis illi (diabolo), fugiet a vobis confusus" (compare James iv. 7).[y] "For if ye resist him (the devil), he will flee from you with confusion." Uncertainty attaches to this testimony, because the saying was a current Jewish proposition. It may not therefore have been taken from James.

Irenaeus appears to have been acquainted with the epistle, when he writes: "Ipse Abraham . . . . . credidit Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam, et amicus Dei vocatus est" (James ii. 23).[z] "Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness, *and he was called the friend of God.*"

Origen is the first who makes express mention of the epistle and its writer: *Ἐὰν γὰρ λέγηται μὲν πίστις, χωρὶς δὲ ἔργων τυγχάνῃ, νεκρὰ ἐστιν ἡ τοιαύτη, ὡς ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολῇ ἀνέγνωμεν:*[a] "For though it be called faith, if it be without works it is dead, as we read in the epistle ascribed to James."

It is not certain here what is meant by the word *φερομένῃ*, but it is most probable that it indicates a doubt in Origen's mind whether James really wrote the epistle. *Ascribed to*, seems to be the idea intended. Doubtless it was commonly ascribed to James in the third century, though Origen himself had doubts of the truth of this opinion. Others understand *φερομένῃ* in the sense of *generally admitted* or *current*, without implying any doubt in Origen's mind. But the former interpretation is confirmed by another place,[b] where, in refuting a certain view by the aid of James ii. 20, he expresses himself doubtfully: *οὐ συγχωρηθὲν ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν παραδεχομένων τό· πίστις χωρὶς ἔργων νεκρὰ ἐστιν, i. e.* the saying "faith without works is dead," is not admitted by all as apostolic.

In various parts of Origen's works[c] which exist only in Rufinus's Latin version, the epistle is cited as the apostle James's,

[y] Lib. ii. Mandat. xii. 5. [z] Advers. Haeres. lib. iv. cap. xvi. 2.

[a] Comment. in Joann. tom. xix. (Opp. iv. p. 306).

[b] Ibid. tom. xx. c. 10.

[c] See Comment. in ep. ad Roman. lib. iv. (Opp. iv. p. 535). Ibid. p. 536. Ibid. lib. ix. p. 654. Ibid. Hom. 3 in Psalm. 36, p. 671; Hom. 13 in Genes., 3 and 8 in Exod.; Hom. 2 in Levit.

the brother of our Lord; it is even termed *divina Jacobi apostoli epistola*, but much weight cannot be attached to these expressions. They may be interpolated.[d]

Eusebius relates, that Clement of Alexandria made brief comments on all the catholic epistles.[e] But Cassiodorus, speaking of Clement, says: "In epistolis autem canonicis Clemens Alexandrinus presbyter, qui et Stromateus vocatur, *i. e.* in epistola sancti Petri prima, sancti Joannis prima et secunda, et Jacobi attico sermone declaravit."[f] "Clement, presbyter of Alexandria, author of the Stromata, explained the canonical epistles, *i. e.* the first epistle of St. Peter, the first and second of St. John, and the epistle of James." But it is generally allowed, and rightly so, notwithstanding Neudecker's[g] observations to the contrary, that we should read Judae, *Jude*, instead of Jacobi, *James*. It is improbable that Clement commented on *all* the catholic epistles. That of James he does not appear to have touched; nor has he anywhere quoted or alluded to it.

The fragments of Dionysius of Alexandria are too precarious to be quoted as his. Yet Guerike, after Hug, unhesitatingly appeals to them, with more zeal than discrimination.

Jerome acknowledged its authenticity very clearly: "Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus . . . . . unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quae de septem catholicis est, quae et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente obstinuerit auctoritatem:"[h]

"James, called the Lord's brother, surnamed Justus, wrote only one epistle, which is among the seven catholic ones; which too is said to have been published by another in his name, but gradually in process of time, it has obtained authority."

We need not follow these patristic testimonies farther. In the fourth century the epistle was generally received by the Greek church, and soon became a part of the Western canon also.

But the most important testimony in favour of the epistle is that it was in the old Syriac version. Hence the old Syrian church admitted it in the second century into their canon of

[d] See Mill's Prolegomena, 203, p. 24, ed. Kuster.
[e] H. E. vi. 14.
[f] Institut. divin. litter. cap. viii.
[g] Einleitung, p. 664, note 4.
[h] Catal. Script. eccles. cap. 2.

sacred books. The original readers were chiefly in Syria, and the parts adjacent. The Syrians therefore had the best means of knowing the truth on this subject. From that time onward it was received by that church as the epistle of James the Lord's brother, as we find from Ephrem, who quotes iv. 9, prefacing the citation with "James the Lord's brother says."

On the other hand, several particulars connected with the external testimony relating to the epistle wear a suspicious aspect. Thus it has been said that Hegesippus did not know the epistle. But Eusebius gives so few fragments from him that it is impossible to affirm with any degree of probability whether Hegesippus was acquainted or not with the epistle. If Clement made use of it, it is unlikely that Hegesippus was ignorant of its existence.

In regard to Irenaeus, it has been remarked by De Wette that while he manifests acquaintance with our epistle, he does not speak of it as a *canonical* writing. This is true, but his not mentioning it in this manner cannot be taken as evidence of his unfavourable opinion. All that can be fairly deduced from his writings is, that on one occasion he adopts the words of the epistle without speaking of the writer, or quoting them as authoritative. This fact proves the early existence of the letter in question, Irenaeus's acquaintance with it, and a degree of importance which he attaches to it. The canon of Muratori passes over the epistle.

Tertullian makes no mention of it in any of his works. The three passages given by Lardner and Kirchhofer, bearing some resemblance to passages in James, are quite insufficient to prove that he was acquainted with it. And yet he made use of all the canonical books of the New Testament, even the short epistles of Titus and Philemon. Besides in a passage of his Scorpiace, after quoting Peter, John, and Paul, he has nothing from James, though passages in the last were most apposite. It is still more remarkable that in his treatise on prayer (cap. 8) he does not appeal to James i. 13. There are therefore two aspects in which Tertullian may be considered in relation to our present epistle, viz. either that he knew nothing of it, or that, knowing it, he rejected it as a part of the canon. Lardner is inclined to the former; Mill to the latter.

Origen, as we have already seen, when alluding to the epistle,

refers to doubts entertained of its authenticity. What his own opinion really was we have no means of ascertaining.

Eusebius again puts it among the *antilegomena*. His words are: *Τῶν δ' ἀντιλεγομένων, γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου φέρεται καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα*:[1] "But of the controverted, though well known (or approved) by many, are that called the epistle of James," etc.

In another place the historian writes: *Τοιαῦτα δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, οὗ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται· ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μέν· οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, κ. τ. λ.*:[k] "Thus far concerning James, who is said to be the author of the first of the seven epistles called *catholic*. It ought to be observed however, that it is regarded as spurious: at least not many of the ancients have made mention of it," etc.

There are two meanings which these words of Eusebius will bear. They may declare Eusebius's own opinion about the epistle, viz. that it was absolutely spurious; or, they may represent the opinions of others in his day. The statement is, that the epistle was generally rejected. With Rufinus, Christopherson, and Lardner, we adopt the latter view: chiefly because the historian elsewhere quotes the epistle of James after the following manner: *καθὸ λέλεκται ἐν ἑτέραις, ἐξομολογεῖσθε ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἁμαρτίας*:[l] "As it is said elsewhere, Confess your sins one to another" (James v. 16). Again: *Λέγει γοῦν ὁ ἱερὸς ἀπόστολος· Κακοπαθεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν; προσευχέσθω· εὐθυμεῖ τις; ψαλλάτο*:[m] "For the sacred apostle says; Is any among you afflicted? Let him pray. Is any merry. Let him sing psalms" (James v. 13). And in the same Commentary: *τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης· Μὴ ἀγαπᾶ καταλαλεῖν ἵνα μὴ ἐξαρθῇς· καί· Μὴ καταλαλεῖτε ἀλλήλων, ἀδελφοί, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κρίσιν πέσητε*: "Since the Scripture says, Love not detraction, lest thou be destroyed. And, Speak not evil, brethren, one of another, lest ye fall into condemnation" (James iv. 11, and v. 12).

In these quotations, Eusebius speaks of the epistle as *scripture*, and as written by *the holy apostle*, which is inconsistent with the

[1] H. E. iii. 25. [k] Ibid. ii. 23. [l] De eccles. theol. lib. iii. [m] In Psal.

idea of his reckoning it absolutely spurious. But though the historian speaks of it as *scripture*, it is not likely that he regarded it as of equal authority with the acknowledged epistles of Paul. We know that he did not think James an apostle in the strict and proper sense of the term. He applies the appellation to him in its extended and loose sense, for which reason he reckons up fourteen apostles, James being the fourteenth, and occupying an inferior place to the twelve, as well as to Paul.

From the words of Jerome already quoted it may be inferred, that some persons thought the epistle of James to have been written and published by another in his name. He himself, however, ascribed it to the person whose name it bears.

Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected the epistle, as we learn from Leontius of Byzantium.[n]

Let us now review the external evidence which has been presented.

The most valuable testimony in favour of the epistle's authenticity is furnished by the Syrian church. That church must have been well acquainted with the circumstances connected with the origin of the document. In very early times it received and acknowledged it as an authentic production of the apostle James. Accordingly the Peshito always had it, though wanting other epistles. Hence Ephrem the Syrian, and later Syrian writers, used it as James's. We look therefore on Syria as the strongest defence of the epistle's authenticity.

In the Greek church the epistle seems to have been known from an early period. It is most probable that Clement of Rome had read it before he wrote to the Corinthians, from whom it is unreasonable to look for an express quotation, since the books of the New Testament were not formally or definitely referred to so early. The Shepherd of Hermas is too uncertain to be taken into consideration; and it must be candidly allowed, that Eusebius's statement about Clement of Alexandria does not prove that the latter commented on our epistle. We know, however, from Origen's assertions, that the document must have been known, read, and judged of in the second century. Before Origen's time the Greeks were divided in opinion respecting it. This father had

[n] Contra Nestor. et Eutych. iii. 14.

probably doubts of its apostolic origin; but the more general opinion in his day ascribed it to James.

Among the Greeks in the fourth century, we learn from Eusebius that it was approved by many, perhaps by most, though the reception of it was by no means universal, and was publicly read along with the other catholic epistles. After the fourth century it obtained much greater credit, and was regarded as authoritative by almost all writers of the Greek church. Thus Athanasius of Alexandria, the author of the Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzum, Epiphanius, Philastrius, Chrysostom, etc., etc., received it as canonical. Doubtless it had been slowly and surely rising into credit in the fourth century, as may be gathered from Eusebius; and therefore in the fifth century, it obtained almost universal reception in the Greek church. It is not likely that there was a sudden change of sentiment respecting it, after the fourth century. The way for its canonical reputation had been already prepared.

In the Latin church little notice was taken of the epistle till the fourth century, with the exception of a passage in Irenaeus, which probably shews that father's acquaintance with it. Tertullian makes no mention of it. But Jerome received it as authentic, and it was put into the canon by the synod of Carthage, A.D. 397.

Thus the Latin as well as the Greek church was little acquainted with the epistle of James, and made little use of it till the fourth century. Both were suspicious of its authenticity. But the more it was read and known, the greater was the estimation in which it was held. The causes of its non-reception by many are unknown to us. They can only be guessed at. No ancient writer has given any explanation of the reason or reasons why the document was so slow in obtaining general approval. It is probable that the following circumstances operated to prevent its universal reception.

Very early there were differences of opinion and perplexities respecting the number of the persons called James in the apostolic period, and the relation they bore to one another. Then the name *apostle* does not appear at the commencement of the epistle, and the want of it excited suspicion. And inasmuch as it is addressed solely to Jewish christians, being written by one who was best

known to that class, because his preaching was chiefly directed with a view to their benefit, its circulation was comparatively limited. The epistles of Paul, which were composed soon after, and addressed to so many christians in different countries, occupied the attention of the converts, and eclipsed the present letter. Besides, the character of it is such that it was less quoted in early times. It is not doctrinal. It is not doctrinally polemic, as most of the productions emanating from the early christians were. Nor should it be forgotten that the epistle presents an apparent contradiction to the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith. The contrariety of its tone to that of the Roman and Galatian epistles, would at once strike the reader, and give rise to scruples about using it. When we take such considerations as these into account, it is not surprising that the epistle should have been treated in the way it appears to have been. There is enough to shew that it was written in the apostolic age; and having appeared so early, the kind of reception it met with may perhaps be explained by a survey of its peculiarities.

But the epistle's authenticity has been combated chiefly on internal grounds. At the time of the Reformation doubts were put forth against it. Erasmus was sceptical respecting it. Luther expressed his opinion plainly when he called it *eine rechte stroherne Epistel*, a right strawy epistle, in comparison with the writings of John, Paul, and Peter. Nor can it be shewn that he ever retracted or modified this view, as has been erroneously asserted. Althammer, Flacius, and the Magdeburg centuriators, doubted in like manner its apostolic composition. The cause of this scepticism was *doctrinal*, not *critical*. Because they thought the doctrine of James contradicted that of Paul, they scrupled about receiving the epistle. Cardinal Cajetan, and Cyril Lucaris, patriarch of Constantinople, also doubted, to whom may be added Grotius and Wetstein. Recently, Schleiermacher, De Wette, Schott, Reuss, and others, are inclined to maintain its post-apostolic origin; while Baur, Schwegler, and their associates, bring down the composition to the second century.

The internal objections advanced against the epistle's authenticity are these:—

1. No adequate reason can be given for James's writing to all

the Jewish christians in the world. An occasion prompting him to do so cannot be discovered.

This objection appears to us exceedingly weak. That the acknowledged head of the mother-church in Jerusalem should undertake to address the Jewish brethren in other countries than Palestine, was a duty befitting his position and wisdom. Those whom he addressed in the first instance were not scattered over the world. They were as yet limited to a comparatively small territory. It is quite unnecessary to suppose that he needed some impulse from without, or that he must have had some external connexion or communication with all the parties included in the general title. The president of the centre church, in their native land, could not have been unknown to them; and it was most appropriate for him to counsel them in religious duties. He could speak to them with authority, and with a reasonable hope of being listened to.

2. Every thing personal and individual is absent from the epistle. It deals with generals.

This is just what we might have expected, both from the character of James, and the fact of his writing to parties scattered at a distance. Self disappears, because James was eminently modest; and little is said about the external relations of the readers, because the writer was probably unacquainted with many of the circumstances affecting them. He knew their condition in a general way. He and they had not come into contact, as Paul and most of the churches he addresses; and therefore there is an absence of what is personal or individual.

3. The acquaintance shewn in the epistle with the Pauline writings, indicates a post-apostolic period.

This has been already noticed. That James had read the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, has been asserted by many; and some phenomena seem to favour the sentiment: but the evidence is insufficient to justify the conclusion. It can never be proved satisfactorily. Even if those epistles had been consulted by the author, the fact would not shew a post-apostolic origin for our epistle. It may still have been written about, or soon after, A. D. 60.

4. The essential doctrines of christianity, such as atonement by

the death of Jesus, the influence of the Holy Spirit, the resurrection, etc., do not appear any more than they do in the Clementines.

The chief parallels between these homilies and our epistle are given by Kern.[o] The apocryphal work in question, written towards the end of the second century, proceeds on the assumption that pure christianity must have been preserved among the Jewish christians, as the descendants of those who constituted the oldest church. It presents the Ebionite tendency in a certain shape of its own. The aim of the unknown writer was apologetic and conciliatory. He wanted to reconcile Judaism and christianity, by endeavouring to shew that the latter contains nothing new, being no more than a restoration of the pure religion of Moses. The doctrine of Moses is the same as the doctrine of Christ. Agreeably to this one-sided Judaism, Christ is presented simply as a teacher and lawgiver, corresponding to Moses. Such being the origin and spirit of the Clementines, we might have expected they should bear some resemblance to the epistle before us. But the latter is never quoted. The origin and object of the apocryphal production, compared with those of the epistle, *necessarily lead to* points of resemblance, though the difference between them is unmistakeably great notwithstanding.

Were the similarity even greater than it is, it would not logically lead to the post-apostolic origin of the letter. We should first inquire whether the circumstances connected with the writing of the letter, and the time of its composition, as well as the mental idiosyncrasy of the professed author, do not explain its peculiar character. The tone of the epistle appears to us altogether suited to the parties addressed, the early period of christian development at which we suppose James to have written, and his mental constitution. It should never be forgotten that the likeness between our epistle and the Clementines is not very striking. They differ widely in design and character.

5. The author exhibits an acquaintance with the apocryphal writings of the Old Testament, particularly the book of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, which does not appear in christian writings till after the apostolic fathers. Wetstein long ago thought James

[o] Der Brief Jakobi untersucht und erklärt, u. s. w., p. 56, et seqq.

borrowed from the Wisdom of Solomon, and pointed out parallel passages. Since his time, the question has been minutely examined by Theile, who arrives at the same result. But the evidence is hardly sufficient to justify the conclusion. There are passages bearing some resemblance to passages in Sirach and Wisdom; but to affirm that those apocryphal works were definitely before the writer's eyes, and that he derived ideas and expressions from them, is more than can be made good. The Jewish origin and ethical character of the works compared will serve in a good degree to explain the likeness. Both Schneckenburger and Theile have failed to prove their position, though the latter has laboured to do it.

6. The writer was acquainted with the post-apostolic *gospel according to the Hebrews*, as well as the epistle to the Hebrews. Hence Schwegler leaps to the conclusion, that the letter was written in the second century.

We have already alluded to the uncertainty attaching to the assumption, that in one passage the author borrowed from the epistle to the Hebrews. To say the least, the fact is exceedingly questionable. And as to the gospel of the Hebrews, the most that can be said is, that v. 12 agrees with the text of that document—a document lying at the basis of the Clementines. The source of James v. 12 is evidently Matth. v. 37; but the Clementine writer probably brought it through *the gospel according to the Hebrews*. The passage is quoted in a similar form by Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria.

7. The style of writing is too good for James. It is pure, elevated, poetical even, betraying the influence of Grecian culture.

In reply to this we observe, that the Greek language was certainly known in Jerusalem at the time when the epistle was written. It was also diffused throughout all the large cities of the East subject to the Roman sway. We learn too from a fragment of Hegesippus, preserved by Eusebius, that James was not unacquainted with Greek; for the unbelieving Jews wished him to speak to the people assembled at the passover: *διὰ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα συνεληλύθασι πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν.* This is sufficient to shew that James knew the Greek language. As to his being well or ill acquainted with it, his ability to write good

or indifferent Greek, his education and training, it is preposterous to pronounce positively where there are no sufficient data. The language is remarkable for its liveliness, its felicitous selection of terms, its oratorical character; but we know too little of the characteristics of the writer to refuse the capacity of employing such language to the alleged author of the epistle. We are certain that he could think and speak in the language of the Hellenistic Jews; and it is impossible to shew that he was unable to employ Greek so good as that which appears in the document.

We might assume, with some, that he was familiar with the apocryphal writings, which are written in Greek; that the country where he always resided was influenced by the religious philosophy of the Jews at Alexandria, as represented in the works of Philo, which could not have been unknown in Palestine at that time; and that James even exhibits acquaintance with that Alexandrian religious philosophy. But the evidences of this are precarious. Yet, though he constantly resided in Jerusalem, he must have met with many Hellenistic Jews, by converse with whom his knowledge of Greek was enlarged. He has also quoted the Old Testament according to the Septuagint rather than the Hebrew; from which it may be inferred, with probability, that he read the Greek Bible. Nor should it be forgotten, that with all the copiousness and beauty of his language, he occasionally shews signs of the Greek not being his vernacular tongue. His style wants the easy flow of John's. With all its elegance, there is some artificiality about it. It betrays at times a degree of embarrassment, as has been already noticed.

8. The opposition presented to Paul's doctrine of justification by faith is unworthy of James.

We do not admit the truth of this statement. There is no opposition between the doctrines of Paul and James. In regard to justification, they do not contradict one another. Their views are reconcilable and harmonious, as has been already shewn.

It is a very strong argument against the supposition that a *post-apostolic writer* composed the epistle in James's name, that the doctrine of faith and works is propounded as it is. Surely *he* would have avoided *the appearance* of contradicting Paul's doc-

trine—an appearance so striking, that many even now think it indicative of *reality*. One who wished to procure reception for his work after the death of the apostles, would not have stated broadly and unequivocally the doctrine of justification by works, selecting the very same examples too, as Paul had adduced for a different and even contrary purpose. No forger would have fallen into this blunder. Hence the very contrariety of Paul and James is a strong proof that the latter himself wrote the epistle, and not another in his name. Honest and unsuspecting, he seems not to have thought about the erroneous view that might be taken of his statements; but gives them simply and without limitation, in opposition to Jewish error.

Baur and Schwegler take a peculiar view of the epistle's origin. They think that it proceeded from a modified Ebionitism in the second century; and that it belongs to the circle of the Clementine homilies. According to the latter critic, the doctrinal tendency of the epistle is *polemic*, and the practical is *irenical*. At the time when the epistle appeared, the Jewish element in Ebionitism had lost a great deal of its original roughness, though the practical tone lying at the basis of it and by which it was distinguished from the Pauline theology still remained. The Pauline spirit, however, had exerted an influence on the system so strongly opposed to it at first. The writer was a moderate Ebionite, who appeared at the time when we can perceive the refining nature of the energy which that intellectual tendency had received from the Pauline.[p]

It is sufficient merely to *mention* this extreme view of the epistle's origin. It sets out from a principle radically wrong. It represents Paul and James as opposite and contradictory in their views; whereas they must have drawn from the one great source of inspiration. Different in many respects as were their mental characteristics, and the measure of their christian development, there was an unity of spirit between them, an unity coexistent with *degrees* of knowledge and varying forms of its manifestation. They had one Lord, one faith, one baptism. If therefore a writer of the second century palmed it on the christians of that day, under the name of James, he must have taken an erroneous view of James's cha-

[p] Das Nachapostolische Zeitalter, vol. i. pp. 413-448.

racter. But indeed the later form of Ebionitism, which it is said to exhibit, is a mere fiction.[q] Everything in the epistle repudiates such an origin. Had it appeared during the second century, it would have exhibited some trace of the time, as well as the nature of all post-apostolic writings. Compare it with the Clementines, and observe the marked difference between them. In it the antipauline element is very gentle, such as could not have been expected from a polemic work of the second century. There are no allusions to the relations of that time. How manifold they were need not be told. The doctrinal tendencies of the period were diverse and contradictory. Questions were agitated among Jewish and Gentile christians. The Pauline and antipauline tendencies were strongly marked. They had been prominently brought forth by controversy and discussion. When James wrote, the hope of the coming of Christ was still fresh, as in the time of the apostles. Compare, for example, v. 8 with the epistles to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. v. 1; 2 Thess. ii. 1). De Wette himself admits that it presents a favourable contrast to the compositions of the post-apostolic time, and should not therefore be brought down too late. What convinces us that it was not supposititious is the impossibility of accounting for its appearance at any time between A.D. 100 and 150. Irenaeus appears to have known it; Clement of Rome to have read it. If so, it is fairly brought up to the apostolic period, with which it internally agrees. It corresponds to all the descriptions of James which we possess. The early christians were by no means asleep. They rejected not a few supposititious writings. Many of them were slow in receiving this because of their perplexity about the two Jameses, who were often confounded. It was not surprising that they should scruple about its canonical authority when it was attributed by the majority not to the apostle James, but to James the Just, our Lord's brother; and when it *appeared* to give a view of justification strikingly different from that of Paul.

VII. *Language.*

That the present Greek epistle was translated from the Aramaean original of James, is one of the numerous hypotheses

[q] See Neander's Pflanzung und Leitung, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 572, et seqq.

which deserve little more than the bare mention, though such writers as Schmidt, Bolten, Bertholdt, and Schott, favour it. The diction evinces a good acquaintance with the Greek language. Though the writer was a Palestinian by birth and resided in his native land during life, the terms he employs are generally select, pure, appropriate. Few Hebraisms occur. It has been said even,[r] that there are no more than two; but this is quite incorrect. For this Grecian purity in an author so circumstanced it would be difficult to account, were it not that unusual words sometimes occur, which a good Greek writer would not have employed in the places they now stand in; and that the style has occasionally an air of the artificial about it. Here and there there is not that easy flow which bespeaks the perfect master of the language. Examples appear in the terms *πορείαι* (i. 11), and *βουληθείς* (i. 18), as also in *ὅταν πειρασμοῖς περιπέσητε ποικίλοις* (i. 2), *τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα* (i. 17), and *ἀπεκύησεν* (i. 18). These and other peculiarities shew, that the author was not accustomed to write Greek.[s] The most striking feature of his style is its *liveliness*. It presents a pleasing and graphic character, by which the reader is able at once to see the very idea which is meant to be conveyed. The *oratorical* manner of the writer is exemplified in the number of comparisons and metaphors employed, in the accumulation of predicates and verbs, and in the interrogative method. There are even genuine *poetical* expressions, as in i. 14, etc.; iii. 5, etc.; v. 1, etc.; and the imagery is certainly luxuriant, like poetry. The composition may be characterised *as a whole* by its sententiousness and conciseness; the diction by its elegance and fitness. As to the hexameter line in i. 17, it has nothing to do with James's reading of Greek verses, or his citation of christian hymns in the Greek language; it flowed from him unconsciously, as sometimes happens to good prose writers.[t] Bishop Jebb adduces many examples of poetical parallelism from the epistle, by which means its likeness to Hebrew poetry is exhibited. In doing so he traces with much ingenuity the writer's train of thought,

[r] Wilke, Die Neutestamentliche Rhetorik, p. 485, b.

[s] See Michaelis's Introduction by Marsh, vol. iv. pp. 300, 301; and Schleiermacher's Einleitung ins Neue Testament, pp. 426, 427.

[t] See Winer's Grammatik des Neutestam. Sprachidioms, p. 504, 4th ed.

representing James not only as a poet but a logician.[v] In these refined speculations on the letter before us, the learned prelate is not successful. He has put into it and into the writer's mind things alien to both. There is little doubt of its being a most persuasive piece of ethical writing, in a style often poetical. But that it is pervaded by the parallelisms and logical connexion pointed out by Jebb, cannot be maintained. Poetical similitudes are impregnated with strong practical sense, and beautiful images are used, the words themselves being usually chaste; but the prevailing characteristic is not the poetical, and the logician does not appear. The writer was familiar with the Hebrew prophets, and therefore his manner resembles theirs. It is bold, unsparing, vigorous. His denunciations are powerful; his strokes nervous and weighty; whence the style is occasionally sublime, like that of his prototypes, the old bards of heaven.[w]

VIII. *Contents.*

The epistle does not admit of formal division. It is without plan. Systematic regularity or order does not appear in it. Hence we find so many repetitions of the same idea or position. The writer passes rapidly from one topic to another, returning to his main purpose at intervals. It is idle therefore, with Rauch,[x] to look for a proper sequence in the contents; and to reject as an interpolation ch. v. 12-20; since these verses possess equal claim to authenticity with any in the epistle, as Hagenbach, Schott, and Schneckenburger, prove against him. There is no logical connexion; no general plan. This agrees with all that we know of James, who was not, like Paul, a man of learning, and did not follow artificial rules devised by the intellect, but obeyed the impulses of the heart. It may be best divided into a succession of paragraphs in the following manner:—

1. The inscription and salutation (ver. 1).

2. An exhortation to the persons addressed to take joyfully the privations, sufferings, and poverty, they were called upon to

[v] Sacred Literature, etc., sect. xiv. p. 273, et seqq.

[w] See Monod, Introduction, etc., p. 44, et seqq.

[x] In Winer's and Engelhardt's, neues Kritisches Journal, vi. 211, et seqq.

endure; to be steadfast under them; and to aim at christian perfection even through such discipline (i. 2-4).

3. Placed as they were in such trying circumstances, they are admonished to ask wisdom of God, without doubting, firmly relying on the mercy of God (i. 5-8).

4. The joy already referred to, in the midst of their trials, would be experienced in the state of their own minds, in their inward consciousness; and they should receive the reward of steadfastness after the trials were over, in a crown of life (i. 9-12).

5. But should the privations and sufferings tempt to evil, the fault must not be imputed to God, the Father of lights, the giver of all good gifts; but to themselves and their own sinful lusts (i. 13-18).

6. He exhorts his readers to appropriate the word of God more and more; and not only to hear but to practise it (i. 19-27).

7. He now censures them because of their partiality towards the rich in their assemblies for public worship, and contempt for the poor, which is a violation of the great law of love; exhorting them to observe that law (ii. 1-13).

8. He shews that as faith should not be without love, so it should not be without works, refuting such persons as alleged they had faith while at the same time they exhibited no evidence of it in the life, and supposed they were justified by what they called faith alone (ii. 14-26).

9. A warning is introduced not to be too forward in assuming the office of religious teachers, for a great responsibility is incurred by every one who attempts to guide and instruct others. This leads the writer to speak of the frequent abuse of the tongue. One should shew his wisdom by meekness and humility, not by litigiousness. There is an earthly and a heavenly wisdom; the former alone appearing where there is strife and envying; the latter attended by purity and peace (chap. iii.).

10. Evil passions are condemned as the source of other kinds of contention and violence (iv. 1-3).

11. Contains a solemn warning and exhortation to repentance, addressed to the worldly minded and to sinners (iv. 4-10).

12. The writer condemns detraction and censoriousness (iv. 11, 12).

13. He censures forgetfulness of dependence on God, by shewing the irreligious confidence in worldly undertakings displayed by many (iv. 13-17).

14. Here is a threatening directed against the rich, who, abandoning themselves to every gratification, had deprived the innocent of the means of subsistence (v. 1-6).

15. The christians suffering from the oppression of the rich are exhorted to patience; and comforted with the idea of the Lord's near approach (v. 7-11).

16. We have now a dissuasive against swearing in conversation (v. 12).

17. Prayer is recommended in a variety of situations (v. 13-18).

18. The epistle concludes with shewing the importance and blessedness of endeavouring to reclaim an erring brother from the evil of his ways (v. 19, 20).

There is no *proper* termination. The letter ends abruptly and unusually, as is evident from comparing it with Paul's. It has no apostolical benediction. But though it concludes in this peculiar way, it need not be thought that it was posthumous, left unfinished by the writer's premature and violent death. Such a conjecture is gratuitous and improbable.

The epistle which we have considered forms an important contribution to our knowledge of the christian religion. It shews how christianity is related to the preparatory system of Judaism, of which it may be looked upon as the spiritual consummation. Though occupying a subordinate place in the canon beside the Pauline epistles, in relation to the development of christian truth, it is full of valuable, practical lessons. In this respect it is a preservation against the Pauline element in excess, or that one-sided antinomianism which bases itself exclusively on the epistles of Paul. As an *ethical* production it ranks high in the estimation of all judges, the precepts of it breathing the strictest and purest morality.

FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER.

In considering the First Epistle of Peter, we shall attend to the following topics:—

I. The Author.
II. The Place and Time of writing.
III. The Persons addressed.
IV. Object for which the Epistle was composed.
V. Its Spirit and Character.
VI. Authenticity.
VII. Contents.

I. *The author.*

On the western shore of the sea of Galilee, at Capernaum, lived two fishermen, the sons of one Jonas, Simon and Andrew. Their native town was Bethsaida (John i. 44); but their father was probably dead when Jesus first met with them,[y] and they had removed to Capernaum. Andrew was attracted by the preaching of John the Baptist, whose disciple he became, but there is no evidence that Peter also was his disciple. When directed by the Baptist to Jesus as the Messiah, Andrew informed his brother of the Messiah who had appeared, and brought him to Jesus. The Saviour perceiving Simon's disposition gave him the name *Cephas* or *Peter* (Aram. *Κηφᾶς*, כֵּיפָא Gr. *Πέτρος*) *i. e.* a rock, indicative of his fortitude and firmness. But he continued to be called Simon, both by Jesus himself and the other apostles. It was not till after the ascension, that he was characterised by the name *Peter*, or *Simon Peter*.

After this interview, Peter and his brother continued to follow their occupation of fishing on the lake till they were called by Jesus to be his apostles (Luke v. 1-11; Matth. iv. 18-22; Mark i. 16-20).

[y] See the Clementine Homilies, xii. 6; and Recognitions, vii. 6.

During the life and ministry of their Master, Peter occupied the most prominent position among the apostles, being foremost in counsel and action. He was indeed honoured with many marks of his Master's confidence. He was one of those whom Jesus admitted to the greatest intimacy with himself, as is shewn by the fact of his being allowed to see the raising of Jairus's daughter, and the transfiguration. He was also one of the apostles with whom he retired to pray in the garden, before he was apprehended. It is true that Peter was betrayed into a denial of his Lord by very peculiar circumstances, and in so far ill requited the confidence reposed in him; but bitter repentance followed.

After the ascension, Peter appears again as the most conspicuous of the apostles, to whom, and the assembled brethren at Jerusalem, he recommends the election of an apostle in room of Judas. On the day of Pentecost, he spoke in the name of his brethren, giving an account of the miracle, and addressing the multitude with great effect (Acts ii. 14-40). After healing the lame man who sat at the door of the temple, he accosted the multitude who congregated in Solomon's porch (Acts iii). When he and John were brought before the council, he addressed the rulers and elders of Israel in bold and animated language, preaching salvation through Jesus Christ and him only (Acts iv. 1-23). He interrogated Ananias and Sapphira, miraculously punishing them with instantaneous death (Acts v. 1-10). At this time many miracles were wrought by him, so that the shadow of him passing by was supposed to heal the sick in the streets (Acts v. 12-16).

After Stephen's martyrdom, when the church at Jerusalem was scattered by persecution through Judea and Samaria, Peter was sent with John, by the other apostles, to Samaria, where he communicated the Holy Spirit to the Samaritan converts, by the laying on of his hands. This mission unexpectedly enlarged his vision in relation to the extent of Messiah's kingdom; for he now witnessed the spread of the truth among a people, who, though half Jewish, were exceedingly disliked by the Jews. The next account which we have of him is, that he left Jerusalem and travelled through Judea. When at Lydda, he wrought a miraculous cure on Eneas, on which account the disciples at Joppa sent for him to come and restore to life a female disciple Tabitha, which he did.

While he stayed in Joppa, Cornelius, a Roman centurion at Caesarea, was divinely directed to send for him, that he might hear from his lips the words of salvation. On that occasion, as he was speaking, the Holy Ghost fell on Cornelius and his company (Acts ix. 32-x. 48). Thus he was honoured of God in being the first who admitted Gentiles into the christian church, agreeably to the Saviour's promise, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Returning to Jerusalem where the apostles and brethren had heard of the gospel's reception by the Gentiles, those who were Jews contended with and blamed him, because he had associated with the uncircumcised. For their satisfaction he related all the circumstances connected with the reception of Cornelius into the christian church, and fully justified his conduct. After the death of James the Elder, he was imprisoned by Herod Agrippa, but was miraculously delivered from the death prepared for him. Deeming it unsafe to remain longer in Jerusalem, he probably left the city (Acts xi. 1-18; xii. 1-17). It is not known whither he went. Some suppose he went to Caesarea, others to Antioch, others into Arabia, and others that he remained concealed in or about the city.[z] Wherever he went, there is little doubt of his preaching mainly to the Jews, in the parts he visited (Gal. ii. 8). At a subsequent period we find him again in Jerusalem, in the so-called council, where his sentiments respecting the conversion of the Gentiles coincide with those of the apostle Paul. After the meeting, he went to Antioch; but gave offence by refusing to eat with the converted Gentiles. Here he practised *dissimulation*, for he knew better. He acted contrary to his own convictions. But Paul openly rebuked him for his hypocrisy. This is the last time he is mentioned in the sacred history. He disappears before the apostle of the Gentiles. At the time he wrote the first epistle, he was in the Parthian empire, at Babylon. It is addressed "to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia;" but we cannot thence infer, that Peter had preached in these countries. Probably he had not, at least before he wrote. Near the close of his life, ancient writers say, that he came to Rome, where he met with Paul; and that both suffered martyrdom under Nero. The latter was beheaded; the former

[z] See Bacon's lives of the apostles, p. 228.

was crucified with his head downward, at his own request, A. D. 64.

It is scarcely possible to form a *complete* delineation of Peter's mental and moral characteristics from the sacred history. He excelled all the apostles in the boldness and energy of his personal character. He was warm, impetuous, forward. He acted with promptness and decision. But he was deficient in calmness and steadiness. In this respect, he was inferior to John; and still more so to Paul, who united the boldness and energy of Peter, with the reflective calmness and patience of John. Hence Peter often placed himself in false positions; he was rash and unreflecting, though energetic. Admirably adapted as he was for action, he was not so well fitted for the post of leadership. He was scarcely patient or trustworthy enough for command.

There is no doubt that he enjoyed a kind of pre-eminence among the apostles, both during the Saviour's ministry on earth, and after His ascension, during the early efforts which were made for the diffusion of the gospel. But when Paul entered the field, he disappears. He was one of the first, if not the first, called to be an apostle. His pre-eminence however was not *official*, as the Romish church asserts. The passage in Matthew's gospel (xvi. 18, 19) on which Romanists mainly rest, does not support the argument built on it. It is miserable logic to infer from it, that Peter was *president* of the apostles, *official head* of the universal church. The notion of official supremacy with which Christ is supposed to have then invested him, is disproved by the conversation which soon after arose among the apostles in respect to precedence; and by Salome's request (Mark ix. 33, 34; and Matth. xx. 20, 21). There are no traces of his official authority over his companions. Whatever pre-eminence he had, was due to his personal qualities—his energy, boldness, forwardness. He had the characteristics which made him at once take the lead in speech and in action. Hence he speaks sometimes in the name of and for the rest (Matth. xix. 27; Luke xii. 41), answers when they are asked (Matth. xvi. 16; Mark viii. 29); and sometimes Jesus addresses him for all (Matth. xxvi. 40). It was owing both to his being first called, and to the personal qualities which made him so conspicuous, that he always stands first on the cata-

logue of apostles. Whether age had anything to do with his prominence, it is impossible to tell, because early christian writers are not agreed: some, as Epiphanius, supposing Andrew to have been older than his brother; others, as Chrysostom, asserting that Peter was older.[a]

It is clear that the apostle was married (Luke iv. 38; Matth. viii. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 5). He had been so, probably, before he was called to the apostleship. *Peter's house* is mentioned in Matthew's gospel (viii. 14); in the parallel passage in Mark, it is called *the house of Simon and Andrew* (i. 29). His wife's name is sometimes given *Concordia*, sometimes *Perpetua*. Perhaps she accompanied him in his evangelical travels after our Lord's ascension; as is intimated by Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. ix. 5). According to Clement of Alexandria, she died as a martyr before her husband. He is also said to have had children; and the name of a daughter is given. It is quite improbable that *Marcus* mentioned in the first epistle (v. 13) was literally Peter's son, as Rauch, Bengel, Hottinger, Jachmann, Neander, Mayerhoff, and others have imagined. He was his *spiritual* son; and is identical with Mark the evangelist.

That Peter visited Rome and suffered martyrdom there, is attested by the following evidence:

Clement of Rome in his epistle to the Corinthians writes: *Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ φθόνον [οἱ μέγι]στοι καὶ δικαιότατοι στύλ[οι ἐδιώ]χθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτο[υ ἦλθον]. Λάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν [ἡμῶν] τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς Ἀποστόλου[ς. Ὁ Πέτρ]ος διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον οὐχ [ἕνα ο]ὐδὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπήνεγκεν] πόνους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρ[ήσας] ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλ[όμενον] τόπον τῆς δόξης:*[b]

"Through zeal and envy, they who were the greatest and most righteous pillars of the church were persecuted and brought unto death. Let us set before our eyes the excellent apostles. Peter through unrighteous zeal underwent not one or two, but many labours; till at last being martyred he went to the place of glory due to him."

In this passage and its context, which should be taken along with it, it will be observed, that Clement does not mention *the place* of Peter's martyrdom. He speaks of Paul's martyrdom as

[a] See Bacon's lives of the apostles, p. 44.

[b] Cap. v. ed. Hefele, 2.

being at Rome, and Peter's is associated with it. Without doubt, the place was well known; and therefore he omits it, his main object being to speak of Paul particularly. But the manner in which both apostles are spoken of together leads to the conclusion that they died at the same place the death of martyrs. The inference is a *probable* one, but it cannot be called certain; nor do we think Lardner's answer to Benson's argument conclusive.[c]

A more direct and unexceptionable testimony is given in the document entitled *κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, which belongs to the beginning of the second century, and is quoted as of high authority by Heracleon and Clement of Alexandria.[d] Of the *Praedicatio Pauli*, which was the last part of this document, Ursinus, an African monk, in a treatise *De non iterando baptismo*, printed with Cyprian's works, writes: "In quo libro . . . . . invenies . . . . . post tanta tempora Petrum et Paulum, post conlationem evangelii in Hierusalem et mutuam altercationem et rerum agendarum dispositionem, postremo in urbe, quasi tunc primum, invicem sibi esse cognitos."

Lactantius quotes the same work, and represents it as having among other things the following: . . "futura (Christus) aperuit illis (discipulis) omnia, quae Petrus et Paulus Romae praedicaverunt, et ea praedicatio in memoriam scripta permansit,"[e] etc.

Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, writes: Ἄμφω (Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος) καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες, ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν:[f]

"Both having planted us at Corinth, likewise instructed our church at Corinth; and having in like manner taught in Italy, at the same place they suffered martyrdom about the same time."[g]

Irenaeus says, that Matthew wrote his gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and founding the church in that city.[h]

Tertullian says: "Felix ecclesia (Romana) cui totam doctrinam

[c] See Works, 4to. ed. vol. iii. p. 411. [d] See Credner's Beiträge, p. 350.
[e] Instit. divin. iv. 21. [f] Ap. Euseb. ii. 25.
[g] See Olshausen, Studien und Kritiken for 1838, H. 4, p. 948.
[h] See my Introduction, vol. i. p. 128, and Irenaeus adv. Haeres. iii. 1.

Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt; ubi Petrus passioni dominicae adaequatur, ubi Paulus Johannis (Baptistae) exitu coronatur!"[i]

"Happy church whose entire doctrine the apostles promulgated at the expense of their lives; where Peter's sufferings resembled those of our Lord; where Paul is crowned with the death of John!"

In like manner Caius, presbyter of Rome, writes: *Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι· ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὠστίαν, εὑρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*:[k]

"But I can shew the trophies of the apostles; for if you will go to the Vatican, or the Ostian Road, you will find the monuments of those who established this church," etc.

Perhaps *τρόπαια* means nothing more than an evidence or proof that the apostles suffered in those places, though it was afterwards interpreted to mean *burying-places*.[l] Eusebius speaks of *κοιμητήρια* being there in his time, as if the dead bodies of the apostles had been buried in the places where they were executed. But it is wholly improbable that anything was known respecting their bones, or that their bodies should have been sought for at such a period. It is singular that Olshausen seems never to have thought of the possibility of the word meaning anything else than *graves*. But in whatever way *τρόπαια* be interpreted, the testimony of Caius is direct and strong in favour of Peter's martyrdom at Rome. All the ingenuity of Baur has failed to weaken it. It cannot be easily overthrown, as Olshausen has shewn in his reply to Baur's animadversions.[m]

The Clementine homilies imply that Peter died at Rome.[n]

Origen relates: *Πέτρος δὲ ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ Καππαδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Ἀσίᾳ, κεκηρυχέναι τοῖς ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαίοις ἔοικεν· ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος, ἀνεσκολοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, οὕτως αὐτὸς ἀξιώσας παθεῖν*:[o]

"Peter appears to have preached through Pontus, Galatia,

[i] De Praescript. Haereticorum, cap. 36.
[k] Ap. Euseb. ii. 25.
[l] See Bunsen's Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, u. s. w., ii. 1, p. 52.
[m] In the Studien und Kritiken for 1838, H. 4, p. 940, et seqq.
[n] See *Die Clementinen* by Schliemann, p. 115.
[o] Ap. Euseb. iii. 1.

Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, to the Jews of the dispersion; who also finally coming to Rome was crucified with his head downward, having requested of himself to suffer in this way."

The translation of *κατὰ κεφαλῆς*, *with his head downward*, is that which was given by Rufinus in Latin, but it probably means nothing more than *capital* punishment, like the Latin *capitis condemnare*.

Lactantius's testimony is to the same effect: "Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit, et editis quibusdam miraculis, quae virtute ipsius Dei data sibi ab eo potestate, faciebat, convertit multos ad justitiam, Deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Qua re ad Neronem delata, quum animadverteret non modo Romae, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum, et ad religionem novam damnata vetustate transire, ut erat exsecrabilis ac nocens tyrannus, prosiluit ad excidendum caeleste templum, delendamque justitiam; et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit."[p]

"When Nero was emperor, Peter came to Rome, and after some miracles, which he wrought by the power of God communicated to him, had been noised abroad, he turned many to righteousness, and established a faithful and firm temple to God. The matter was told to Nero, who perceiving that great numbers apostatised from the worship of idols, not only at Rome but in every place, daily, and passed over to the new religion, thereby condemning antiquity, hasted to destroy the heavenly temple and abolish righteousness, inasmuch as he was an execrable and guilty tyrant; and first of all having persecuted the servants of God, crucified Peter, and slew Paul."

Eusebius accords with the same account, writing in his Ecclesiastical History: *Ταύτῃ γοῦν οὗτος θεομάχος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρῶτος ἀνακηρυχθεὶς, ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήρθη σφαγάς. Παῦλος δὴ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι, καὶ Πέτρος ὡσαύτως ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦνται*:[q]

"Thus Nero, publicly proclaimed as the chief enemy of God, was led on in his fury to slaughter the apostles. Paul is therefore

[p] De morte persecut. cap. 2.

[q] H. E. ii. 25.

said to have been beheaded at Rome, and Peter in like manner to have been crucified."

In his Demonstration he writes to the same effect: *Καὶ Πέτρος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυροῦται, Παῦλος δὲ ἀποτεμνεται:*[r]

"Peter was crucified at Rome with his head downward; and Paul beheaded."

The witnesses need not be followed farther. Jerome, Sulpicius Severus, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and others, attest the same thing.

It will be observed, that all ancient writers speak of the fact of Peter's martyrdom. And if he died that death, it must have been at Rome. No other place is ever hinted at, though churches were most eager to claim for themselves illustrious martyrs. The accounts too in favour of Rome reach up to an early date. They belong to the second century. Omitting those of Clement and Ignatius as uncertain, we have the *Praedicatio Petri vel Pauli*, Dionysius of Corinth, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Caius. The last points expressly to the place of Peter's execution, viz. the Vatican mount.[s]

There is a tradition in Justin Martyr respecting Simon Magus, that he came to Rome in the time of Claudius, received divine honours, and had a statue erected to him with a Latin inscription.[t] This account is implicitly adopted by Irenaeus. The author of the Clementine homilies, after them, makes Peter come to Rome at the same time, for the purpose of disputing with and overcoming Simon.[v] The two traditions were afterwards united by Eusebius, who states that Peter was at Rome in the third year of the reign of Claudius, A.D. 43.[x] But the traditions in question are not found in any other writers, and rest on no good foundation. Indeed we know that Justin made a mistake in deciphering the Latin inscription *Simoni Deo sancto*. In the place to which he refers was dug up in 1574, a pillar with the inscription, *Semoni sango Deo Fidio sacrum*. *Semo sancus* or *sangus* was a Sabine

[r] Lib. iii. p. 116, C.

[s] See Gieseler, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, I. i. p. 101, note 5, fourth edition.

[t] Apolog. ii. cap. 26. [v] See the Epitome of the Clementines, cap. 144.

[x] See his Chronicon, and H. E. ii. 17.

deity, and has nothing to do with Simon.[y] The way in which the historian arrived at the year of Claudius shews his arbitrary procedure. Assuming the truth of the saying, that Philo of Alexandria was converted to christianity by Peter at Rome, and knowing that Philo was at Rome in the second year of Claudius, Eusebius got the year 43 as the date of Peter's arrival. Hence Nicephorus departs from Eusebius, and makes Simon Magus and Peter meet at Rome under Nero.[z] Succeeding writers, however, unhesitatingly followed Eusebius in this particular; and as Peter and Paul died the death of martyrs much about the same time under Nero, it was inferred that Peter visited Rome *twice*. It is easy to see how the Roman catholic church might make use of the twofold presence of Peter in the imperial city, for the furtherance of its pretensions. According to it, he founded the christian church there, held the episcopal office for many years, and was afterwards put to death. All this is baseless, even though passages in the fathers support it. If Irenaeus's words mean that Peter *planted* the church at Rome, his testimony is false. Nor can any reliance be placed on another passage in Eusebius's chronicle, because Peter did not *found* the church in Antioch. Jerome, who followed Eusebius, makes Peter occupy the episcopal chair at Rome for twenty-five years, which is nothing more than pure fiction. The first coming of Peter to Rome must be rejected as a groundless tradition. The visit is apocryphal. Paul's epistle to the Romans, and the epistles which he wrote from Rome as a prisoner, shew that no apostle had been there previously.

In rejecting the visit of Peter to Rome in the second year of Claudius, we also reject any other visit during the same reign. Thus Greswell, resting on ancient testimony of a very precarious nature, makes Peter come to Rome for the first time in the fourteenth of Claudius, and depart a year after.[a] The foundation on which this opinion rests is uncertain and untenable. There is no sufficient authority except for the one visit under Nero.

The notion of Peter's arrival at Rome in the time of Claudius, has tended to endanger the truth of the statement that he ever was in that city. But to reject the fact that he went to Rome and

[y] See Bacon's lives of the apostles, p. 232, et seqq. [z] H. E. ii. 34, 35.
[a] Dissertations, etc., vol. i., p. 115.

died there under Nero, on that account, seems to us hypercritical. It is going from the extreme of the fabulous, to that of the sceptical. Doubtless the testimonies need to be sifted, since they have improbable particulars mixed up with them; but they should not on that account be wholly discarded. We know that when they speak of Peter laying the foundation of the Roman church, either by himself, or in connexion with Paul, they must be incorrect. Perhaps, however, Dionysius did not mean to employ the word φυτεύειν in the sense of *laying the first foundation of* the church at Corinth; but simply of *establishing* it. If so, his testimony is not false in part, and merits attention from its antiquity. And if the verb ἱδρύω used by Caius be not understood in the same strictly chronological sense, but in that of *building up*, his testimony will not contain the same error as that attributed to Dionysius's, but will be most important and true.

In looking at the entire collection of evidence, we cannot doubt that Peter went to Rome, worked with Paul, and was put to death under Nero. As he is mentioned in none of Paul's epistles, even the last, he must have arrived in the city A.D. 63. The Neronian persecution which arose out of the burning of Rome began on the 19th July, A.D. 64, after which, probably in that year, Peter was put to death. This was subsequent to the death of Paul. It has been argued by Wieseler,[b] and Greswell,[c] with the appearance of success, that they were not put to death *exactly* at the same time. This follows from the *different places* at which they were executed, the one (Peter) on the Vatican; the other, on the Ostian road. Had they fallen in the one persecution, it is likely that both would have shared the same fate on the Vatican. It follows too from the *different mode of their deaths*. In the case of Paul, there had been something like a trial, and he was beheaded; but Peter was crucified. The earliest writers do not speak definitely respecting the time of their death. They content themselves with the general statement that both suffered under Nero *about the same time*. So Clement, Tertullian, Dionysius, Eusebius, and others. But ecclesiastical feelings led to their being classed together *on the same day*. Accordingly, in

[b] Chronologie des apostolichen Zeitalters, p. 548.

[c] Dissertations, etc., vol. iv. p. 244, et seqq.

an old calendar belonging to the third century, containing the festivals of the martyrs, a festival commemorating their death is of the same day, the twenty-ninth of June. Jerome, too, speaks of them as executed *on the same day*. But Arátor, Cedrenus, and Augustine, while maintaining that they died on the same day of the month, place the interval of a year between them. After Pope Gelasius declared at a synod which he held, that they died together, "non *diverso*, sicut haeretici garriunt, sed *uno tempore uno eodemque die*," it came to be universally held that they suffered on the same day and in the same year. Why Dr. Burton says, that the weight of evidence is certainly in favour of this,[a] we cannot perceive. As far as we can see, there was an interval between the dates of their death. They did not die on the same day, though probably in the same year.

It was never doubted that Peter suffered at Rome till the time of the Waldenses. When the pretensions of the Romish church began to be canvassed, doubts were raised as to the fact whether the apostle ever was in the city. The polemic zeal of the earlier protestants carried them away to an extreme view. This is seen in the case of Spanheim. Later writers proceed on critical grounds. Among those who contend against the tradition as wholly baseless, may be specified, Eichhorn, Baur, Mayerhoff, Ellendorf, Maier, De Wette, Benson. Neander and Winer lean to the same view, but do not express their opinion decidedly. On the other side, we find Mynster, Bleek, Schott, Olshausen, Credner, Neudecker, Gieseler, Von Cölln, Windischmann, Wieseler, Lardner, Burton, Greswell.

The objections to the truth of the tradition are such as these:

1. It arose from a misapprehension, as if Babylon in 1 Peter v. 13, meant Rome. But why should Babylon have been interpreted allegorically of Rome? Does not the very idea, false though it may be, point to an ancient opinion that Peter was in Rome?

2. The witnesses are said to have lived too late to possess much weight. But the most important of them belonged to the second century. Surely that is not late. It is even probable that one of them belonged to the close of the first century; for Clement of Rome, though not naming Rome, certainly favours that place:

[a] Theological works, vol. iv. p. 320.

3. The tradition wants an historical foundation. It arose from the zeal of the Jewish christians to represent Peter as the founder of the important church at Rome. But ancient writers *have* the tradition. We may deny them the character of historians, and safely say that they were not discriminating in separating the fabulous from the true, but that is no good reason for denying that *any* truth lies in their representations. There is danger of going too far on the side of scepticism, and pronouncing all fiction where it is very difficult to separate truth from fable.

II. *Place and time of writing.*

Peter was in or near Babylon when he wrote the epistle, as appears from v. 13. But there are various opinions respecting the city so called.

1. Some understand Babylon in Egypt.

2. Others think Babylon on the Euphrates is meant. So Erasmus, Drusius, Beza, Lightfoot, Basnage, Beausobre, Cave, Wetstein, Benson, Credner, Neudecker, De Wette, Michaelis, Wieseler.

3. Others suppose that Seleucia, a city on the Tigris, not far distant from the ancient Babylon, to which the name *modern* Babylon was given, is the place meant.

4. Others take Babylon mystically to mean Jerusalem. So Capellus, Spanheim, Harduin, and Semler.

5. Finally; many have identified it with Rome. This was a very ancient opinion, being held by Papias of Hierapolis and Clement of Alexandria, as well as by Jerome, and Isidore of Spain. It is also entertained by Grotius, Lardner, Cave, Whitby, Macknight, Hales, Tomline, Cludius, Mynster, Windischmann, and Roman Catholics generally.

6. Some Syrian writers, as Gregory Bar Hebraeus, imagine that the house in Jerusalem in which the apostles were assembled on the day of Pentecost, is meant by Babylon.

A few remarks on each of these views will suffice.

1. The only argument adduced for this is, that Mark here mentioned preached the gospel in Egypt, according to the testimony of ancient tradition. The place, however, was a very insignificant one. We know only from Strabo,[e] that a small Roman

[e] Geograph. xvii. cap. 1.

garrison was quartered there, one of the three that watched over Egypt. Barnes by a strange mistake makes all three to be quartered there. It is not that which would first suggest itself to the reader. And yet Le Clerc, Mill, Pearson, Calovius, Hofmann, Pott, Burton, and Greswell, after the Coptic church, support its claims.

2. This is the natural and obvious view respecting Babylon. The city was well known, and the mention of it would at once suggest its locality on the Euphrates. There were many Jews in it, sufficient in number to draw Peter thither, and to furnish him with a field for evangelical labour. It is true that the city had lost its former greatness. It was *comparatively* deserted. It was not, however, so far sunk or wasted as to be without many inhabitants.[f] We know this from Josephus, the Talmud, and Philo.[g] There was also considerable intercourse between the Palestinian and Babylonian Jews. Peter was principally the apostle of the Jews, and in his travels beyond Palestine it was quite natural for him to repair to Mesopotamia. The order in which the countries are mentioned (1 Peter i. 1) agrees with ancient Babylon, for the writer begins with the nearest, and ends with the territory most remote from himself. This is not so, if he wrote from Egypt or Italy.

Lardner objects,[h] that there is no evidence from antiquity that Peter was in that country; but the *argumentum e silentio* is of no weight. In addition to this he offers an argument which he thinks decisive against Babylon on the Euphrates: "If the Assyrian Babylon was not now subject to the Romans, but to the Parthians, it cannot be the place intended by St. Peter. For the people to whom he writes were subject to the Romans. And at the time of writing this epistle he must have been within the territories of the same empire; 1 ep. ii. 13, 14: 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king,' or rather emperor, 'as supreme; or unto governors sent [from Rome] by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.' Again, ver. 17, 'Honour

[f] See Mayerhoff, Einleitung in die Petrinischen Schriften, p. 129.

[g] Comp. Joseph. Antiqq. xv. 3, 1; xv. 2, 2; xvii. 2; xviii. 9. Philo, De Legatione ad Caium, p. 587.

[h] Works, vol. iii. p. 420.

the king;' or rather the emperor. If St. Peter had not now been within the Roman territories, he would have expressed himself in a different manner, when he enforced obedience to the Roman emperor." All this language is natural enough, even if the writer were in the Parthian empire. Why he should have expressed himself in a different manner, had he not been within the Roman territories, Lardner does not explain. The matter, indeed, is incapable of any satisfactory explanation. "The expression 'the king' in a letter from a person in one country to a person in another country, may according to circumstances denote the king to which the reader is subject, as well as the king to which the writer is subject."[1]

3. We have been unable to find any argument in favour of Seleucia. Michaelis proved that it was called Babylon, but he candidly admits that the authority of the writers he cites does not shew it was styled Babylon *in the first century;* and therefore prefers ancient Babylon on the Euphrates. In the total absence of all evidence to prove that Seleucia on the Tigris was known under the name of Babylon in the apostolic age, it is amusing to perceive a self-complacent author gravely writing, "that Seleucia was the place from which Peter dated his epistle, there is little reason to question!"

4. That Babylon meant Jerusalem is a mere conjecture, without the shadow of probability. It is vain to appeal to the similar use made of the word Babylon by Cyril of Alexandria and Procopius, because the later does not necessarily involve the existence of the earlier application.

5. In favour of its meaning Rome various arguments have been adduced.

(*a*) The general testimony of antiquity. But this must be rejected when it is in itself, and on other grounds, improbable.

(*b*) From the total silence of ecclesiastical history it is not probable that Peter ever visited Babylon in Assyria. But he must have visited *many* places of which there is no mention in ecclesiastical history.

(*c*) "Silvanus, or Silas, the bearer, was the faithful brother or associate of Paul in most of the churches which he had planted;

[1] Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 340.

and though he was not at Rome with the apostle when he wrote his last epistle to Timothy, might naturally have come hither soon after; and have been sent by Paul and Peter jointly, to confirm the churches in Asia Minor, etc., which he had assisted in planting. But Silvanus, Paul, and Peter, had no connexion with Babylon, which lay beyond their district; and, therefore, they were not likely at any time to build upon another's foundation. The gospel was preached in Persia or Parthia, by the apostle Thaddeus, or Jude, according to Cosmas; and Abulfaragi reckons, that the ancient Syriac version of the New Testament was made in his time, and probably by his authority, for the use of the Oriental churches."[k]

Here is a tissue of suppositions. It is quite improbable that Silvanus repaired to Rome soon after Paul wrote his last epistle to Timothy. Equally improbable is it, that Paul and Peter jointly sent him to the churches in Asia Minor. Equally improbable is it that Peter had such ideas of building on another man's foundation as Paul entertained.

(*d*) It is further alleged that the Jews to whom the first epistle was written were fond of mystical appellations; that Edom was a frequent title for their heathen oppressors; and therefore that Rome, which so strongly resembled Babylon in her abominations, idolatries, and persecutions of the saints, might well be called by the same title. In the Apocalypse, the mystical application is commonly admitted; and John may have borrowed it from Peter, or both from the prophecy of Isaiah (xxi. 9).[l]

Though the Jewish prophets may have employed at times mystical appellations, agreeably to the figurative diction they employed, that is no reason why a christian writer should have employed similar phrascology; or why Jewish christians should have been fond of it. The circumstances are so different as to preclude all idea of reasoning by analogy from the one case to the other. We can find no proof of Edom having been a frequent title for their heathen oppressors, as is alleged. *Christian commentators* frequently give Edom that latitude of meaning; but it is by no means certain that the prophets themselves so understood

[k] Hales, Chronology, vol. iii. pp. 449, 450, second edition.
[l] Ibid. p. 450.

it. To argue from the use of the name Babylon in the Apocalypse to its use in our epistle, is to overlook the important difference between a *letter* and a *poem*. The figurative diction of the one is unsuitable to the other. In plain prose, especially in an epistle, allegorical appellations are out of place. In Isaiah xxi. 9, Babylon is meant, and nothing else.[m]

It is useless to waste more time on arguments of this nature, which are utterly baseless. Perspicuity in an epistle rejects the use of mystic appellations.

6. This is an arbitrary assumption.

We adopt Babylon on the Euphrates as in all respects the most probable place whence Peter wrote.[n]

The time when the epistle was written cannot be accurately determined. Silvanus is mentioned as the bearer of it, and it is probable that he is identical with the Silvanus of whom we read in Paul's epistles (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 19), or Silas (Acts xv. 22, etc., etc.). If so, Silvanus left Paul after his second missionary tour. He seems to have separated from the apostle of the Gentiles before the Corinthian epistles were written, since the inscriptions of them make no mention of him. Again, the gospel had been preached in the countries of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, by Paul and his associates. It is probable also, that Paul had left those districts; else Peter would scarcely have written to the churches there, or he would at least have written differently. Numerous societies of christians existed in the places mentioned; and their condition was by no means favourable. They were oppressed and afflicted. These circumstances taken together bring the date of the letter to the year 60 at least, when Nero began to shew his true character. How long after A.D. 60 the letter was penned, can only be conjectured. The apostle Paul was a prisoner: his presence was not felt among the churches of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia. And yet they needed the counsels and encouragements of an apostle, depressed and suffering as they were. Well, therefore, might Peter write to them under such circumstances, to strengthen their faith in the hour of trial.

[m] Comp. Gesenius, Commentar ueber den Jesaia, vol. ii. p. 662.

[n] See Bacon's lives of the apostles, p. 258, et seqq.

Again, Mark, who is spoken of in 1 Peter v. 13, was with Paul at Rome when the Colossian epistle was written, A.D. 62. It is likely that he soon left the apostle (Coloss. iv. 10). When the second epistle to Timothy was written, he had not returned, but Timothy is enjoined to bring him with him (2 Tim. iv. 11). Hence it is conjectured by Wieseler,[o] that the evangelist had gone to Asia after leaving Paul at Rome, and had become acquainted with the churches spoken of in 1 Pet. i. 1, as the salutation in v. 13 implies. Mark had been in those countries before Peter wrote; but it is not likely that he had visited them before the epistle to the Colossians was sent; else the expressions in Coloss. iv. 10 would have been different. We are thus led to the year A.D. 63 as the probable date of the letter, when Paul was prisoner at Rome.

Others gather from the epistle that it was written after the Neronian persecution had begun. Hence they date it not earlier than A.D. 65.[p] We shall consider their arguments hereafter. Koehler's opinion, which supposes that Nero's persecution was past, and dates the epistle in A.D. 69, deserves no attention.

It is very rarely that an early date is assigned to the first epistle of Peter. Yet A.D. 46 has been assigned by Baronius without any sufficient reason: A.D. 48 has also been fixed as the time of writing, contrary to all probabilities and internal circumstances. The date of the apostolic council, and the *subsequent* meeting of Paul and Peter at Antioch, sufficiently refute the conjecture in question, which is but feebly supported by the terms in which Silvanus is mentioned—"a faithful brother, as I suppose." Does this qualified commendation imply that the letter was composed before Silvanus had become Paul's companion and fellow-labourer? Surely not. It merely shews, that Peter was not very well acquainted with him. He had not the same knowledge of his character as Paul. And then the age of the apostle at the time of writing the epistle is no barrier to its later date, even if that age could be ascertained. By a series of *gratuitous assumptions*, it is thought that he must have been more than seventy, if the letter were not written till A.D. 64. And it is argued, that he must have been in the full maturity of his powers when it was written. An old man above seventy could not have penned it. Why not?

[o] Chronologie, u. s. w., p. 566. [p] Mayerhoff, Einleit. p. 134.

Did inspiration leave him with the decline of his physical energies? So it is inferred. This is new doctrine; and it is also *untrue*.

In the preceding remarks it has been assumed, that Silvanus is not a different person from the Silvanus of Paul's epistles and the Acts, as Jachmann believes. It has also been assumed that Marcus (v. 13) is identical with Mark the evangelist; for we cannot suppose that he was *literally* the son of Peter, but his *spiritual* son; the expression ἡ συνεκλεκτή, in the same verse, meaning *the church* elected together, not *Peter's wife*. Besides, the aorist ἔγραψα (v. 12) has been referred by us to the *present*, not to a *former* epistle; and the aorists in i. 12; ii. 25, shew that those who had been engaged in preaching the gospel to them had completed their evangelical labours there, and departed.[q]

III. *The persons to whom Peter wrote the epistle.*

According to the commencement of the letter, it is addressed to "the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," etc., etc. Here the word παρεπιδήμοις is of doubtful meaning. It signifies properly a sojourner, equivalent to πάροικοι in Acts vii. 6. With διασπορᾶς following, it must refer to Jews residing in other countries than their native Palestine—to such as sojourned in the lands mentioned. Thus we are led to the conclusion, that the epistle is directed to the Jewish christians of the five provinces enumerated.

But were there no Gentiles among the persons addressed by the apostle? Were the churches to whom Peter writes composed wholly of Jewish converts? This is the opinion of many; of Eusebius, Athanasius, Didymus, Epiphanius, Jerome, Euthalius, Oecumenius, Theophylact, in ancient times; and of Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Cave, Mill, Salmasius, Capellus, Semler, Braun, Bengel, Schmid, Augusti, Hensler, Schmidt, Hug, Bertholdt, and others, in more modern days. But it has been observed that the epistle presupposes Gentile readers in various parts of it, and such passages as i. 14, 18; ii. 9, 10; iii. 6; iv. 3, have been singled out for this purpose.

i. 14: "As obedient children, not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts in your ignorance." These words do

[q] See Wieseler, p. 555.

not *clearly* favour the idea of their being *Gentile* readers. But if ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ implies a state of ignorance with which *idolatry* was connected, as iv. 3 would seem to indicate, the reference to Gentile christians is probable.

i. 18: "Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers." It is singular that this text should be quoted as an argument in their favour by such as believe that the epistle was written to Hebrew christians, as well as by those of a contrary opinion. The apostle plainly refers, say the former, to the traditions of the Jewish rabbins and elders. And it appears to us, that the language *does* more naturally apply to *Jewish* than to Gentile readers, especially the epithet πατροπαραδότου.

ii. 9, 10: "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. Which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God; which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy." Here again, some commentators affirm that the epithets applied embody praises of the Jewish people (Exod. xix. 6), and are in no respect applicable to the Gentiles. But the language, which is manifestly borrowed from the Old Testament, appears to be applied to the Gentiles. Especially does the last clause of the ninth verse shew this. And though the phrase οἱ ποτὲ οὐ λαὸς, νῦν δὲ λαὸς θεοῦ, taken from Hosea, be applied by the prophet to ancient Israel, yet it is here transferred to such as had been Gentiles, as in Romans ix. 25.

iii. 6: "Even as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord; whose daughters ye are, as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement." Here it is plainly stated, that Gentile women had become by faith the spiritual daughters of Sarah. The verb ἐγενήθητε means to *become*, not to *be*, as some assert; *whose daughters ye have become.*[r]

iv. 3: "For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable

[r] See Mayerhoff, Einleitung in die Petrinischen Schriften, pp. 120, 121.

idolatries." Here it may be observed, that the pronoun *our* has no corresponding term in the original. With Lachmann and Tischendorf, ἡμῖν should be expunged. The verse clearly refers to Gentile readers, and their mode of life previous to their conversion.

But even if the passages now considered were less decisive than they are of the point in question, we know from the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline epistles, that the churches in Asia Minor consisted *mainly* of Gentile converts. It is utterly impossible that they could have been composed of Jewish converts alone. The prevailing element was undoubtedly the Gentile one. Nor is it at all probable, that Peter should have written to *one part* of the christians in the churches. He could not have made a separation of this sort, without its appearing in the epistle; and we may add, without an injurious effect on the unity of the churches themselves. It is true that Peter had by agreement the ministry of the circumcision peculiarly committed to him (Gal. ii. 8). But Paul did not confine his ministry exclusively to the Gentiles, nor Peter exclusively to the Jews. And in the present case, the churches from which Paul and his associates had removed, were in special need of apostolic counsel and superintendence. Hence it was quite consistent with the apostolic spirit that Peter should endeavour to supply the place of him who was now a prisoner at Rome, and knew less of the perilous circumstances of these churches than his fellow-apostle.

But if the communities addressed consisted of Gentile as well as of Jewish christians, how is the term παρεπιδήμοις to be understood? Can it mean none but Jewish christians? So De Wette contends.[8] We think, however, that it may be applied *derivatively* or *metaphorically* to Gentiles as well as Jews. It means *sojourners* or *pilgrims* on the earth—those who are absent from their home, i. e. *heaven*. This idea is one found in the epistle; and therefore we need not be surprised to meet with it in the inscription (comp. i. 4, 5, 7, 8, etc., v. 10; i. 17, ii. 11). In this manner, the one epithet applies to Jew and Gentile; the former being literally a stranger away from his native Palestine; the latter spiritually so, while absent from heaven. Indeed, *both* are spiritually such.

[8] Exeget. Handbuch, iii. 1, p. 4.

They are pilgrims in a strange land. Heaven is the proper and true home of both.

Benson, Michaelis, Credner, and Neudecker think that παρεπιδήμοις is properly applied to proselytes—those of Gentile extraction who had embraced Judaism before turning to christianity. In this manner, the one term includes both Jews and Gentiles by birth. This, however, is improbable; for proselytes were styled προσήλυτοι, φοβούμενοι, σεβόμενοι, εὐλαβεῖς; and if those born Jews were called παρεπιδήμοις, such as became Jews in a way quite different could scarcely come under the same appellation. Hence this interpretation is inadmissible; though Credner endeavours to support it by an array of philological proof, formidable in appearance,[t] but materially weakened by the minute examination to which it has been subjected by Wieseler.[v]

Believing, as we do, that in παρεπιδήμοις the spiritual idea of *pilgrimage* is the prominent one, and that διασπορά, rather than it, points specifically to Jews, there is no cause for resorting to such explanations as are offered by those who advocate the proper literal meaning of παρεπιδήμοις, namely, Jews in a strange land. Jachmann, for example,[w] who maintains that it can only be referred to Jews, thinks that it is employed because the Jewish part of the churches addressed was the principal one. It was numerically greater than the Gentile. This is quite improbable. We must believe that the Gentiles were much more numerous. De Wette, on the other hand, justifies the use of the word in question because the Jews formed the substance—the original element. Perhaps also, the idea of outward adversity and suffering may have contributed to the appellation. In this latter statement, it will be seen how near the critic approaches to the view which we have adopted, but against which he contends, as inadmissible.[x]

The state in which the christian converts were, to whom Peter addresses his instructions, must be gathered from the epistle itself. But there are few data for an accurate determination of it. As the writer makes no allusion to his having been among them, or to his personal acquaintance with them, it can hardly be assumed that he

[t] Einleitung, p. 639. [v] Chronologie, u. s. w., p. 560.

[w] Commentar über die katholischen Briefe, u. s. w., p. 115.

[x] See Steiger's exposition, Introduction, vol. i. sect. 7, English translation.

had preached and laboured in their midst. Origen indeed asserts Peter's presence in those countries, writing, *Πέτρος δὲ ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ, Καππαδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κεκηρυχέναι τοῖς ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαίοις ἔοικεν*:[y] "Peter seems to have preached to the Jews of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia." Here however the verb *ἔοικεν* shews, that he was not certain in his own mind of the fact, but that he put it forth as a conjecture. Eusebius[z] expresses the same sentiment, deriving it expressly from the epistle itself. Jerome[a] follows Eusebius. Epiphanius[b] adds, that Peter *frequently* visited Pontus and Bithynia; a statement apparently without the least authority. These testimonies of the fathers, unsuccessfully defended by Rauch,[c] resolve themselves into the letter itself; so that we must come to its examination for the purpose of discovering the truth. Looking then at the entire epistle, it gives indications of Peter's not having preached in the provinces mentioned. When he *does* speak of those who preached to the converts, he distinguishes himself from them by using the third person. Why should he not have applied the first, had he been one of their ministers? (Comp. i. 12, 25.) Credner[d] appeals to i. 1, 23, 25; ii. 11; v. 1, 12, 13, as proof that the readers had an accurate acquaintance with the writer and his affairs; and that a definite relation existed between them and him, founded on his former presence among them. Neudecker[e] follows him, as he usually does. But we are unable to perceive the legitimateness of the conclusion drawn. The passages in question do not obviously reveal the fact of great intimacy between the writer and readers, based on his having laboured in the gospel for their benefit and in their midst. They shew, that he took a great interest in their welfare; and that he knew generally the condition in which they were, the peculiar circumstances affecting them, and the trials they were exposed to. But all this is compatible with the fact of his not having preached among them before he wrote. The impression left upon the mind, by a diligent perusal of the letter,

[y] Ap. Euseb. iii. 1. [z] H. E. iii. 4.
[a] Catal. script. eccles. s. v. Petrus. [b] Haeres. xxvii. p. 107.
[c] In Winer's and Engelhardt's Kritisch. Journal, viii. 36.
[d] Einleitung, p. 640. [e] Einleit. in das neue Testament, p. 692, note 2.

is that Peter had not been in those parts. There are no traces of his personal work among them; as there would probably have been, had he laboured in their midst.

What then was the state of these converts as far as it can be learnt from the writing itself? They were formed into churches with their proper office-bearers (v. 1). It is manifest also, that they were suffering from persecutions and calumnies, and had to fear most serious and fiery trials. Misfortunes had already fallen upon them; and more grievous ones were apprehended. As to the precise nature of the calamities and calumnies to which they were actually exposed when the epistle was written, it is difficult to determine it, because the passages which touch upon the subject are not definite. Some, as Neander, Mayerhoff, and Greswell, suppose, that the Neronian persecution had already begun, and therefore they do or should date the epistle after the 19th July, A. D. 64. Others suppose, that the persecution in question was only apprehended, and date the epistle earlier. The decision depends on the interpretation put upon i. 6; ii. 12; iii. 13-17; iv. 4, 12-19; v. 6-10; especially on iii. 15, 16; iv. 4, 5, 16, 17, 18, 19; v. 9. The term *ἀπολογία* in iii. 15 does not necessarily lead to the idea of *judicial investigations* by the imperial power. It is true that the hopes of the early christians respecting Christ's kingdom awakened the suspicion of the heathen, as in the case of the emperor Domitian; but the language of the verse is too general to be restricted to formal trials or defences before the emperor at Rome. It is *παντί, to every one*, and not simply to persons in authority. Besides, the exhortation points to *the future* conduct of those addressed, rather than to their being dragged at the present time before the imperial tribunals, or the Roman magistrates in the provinces. From the sixteenth verse, it has been thought that the christians were branded as *κακοποιοί, malefici, evil-doers*, so that the name *χριστιανός* denoted a person deserving of punishment. This did not occur till the tenth consulate of Nero's reign, when the *christiani* were first persecuted as a new, peculiar sect. But it is by no means certain that the epithet *κακοποιοί* should be understood as equivalent to the *malefici* of Tacitus, as though it meant a state-criminal—one guilty of treason against the state. Rather does it signify an evil-doer

generally. They were reproached by the heathen as guilty of improper conduct. Crimes were attributed to them, especially while they partook of the agapae and the Lord's supper. In opposition to such slanderous accusations, they are exhorted to put their accusers to shame by the uniformly blameless course of their christian conduct.

From the words of iv. 4, 5, Mayerhoff[f] and Neander infer[g] that they had rendered themselves obnoxious to the hatred of the heathen populace by withdrawing from the public shows and other licentious amusements. If the allusion be thus specific, it will not necessarily lead to the time of the Neronian persecution.

The remarks already made on iii. 15, 16, will serve to render the true meaning of iv. 14, 15, 16 apparent. To suffer as a christian, *πάσχειν ὡς χριστιανὸς*, signifies nothing more than exposure to reproach or persecution for the religion of Christ. Peter exhorts them to beware of exposing themselves to merited accusation or suffering for evil conduct, but, should it be necessary to suffer for Christ's sake, they ought not to be ashamed.

The sense extracted by Hug[h] from v. 8, 9 is singular. It is intimated, as he thinks, that the sufferings which threatened the readers were to be experienced not within a limited sphere, but among all their brethren in the faith, *ἀδελφότητι*; not in the Roman empire alone, but in the whole world, *ἐν κόσμῳ*, among the *socii* and *foederati*, all who were desirous of being on good terms with the Romans.

The true sense of the verses seems to be this; "whom resist, steadfast in faith; with the persuasion that the same sufferings are accomplished or fulfilled, as God's decree, among your brethren, in the unbelieving, hostile world."[i] Christians everywhere had to contend with such an adversary. Why should they hope to be exempted? Similar trials were the lot of the entire brotherhood.

In carefully considering all the passages, we are unable to find

[f] Einleitung in die Petrinischen Schriften, u. s. w., p. 118.

[g] Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christlichen Kirche, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 594, fourth edition.

[h] Einleitung, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 469, fourth edition.

[i] See De Wette on the verse.

in them such a condition of the churches as was the case after the proper Neronian persecution.[k] The trials to which the christians were exposed seem to have been of the same general kind to which they had been subject from the first. The heathen looked upon them as Jews, and maltreated them in different ways. The Jews shewed their enmity against them. Everywhere they were reproached and maligned. The epistle bears no evidence in itself that bloody persecutions, such as those of Nero after the 19th July, A. D. 64, had begun, whatever indications it may give of their approach.[l] Nor can it be accurately made out, that in the provinces in question the christians were visited with such dire vengeance, as at Rome. A fair interpretation of the whole letter shews, that no systematic or general persecution had yet taken place. It is true that the trials they had to endure came chiefly from heathens, not from Jews (iv. 3, 4); but they were not yet *excessive*. They were alarming in the future. A severe time was *approaching*. A trying season was at hand. Judgment was soon to begin at the house of God. The terrible persecutions and sufferings which the christians were about to endure were impending. Nor can we observe the applicability of the Trajan persecution to the descriptions given in the epistle, as Schwegler attempts to shew.

It will appear from the preceding observations, that there is no proper warrant in the epistle for believing that the Neronian persecution had commenced. The condition in which these christian churches were, was indeed one of outward trial and oppression. Their outward circumstances were gloomy. They were reproached, calumniated, ill treated in a variety of ways by the heathen around. Manifold were their temptations. All this agrees with the period of Nero's reign immediately preceding his terrible persecution of the christians, when he began to shew his true temper, concealed as it had been for the first five years of his reign. That the writer foresaw the coming storm is probable; for the language he employs respecting the future is emphatic and striking. Sore as the trials were to which the readers were then subjected, heavier and more fiery ones awaited them. Besides

[k] See Schwegler, Das nachapostolische Zeitalter, vol. ii. p. 10, et seqq.

[l] See Jachmann, Commentar über die katholischen Briefe, p. 119.

the external circumstances of oppression and suffering in which these christians of Asia Minor were when Peter wrote to them, their internal state was not satisfactory. Judaising teachers had disturbed them, and drawn aside many of the members from the true christian doctrine. These sectaries denied the apostolic authority of Paul, for the purpose of subverting his sentiments respecting the abrogation of the Mosaic law. They appealed to the elder apostles, especially Peter and James, in favour of their own views. In this way doubts had arisen in the minds of many. The churches were disturbed in their faith. They became unsettled on doctrinal points touching the Mosaic law. This is more apparent from some of Paul's epistles addressed to churches in the five provinces, than from Peter's, especially the Ephesian and Galatian ones. But it is hinted at in 1 Peter v. 12. "Exhorting and testifying that this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand." Nor does the relation of these christians to one another seem to have been the most desirable or lovely. The spirit of cordial, self-sacrificing love was deficient. They were inclined to lord it over one another. Subjection to each other in the Lord was not practised by them. Hence Peter insists on the necessity of submission in the various relations they sustained, using the verb *ὑποτάσσεσθαι* in many passages, such as ii. 13, 18; iii. 1, 5; v. 5. How much the spirit of peace and love was deficient may be inferred, not only from these places, but also from a comparison of ii. 1; iii. 8-12; iv. 8, 9.

IV. *Object for which the epistle was written.*

The writer himself says at the close of the letter, "By Silvanus, a faithful brother unto you, as I suppose, I have written briefly, exhorting and testifying that this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand." Hence his design was to assure them, that the truth which they had received from the lips of Paul and his assistants was the unchangeable word of God, the source of all animating hope as well as permanent comfort, which they should appropriate with the simplicity of new-born babes, that by means of it they might grow up to the maturity of christian manhood. In this manner, he confirms them in the faith which Paul had taught; and virtually rebukes the errorists who had sown the seeds of cor-

ruption among them. It was also part of his design, as expressed in this passage, to exhort them to steadfastness under the trials to which they were exposed, to furnish consolation, and to regulate their conduct towards the heathen around them; that they might be sober, holy, and harmless, silencing their persecutors with well-doing. The greater part of the letter has to do with the latter part of his design; whence it would appear that the relation in which they stood to the heathens was a critical and hazardous one. Suspicion, jealousy, and oppression from those without, fell to the lot of these christians. In such circumstances Peter counsels them concerning their conduct, and the way in which they should meet the hatred of their enemies. They had been already rooted and grounded in the doctrines of christianity; and therefore the epistle is not doctrinal. The apostle contents himself with exhorting them to steadfastness in holding by the word of God as they had received it from former teachers. He does not enter into the peculiarities of their inner life or experience. Perhaps he did not know them well enough to do that appropriately.

V. *Spirit and character of the epistle.*

De Wette has attributed to the epistle before us the want of a peculiar or definite character. It is charged with having no proper individuality, as the works of Paul and John have. And yet Peter was the acknowledged head of the Jewish christians, to whose authority they appealed long after the apostolic age. This deficiency of marked individuality in the written character of the letter, is seen in reminiscences of passages belonging to the Pauline epistles, shewing that the author had undoubtedly read those writings; and in the type of doctrine and doctrinal terminology, which is substantially Pauline. Besides, the writer does not evince true mastery over the ideas with which he is occupied, as if they were wholly his own. His alleged work bears a compilatory character. He does not manage them with freedom and ease, but exhibits a kind of uncertainty and embarrassment.[m]

These assertions are made by De Wette for the purpose of throwing doubts on the authenticity. Entertaining a derogatory

[m] Einleitung, sect. 172, fifth edition. Schwegler, Das nachapostolische Zeitalter, vol. ii. p. 7.

view of its spirit and character, he thinks it improbable that Peter wrote it. If the head of the Jewish christians evinced such dependence on Paul—if he used the epistles written by the latter at a late period of his life, especially the epistle to the Ephesians, a strong suspicion is excited against the authenticity.

In proof of the assertion that the author had read several of Paul's epistles, and, recollecting ideas and expressions belonging to them, inserted them in the work before us, the following parallels are adduced.

1 Peter i. 1, etc.— . . . . ἐκλεκτοῖς κατὰ . . . . πρόγνωσιν θεοῦ πατρὸς ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος εἰς . . . . . ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.	Ephes. i. 4-7.—καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους . . . . . ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.
i. 3.—εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ . . . . . ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς, κ. τ. λ.	Ephes. i. 3.—εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ, τ. κ. ἡμ. Ι. Χρ. ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς, κ. τ. λ.
i. 14. — μὴ συσχηματιζόμενοι ταῖς πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις.	Romans xii. 2.—καὶ μὴ συσχηματίζετε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ. Ephes. ii. 3: ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἀνεστράφημέν ποτε ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν.
ii. 1. — ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πάντα δόλον καὶ ὑποκρίσεις καὶ φθόνους καὶ πάσας καταλαλιὰς, 2. ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη, τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ αὐξηθῆτε εἰς σωτηρίαν . . . 5. ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους τῷ θεῷ, κ. τ. λ.	Coloss. iii. 8.—νυνὶ ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα, ὀργὴν, θυμὸν, κακίαν, βλασφημίαν. Comp. James i. 21: διὸ ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν ῥυπαρίαν καὶ περισσείαν κακίας, ἐν πραΰτητι δέξασθε τὸν ἔμφυτον λόγον, τὸν δυνάμενον σῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν. Romans xii. 1: . . . παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν.
ii. 6. (Isaiah xxviii. 16.)—ἰδοὺ, τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν λίθον ἀκρογω-	Romans ix. 33.—ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν (Sept. ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ

νιαῖον, ἔντιμον· καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ. 7. ὑμῖν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν· ἀπειθοῦσι δὲ, λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας καὶ (from Isa. viii. 14) *λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου . . .*	*θεμέλια σιὼν) λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου· καὶ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται.*
verse 10 (from Hosea ii. 25 (23).) *οἱ ποτὲ οὐ λαὸς, νῦν δὲ λαὸς θεοῦ· οἱ οὐκ ἠλεημένοι, νῦν δὲ ἐλεηθέντες.*	verse 25.—*ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει· καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου λαόν μου· καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην ἠγαπημένην.* vs. 26: *καὶ ἔσται, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς· οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος.*
ii. 13.—*ὑποτάγητε οὖν πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον· εἴτε βασιλεῖ, ὡς ὑπερέχοντι· εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν, ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν κακοποιῶν, ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν.*	Romans xiii. 1-4.—*πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω. Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ θεοῦ . . . . . τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς. Θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστι, ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι.*
ii. 16.—*. . . . . ὡς ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐπικάλυμμα ἔχοντες τῆς κακίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.*	Galat. v. 13.—*ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί.*
ii. 18.—*οἱ οἰκέται, ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις, κ. τ. λ.*	Ephes. v. 5.—*οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κυρίοις, κ. τ. λ.*
iii. 1.—*αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν.*	Ephes. v. 22.—*αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάσσεσθε.*
iii. 9.—*. . . . . μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ.*	Romans xii. 17.—*. . . . . μηδενὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες.*
iv. 9.—*φιλόξενοι εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἄνευ γογγυσμῶν.*	Philip. ii. 14.—*πάντα ποιεῖτε χωρὶς γογγυσμῶν.*

iv. 10. etc.—ἕκαστος, καθὼς ἔλαβε χάρισμα, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς αὐτὸ διακονοῦντες, ὡς καλοὶ οἰκονόμοι ποικίλης χάριτος θεοῦ. Εἴ τις λαλεῖ, ὡς λόγια θεοῦ· εἴ τις διακονεῖ, ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἧς χορηγεῖ ὁ θεός.	Romans xii. 6, etc.—ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα· εἴτε προφητείαν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως· εἴτε διακονίαν, ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ, κ. τ. λ.
v. 1.—. . . . . ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινωνός.	Romans viii. 18.—. . . . . πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ὑμᾶς.
v. 5.—. . . . . πάντες ἀλλήλοις ὑποτασσόμενοι.	Ephes. v. 21.—. . . . ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ.
v. 8.—νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε.	1 Thess. v. 6.—γρηγορῶμεν καὶ νήφωμεν.
v. 14. — ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης.	1 Cor. xvi. 20.—ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ. Comp. Romans xvi. 16; 1 Thess. v. 26.[n]

There are also, it is alleged, resemblances between James's epistle and ours.

i. 6, 7.—ἐν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὀλίγον ἄρτι . . . . λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς, ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως . . . . εὑρεθῇ εἰς ἔπαινον, κ. τ. λ.	James i. 2, etc.—πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε . . . . . ὅταν πειρασμοῖς περιπέσητε ποικίλοις, γινώσκοντες ὅτι τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως κατεργάζεται ὑπομονήν.
i. 24.—διότι πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος, καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου· ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσε. (Isaiah xl. 6.)	James i. 10, etc.—. . . . . ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου παρελεύσεται . . . . . καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσε.
iv. 8.—ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν. (Prov. x. 12.)	James v. 20.—. . . . καὶ καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν.
v. 5, etc.—ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν (Prov. iii. 34). Ταπεινώ-	James iv. 6.—ὁ θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν. 7. ὑποτάγητε

[n] See De Wette, Einleit. p. 351, et seqq.

θητε οὖν ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ὑψώσῃ ἐν καιρῷ. 9. ᾧ (διαβόλῳ) ἀντίστητε.

οὖν τῷ θεῷ· ἀντίστητε τῷ διαβόλῳ . . . . . 10. ταπεινώθητε ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ὑψώσει ὑμᾶς.[o]

Pauline views, formulae, and terms, are said to be exemplified in the view of Jesus's death, ii. 24, comp. Rom. vi. 8-14; the idea of *calling* (i. 15, comp. Galat. i. 6, 15; v. 8); of *election* (i. 2); of *hope* (i. 3; iii. 15; only once in John, i. ep. iii. 3, in a concrete sense); of *obedience* (i. 2, comp. Romans vi. 16; xvi. 19); of *freedom* and its abuse (ii. 16, comp. Galat. v. 13); of *the gifts of grace* (iv. 10); of *recompense* (ἔπαινος, τιμή, δόξα, i. 7, comp. Romans ii. 7; 1 Cor. iv. 5); of *inheritance* (i. 4, comp. Galat. iii. 18, as in John). Observe also the ideas and formulas ἀποκάλυψις (i. 7, 13, comp. 1 Cor. i. 7 et passim); κοινωνία τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων (iv. 13, comp. 2 Cor. i. 5; Phil. iii. 10); συνείδησις (ii. 19; iii. 16, 21, elsewhere only in Paul and his disciples and John viii. 9, a hellenistic conception), κρυπτός (iii. 4, comp. Romans ii. 29; 1 Cor. xiv. 10) ἐν Χριστῷ (iii. 16; v. 10, 14, comp. Romans vi. 11 et passim); καταρτίζειν (v. 10, comp. 2 Cor. xiii. 11; Hebrews xiii. 21).

We have thus given the statements of De Wette at length, as they have been compiled, elaborated, and pointed by the critic, that they may be seen in all their strength. It remains to make some remarks on them.

An attentive consideration of the subject has not convinced us of the fact that the parallelisms in question should be attributed to Peter's perusal of Paul's epistles. Ideas and expressions are sometimes alike. That is certain. But whether the likeness proceeded from the cause assigned admits of grave doubt. It is obvious that Peter has not literally transcribed Paul's language in any one passage. There is diversity in the midst of coincidence. That diversity too far exceeds the similarity. While intersecting, it prevails over it. The nature of the parallelism is unlike what might have been expected from the circumstances alleged. Reminiscences would have been better marked. They would have been less ambiguous. In a writer so dependent on

[o] See De Wette, Einleit. p. 353.

Paul as the author is represented to have been, they would have been more formal. Some of them are quoted from the Septuagint, and are therefore inapplicable to the present purpose. Others agree in a single word. Hence the list is reduced by Steiger[p] to a very few examples: to 1 Peter ii. 1, compared with Coloss. iii. 8; 1 Peter i. 3, with Ephes. i. 3; 1 Pet. v. 5, with Ephes. v. 21; 1 Peter iii. 1, with Ephes. v. 22; 1 Peter ii. 18, with Ephes. vi. 5.

With regard to the parallels in James's epistle, they are all, with one exception, citations from the Old Testament. In every case Peter has used the citations in a connexion and sense peculiar to himself. As to the coincidence in 1 Peter i. 6 with James i. 2, it is explained perhaps by the supposition that both contain favourite sentences in free and frequent circulation among the christians at Jerusalem.[q] All the phenomena seem to us to be sufficiently explained by the following considerations.

The apostles were imbued with the one Spirit. The source of their enlightenment was the same. Their minds were informed by the same Almighty power. They all drank at the fountain of the same spiritual drink. Hence, amid constitutional diversities, they exhibited substantial unity of doctrine, aim, and purpose. Their ideas regarding the fundamental verities of Christ's religion were the same, because they were animated by the Holy Ghost, who, according to the promise of the Son, was to lead them into all truth. Theirs was an unction from the Holy One, superior to that enjoyed by ordinary believers. The inspiration of the Almighty gave them understanding. Their sentiments sprang from the one root. Certain great ideas were deposited within them by the Holy Spirit, in whose evolution they evinced essential unity amid individual varieties.

If we consider the interpretation belonging to the Old Testament from the christian point of view, it must naturally be alike in the apostles. They could not avoid applying the Old Testament in the same manner as receiving its fulfilment and consummation in the new dispensation. Besides, the like relations of the

[p] Exposition of the first epistle of Peter, etc., English version, vol. i. p. 13, Introduction.

[q] See Steiger, Exposition, etc., vol. i. p. 10.

christian churches demanded like exhortations and warnings; while the hellenistic dialect, in its application to the new ideas of christianity, necessitated considerable uniformity of expression. It should also be observed, that towards the latter part of the apostolic age, modes of expression originally peculiar perhaps to one or other of the apostles, must have become by circulation common property. Losing their individuality by use, they ceased to be characteristic of persons. And then, we have many epistles from Paul, and but one, or at most two, from Peter. Now, a writer's peculiarities cannot be determined with the same certainty or accuracy from one composition as from several. Had we the same rich legacy from the one as from the other, we should be better able to judge in the matter. As the case now is, the individuality of Peter cannot be peculiarly marked. Paul had developed the whole scheme of christianity with a fulness which none of the other apostles had exhibited. He had embodied its doctrines and duties in the dialect of the Septuagint. He had dug a wide channel of phraseology for the great ideas of christianity, which had become their prevailing vehicle. He had moulded and shaped the distinguishing doctrines by his preaching and writing. Was it not natural, then, that Peter, composing one short epistle, should involuntarily fall into some coincidences of idea and expression? The entire circle of the new theology had received a certain conformation. It had been to some extent stereotyped. Hence Peter coming after Paul, and holding, as he did from the first, the same doctrinal sentiments, could not but fall in with the Pauline mould in part.[r] And it was all the more natural that his epistle should present a kind of parallelism to Paul's, since he was addressing churches planted and reared by the latter and his fellow-labourers, to which he himself stood in no intimate relation. He had not preached to them. He did not know their circumstances minutely. Propagators of error had endeavoured to draw them away from attachment to the Pauline doctrine, representing it to be contrary to Peter's. In giving his sanction therefore to the creed and principles of his fellow-apostle, he would more readily write in language similar at times, as he meant to utter similar ideas.

[r] See Schleiermacher's Einleit. pp. 402, 403.

Nor should we forget occasional interviews between Paul and Peter. The latter coincided in opinion with the former at the council of apostles held in Jerusalem; and the sameness of their principles is manifested in the Galatian epistles.

In relation to James, we have already expressed our belief that Peter did not borrow phraseology from him. The true reason why our apostle approaches sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other, lay in the writer's mental idiosyncrasy, and the peculiar sphere of action he occupied. Between Paul and James he was intermediate. The former had to do mainly with Gentile christians; while James confined himself to the strict Jews in Palestine, who after embracing christianity, generally adhered to the law of Moses. Between them lay Peter's sphere. He was employed for the most part among Jewish christians out of Judea; and his manner of preaching had more regard to the Old Testament, than Paul's. He pointed out to his hearers its spiritual significancy, and so led them to Christ; or rather christian ideas were engrafted on the Old Testament. In consequence of this intermediate aspect which Peter and his converts presented, on the one side to the pure Gentile believers, and on the other to the rigid Jewish believers in Palestine, his manner of writing presents some resemblances to that of each; more however to Paul's. But that he formally borrowed from them, cannot well be maintained. The epistle to the Ephesians, in which most parallels appear, was scarcely written prior to Peter's; and even had it been so, his sojourn at Babylon was far away—too far to make it probable that the epistles written by the prisoner at Rome to the churches in Asia Minor, were carried to the Parthian empire to be perused there by the apostle of the Jews. Not a few of the passages quoted as parallel, or as containing parallel phrases, will not stand the test of examination. Thus, 1 Peter i. 3 and Ephes. i. 3, the doxology was not peculiar to Paul, but was a general one, being borrowed from the Jews, with the christian addition of "and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." In 1 Peter ii. 1 and Colos. iii. 8 is the phrase *ἀποτίθεσθαι κακίαν*, which is in the Septuagint, and in James also. The Septuagint is the common source whence it was derived; and therefore it should not be set down as distinctively Pauline. In 1 Peter ii. 13, etc., and Romans xiii. 1-4,

the idea of submission to the existing civil authorities is one that must have been common to all the apostles.' There are *three* words alike in the parallels; but these are far overbalanced by the much greater *difference* in terminology. Ἔκδικος in Paul, and ἐκδίκησις in Peter, are borrowed from the Septuagint. In 1 Peter ii. 18 and Ephes. vi. 5, what more natural than that the two apostles should exhort slaves to be obedient to their masters in nearly the same phraseology? In 1 Peter iv. 9 and Philippians ii. 14, the subject is different, and the agreement consists in the use of a single word, which is often used in other writers. In 1 Peter iv. 10, etc., and Romans xii. 6, etc., the use of only two words which are alike, will not shew that the former passage was borrowed from the latter, especially as the writers have different objects in view. In 1 Peter v. 1 and Romans viii. 18, the phrase "the glory which is about to be revealed" looks as if it stood in the former from the latter place. But it is not improbable that the idea was current among the believers in the phraseology given. In 1 Peter v. 14 and 1 Cor. xvi. 20, there is nothing remarkable, because the kiss of charity was a common mark of brotherly love among the early christians. The expressions used must have been common, since the thing itself had been early introduced. In 1 Peter v. 8 and 1 Thessal. v. 6, the verb γρηγορεῖν is not peculiar to Paul: and νήφειν associated with it is a favourite expression of Peter. It is rarely found in Paul. The union of both is accordant with the manner of the sacred writers in putting together synonymous expressions.[s]

In the same manner the parallels between our epistle and that of James are capable of an explanation consistent with their independent origin.[t]

In regard to the doctrinal terminology and single words common to both Paul and Peter, it is necessary to ascertain those which are not *peculiar to* the former, and such as both borrowed from the Septuagint. These ought to be subtracted from the list as inappropriate, or as proving too much, and therefore invalid in the way of proof.

Nor does Peter appear so dependent on Paul's writings as is

[s] See Mayerhoff, Einleit. p. 106, et seqq.

[t] Ibid. p. 115.

represented. He has an individuality in the epistle. Much that is peculiar appears. The distinctive is not wanting. It is presented in such measure as to justify the character of the writer, and confirm the authenticity of his work. Examples are found in the idea of being born again by the word of God (i. 23), the christian priesthood (ii. 5, 9), the descent of Christ into Hades (iii. 19, etc.), love to Christ the *invisible* one (i. 8), that the prophets of the Old Testament were anxious to know the future mysteries of Christ's kingdom (i. 10, etc.), the flood of Noah in its relation to baptism (iii. 20, etc.). In exhorting his readers, he dwells on patience (ii. 21, etc.; iii. 9, 14; iv. 12-19; v. 7, etc.), and the desirableness of giving no cause of offence to the unbelieving Gentiles by the manner of life (ii. 12-20; iii. 1-13; iv. 14-16). In point of diction, Peter has a greater tendency than Paul to repeat the same sentiment either in the same, or in similar words. Comp. iii. 16 with iii. 1; ii. 12;—iv. 3 with i. 14; ii. 11;—iv. 12 with i. 6-9;—iv. 14 with iii. 14, 17; ii. 20; —v. 8 with iv. 7; i. 13. Instead of contrasting, as Paul does, *πνεῦμα* and *σάρξ*, he opposes *πνεῦμα* to *ψυχή*. Favourite terms are *ἀναστροφή*, *ἀγαθοποιεῖν*, *ἀγαθοποιός*, *ἀγαθοποιΐα*, *κακοποιός*. He likes to employ *εἰς* before the accusative of a person, i. 4, 10, 11, 25: and to separate the article from its noun, iii. 2, 3, 16. In no other writer do we meet with *δόξαι* in the plural, i. 11, or *ἀρεταί* in the same number, ii. 9; with *κτίσις* in the same sense, ii. 13; with *τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων*, *the same sufferings*, v. 9; with *περιέχει ἐν τῇ γραφῇ*, in citing from the Old Testament, ii. 6; or *τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται*, iv. 14; *ὀσφύες διανοίας*, i. 13; *τιμὴν ἀπονέμειν*, iii. 7. The number of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* is large, most of them being compounds, such as *ἀδελφότης*, *ἀναγεννᾶν*, *ἀμάραντος*, *ἀπροσωπολήπτως*, *πατροπαράδοτος*, *ἀρτιγέννητος*, *ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος*, *συνεκλεκτή*, *ἀντιλοιδορεῖν*, *ἀνεκλάλητος*, *ἐξερευνᾶν*, *προμαρτύρεσθαι*, *ἀναζώννυσθαι*, *σπορά*, *ἄδολος*, *ἱεράτευμα*, *βασίλειος*, *ἐξαγγέλλειν*, *ἐποπτεύειν*, *ἐπικάλυμμα*, *κλέος*, *ὑπολιμπάνειν*, *ὑπογραμμός*, *ἀπογίνεσθαι*, *ἐμπλοκή*, *περίθεσις*, *ἔνδυσις*, *πτόησις*, *γυναικεῖος*, *συνοικεῖν*, *ὁμόφρων*, *συμπαθής*, *ἀπόθεσις*, *ῥύπος*, *ἐπερώτημα*, *ὁπλίζεσθαι*, *ἔννοια* singular, *βιόω*, *ἐπίλοιπος*, *οἰνοφλυγία*, *πότος*, *ἀθέμιτος*, *ἀνάχυσις*, *κτίστης*, *συμπρεσβύτερος*, *ἀναγκαστῶς*, *ἀρχιποίμην*,

ἀμαράντινος, ἐγκομβοῦσθαι, κραταιός, ὠρύεσθαι, ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, σθενοῦν, ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν.[u]

Steiger finds in the epistle great facility of expression, and ease in linking ideas together.[v] But this does not appear to us in the same light. The language is somewhat rugged. The author's control over it is not that of a master. He uses it with a degree of difficulty and embarrassment, and that again influences the development of his ideas. How natural this is in Peter's case needs no explanation. If we consider the persons to whom his preaching was mainly directed, and his brief visits to Hellenistic countries, it can scarcely be expected that he should possess a facility in employing the Greek language. He did not write in it before. He did not always, or perhaps generally, preach in it. Hence his style is not marked by ease or elegance; nor is the consecution of ideas so logical as we find in Paul. New thoughts are attached to a word preceding by means of a relative pronoun, a peculiarity which does not hinder their logical development, though it gives the style a limping appearance. The same thing appears much less in Paul. The consecution of ideas is good; their order logical. This however is not very apparent at first sight, because *the form* is not logical. It has been well traced by Seyler[w] in the first twelve verses, where it is least obvious; and it may be also observed in the remainder of the epistle, as it has been by Steiger and De Wette. On the other hand, the development of ideas in James proceeds by means of propositions and proverb-like statements loosely linked together. His diction is not periodic, like Peter's. There is strength in our apostle's language, and the construction is usually obvious; but both have a kind of ruggedness unpleasing to the ear. Constraint is apparent.

The peculiar character of the epistle is a pervading warmth of manner corresponding to the fiery but subdued temperament of the apostle. Liveliness is manifest throughout. The writer appears like one whose soul is stirred to its depths by the hope of future glory. Hence he speaks energetically and cheeringly of

[u] See Schott's Isagoge, p. 411, note 7; and De Wette, Einleit. p. 354.

[v] Exposition of the first epistle of Peter, etc., English translation, vol. i. pp. 7, 8.

[w] In the Studien und Kritiken for 1832, H. 1, p. 44, et seqq.

the christian's prospects. With him the culminating point of christianity is *hope*—a well-grounded expectation of future glory through Christ Jesus. The epistle is every way worthy of Peter. It partakes of his spirit. His exhortations are both powerful and mild, breathing the tone of one who is well able to sympathise with erring humanity, because he has himself felt the deceitful infirmity of the heart. He repeatedly enforces steadfastness in the faith accompanied with meekness and patience, by a reference to the example of Christ. Watchfulness and sobriety are inculcated in proportion to the height of christian attainment; and humility is enjoined with frequent earnestness. Such traits agree well with the character of this apostle as we find it given by the sacred writers.[w] It may also be observed, that there is a coincidence between his speeches as reported in the Acts and the epistle, extending in a few instances even to the expression (Acts iv. 11 and 1 Pet. ii. 8; Acts v. 32 and 1 Pet. i. 12; Acts v. 30, x. 39 and 1 Peter ii. 24). Compare also Acts ii. 32 and iii. 15 with 1 Peter v. 1; Acts iii. 18 with 1 Peter i. 10, etc. That the resemblance is not greater may be easily explained, because the sentiments are in harmony with the entire scheme of revealed truth, and urged with a fervour of spirit characteristic of one having the most perfect assurance of the truth of the gospel. And though the style be inferior to that of Paul, as might have been expected, it is a suitable vehicle for the thoughts. Devoid of harmony or ease, it exhibits the force and fire of the writer's mind. It is admirably adapted to strike and arrest the reader's attention.

It has been supposed by several writers, that the epistle was not written in its present form immediately by the apostle himself. Baronius[x] conjectured, that it was drawn up in Hebrew. Others think that it was translated out of Aramaean into Greek by Silvanus, or by Mark. Eichhorn[y] assumed that Mark took Petrine ideas and materials and put them into their present shape. This assumption assists in explaining the relationship between it and Paul's epistles. But the passivity attributed to Peter by Eichhorn is unworthy of an apostle. And then the

[w] See Krummacher in the Evangelische Kirchenzeitung for 1829, No. 49.

[x] Annales, ann. 45. No. xxviii. vol. i.

[y] Einleit. vol. iii. p. 606, et seqq.

style is not like that of Mark's gospel. The expression "I have written by Silvanus" (v. 12) might apply to Peter's dictation of the letter to Silvanus, who merely acted as amanuensis; but had he been the translator, we should have expected a salutation from him. If he was the bearer of the epistle, as is most probable, the want of a salutation from him is not remarkable; but on any other assumption, it is strange. In the absence of all ancient testimony in favour of an Aramaean original, and from the character of the language as it now stands, the structure of the periods, and the use of the Septuagint in quotations, it cannot be supposed that we have any other than the original document as it came from Peter. That one who was by birth a Jew, and whose chief vocation was to his countrymen, should be capable of writing such a work in Greek, need not be thought incredible or surprising. The Greek tongue was diffused throughout Palestine itself as well as the neighbouring parts. Hellenistic Jews were numerous.[z]

VI. *Authenticity.*

The authenticity of our epistle is well attested by antiquity, so that it has been rarely doubted.

The earliest witness which speaks of it is the second epistle of Peter (iii. 1). Polycarp knew and used it, as Eusebius relates.[a] On comparing his epistle to the Philippians with ours, there are allusions more or less apparent.

Thus he writes in the first chapter: *εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε, πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ, κ. τ. λ.* "In whom though ye see him not ye believe, and believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory" (1 Peter i. 8).

Comp. also ch. ii. with 1 Peter i. 13, 21; ch. v. with 1 Peter ii. 11; ch. x. with ii. 12; ch. viii. with ii. 21-24; ch. ii. with iii. 9; ch. ii. with iv. 5; ch. vii. with iv. 7; ch. x. with v. 5. Eusebius relates the same of Papias.[b]

Irenaeus quotes it expressly: "Et Petrus ait in epistolâ suâ: 'Quem non videntes diligitis,' inquit, 'in quem nunc non videntes credidistis, gaudebitis gaudio inenarrabili:'"[c] "And Peter says

[z] See Mayerhoff, Einleit. p. 136, et seqq.

[a] H. E. iv. 14. [b] H. E. iii. 39. [c] Advers. Haeres. iv. 9, sect. 2.

in his epistle: 'Whom not seeing ye love; in whom, not seeing him now, ye have believed; ye will rejoice with unspeakable joy'" (1 Peter i. 8).

In another place he writes: "Et propter hoc Petrus ait, 'non velamentum malitiae habere nos libertatem, sed ad probationem et manifestationem fidei:"[d] "And on this account Peter says, that we have not freedom as a cloak of maliciousness, but for the proving and manifestation of faith" (1 Peter ii. 16).

Clement of Alexandria also quotes the epistle: *Καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὰ ὅμοια λέγει:*[e] "And Peter in the epistle says the same." Many other allusions to Peter may be found in the same writer, as Strom. iv. (p. 493) compared with 1 Peter iii. iv. 17, and Paedagog, i. (p. 103) compared with 1 Peter ii. 1-3, etc., etc.[f]

In like manner Tertullian refers expressly to our epistle: "Petrus quidem ad Ponticos. 'Quanta enim,' inquit, 'gloria, si non ut delinquentes puniamini, sustinetis! Haec enim gratia est, in hoc et vocati estis," etc. (1 Peter i. 20, 21).[g] "Peter says to the people of Pontus, 'How great glory is it, if, when ye are punished not for your faults, ye take it patiently! For this is acceptable, and even hereunto ye were called,'" etc.

Again, Condixerat scilicet Petrus, "regem quidem honorandum:"[h] "Peter had said that the king should be honoured" (ii. 13).

According to Eusebius, Origen called it an *ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην*. This father frequently quotes it in his Commentaries. Thus on the third Psalm: *κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ παρὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ· ἐν ᾧ δὲ τοῖς, κ. τ. λ.*[i] (1 Peter iii. 19). "As Peter says in his catholic epistle, 'Whereby he went and preached,'" etc.

Again, *καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν φυλακῇ πορείας μετὰ πνεύματος παρὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ· θανατωθεὶς γάρ, φησι, σαρκὶ, ζωοποιηθεὶς, κ.τ.λ.*[k] (iii. 18-21). "And concerning the journey in spirit to prison in Peter's catholic epistle, 'Being put

[d] Advers. Haeres. iv. 16, sect. 5. [e] Stromata, iii. p. 473.
[f] See Mayerhoff, Einleit. pp. 143, 144.
[g] Scorpiac. ch. 12. [h] Ibid. ch. 14.
[i] Opp. vol. ii. p. 553, edit. Benedict. [k] Ibid. vol. iv. p. 135.

to death,' says he, 'in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit.'" Numerous other passages in which the epistle is quoted by Origen are given by Mayerhoff.

Eusebius[l] places it among the ὁμολογουμέναι. It was also in the Peshito version. It is unnecessary to quote Cyprian, Firmilian, Athanasius, or any later father, since the more ancient testimonies are sufficient.

But in the old canon first published by Muratori it is wanting. It was also rejected by the Paulicians, according to Petrus Siculus: "Binas vero catholicas. . . . . Petri principis apostolorum, pessime adversus illum affecti. . . . . non admittunt:"[m] "They do not admit the two catholic epistles of Peter prince of the apostles, being ill-affected towards him."

It is not certain that Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected it. The testimony of Leontius of Byzantium is not clear to this effect. He merely says: "Ob quam causam, ut arbitror, ipsam epistolam Jacobi, et alias deinceps aliorum catholicas abrogat et antiquat:"[n] "For which reason, as I suppose, he annuls and rejects the very epistle of James, and the other catholic epistles of the other writers in succession."

Thus the state of the external testimony in favour of it is most satisfactory. We can perceive no reason for doubting its authenticity, at least on external grounds.

In modern times Cludius[o] threw out suspicions of its authenticity. But Augusti[p] and Bertholdt[q] demolished his hypercriticism. Perhaps Eichhorn's hypothesis weakens the authenticity. It has been rejected, however, by almost all succeeding critics. Schwegler believes that it was written either during the time of the Trajan persecution or soon after it. This brings it to the commencement of the second century. De Wette admits that it belongs to the apostolic age, but doubts its authenticity because

[l] H. E. iii. 25 and 3.

[m] See Wetstein, N. T. vol. ii. p. 681.

[n] See Leontius contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos in Canisii Thesaurus Monumentor. eccl. et hist. vol. i. p. 577, edit. Antwerp.

[o] Uransichten des Christenthums, p. 296, et seqq.

[p] In a programme printed at Jena, 1808.

[q] Einleitung, u. s. w., vol. vi. p. 3043, et seqq.

of the supposed dependence on Paul and his writings.[r] This notion has been already examined.

Conjectures cannot shake the credit and authority of the epistle. It is firmly established as an undoubted production of Peter.

VII. *Contents.*

The epistle may be divided into two parts, exclusive of the salutation, introduction, and concluding verses. The former contains *general*, the latter, *particular* exhortations, consisting of ch. i. 13—ii. 10 and ii. 11 to v. 11 respectively.

The inscription and salutation are in i. 1, 2.

In the introduction, the apostle expresses gratitude to God for the abundant blessings of salvation bestowed on himself and his readers, reminding them for their encouragement of the conflict which christians have to endure, and taking it for granted that they were conducting themselves in it so as that it should issue in their complete salvation in the day of Christ's revelation. The mention of such salvation leads him to signify its importance by the fact, that the prophets were earnestly desirous to know the time when the spirit of prophecy respecting Christ intimated that the promised redemption should come; and that the angels were eager to look into it (i. 3-12).

After this introductory portion, the first part of the epistle, consisting of a series of general admonitions, follows. Peter exhorts the christians in Asia Minor to a wakeful and perfect hope in the favour to be brought to them at the future appearance of Christ (i. 13); to obedience and holiness, since He is holy who called them, since they ought to entertain fear of their judge, and recollect the atoning death of Christ, who was foreordained before the foundation of the world, but appeared visibly in the latter time for the benefit of such as believe. He exhorts them still further to holiness, and especially to pure brotherly love by recalling to their recollection their regenerated state into which they were brought through the instrumentality of the living word of God, which he proves to abide for ever by a reference to the Old Testament (i. 14-25).

He exhorts them to growth in the new life, if indeed they had

[r] Einleit. p. 355.

begun to experience the grace of God, reminding them that they formed part of the spiritual temple of which Jesus Christ is the chief corner-stone; and that they were the officiating priests in it to offer spiritual sacrifices. This is established by an appeal to the Old Testament; whence he draws the conclusion that to believers is the honour, while to the disobedient danger and destruction are appointed. In contrast with the latter, the writer resumes the description of believers contained in a preceding verse, representing them as a peculiar people who had obtained mercy (ii. 1-10).

The second general division consists of a series of special exhortations bearing on the external and internal relations of the christians addressed (ii. 11—v. 11).

Peter counsels his readers to maintain a good conduct and demeanour among the heathen, that their adversaries might be led to glorify God; to submit to the civil government under which they were placed; for though they were spiritually free, they were not to abuse their liberty. On the contrary, they were bound to treat all with the respect due to them (ii. 12-17).

Slaves are exhorted to obey their masters, and to be patient under the ills of their lot; for they were called for this very purpose, that they might exhibit a spirit of meek endurance under the pressure of suffering, in accordance with the example of Christ, who bore the penalty for our sins and brought us back to His fold (ii. 18-25).

Wives are exhorted to be subject to their husbands; and instead of valuing themselves on external decorations, to allure by their mental charms. This is enforced by the examples of holy women under the Jewish dispensation, and of Sarah in particular, whose daughters Gentile women become, when they do right, and have no fear of the husbands' threatenings (iii. 1-6).

Husbands are admonished to honour and respect the wife as the weaker vessel (iii. 8).

By way of conclusion, he subjoins a more general exhortation respecting unanimity, sympathy, brotherly love, mercifulness, courtesy, returning good for evil, instead of speaking guile seeking peace, reminding them that God rewards the good and punishes the evil (iii. 9-12).

He now exhorts them to the exercise of a fearless, meek and patient spirit in the prospect of suffering, founded on the possession of a good conscience; referring to the sufferings and resurrection of Christ for their encouragement. Though he was put to death in the body, he rose again in spirit; and preached to the departed unbelieving spirits in their place of confinement—to the spirits of those who were disobedient in the time of Noah—in consequence of which a few were saved in the ark. In like manner through baptism, in a mode analogous to that in which Noah and his family were saved, a small number are now saved in consequence of the resurrection of Christ who is gone to the right hand of God (iii. 13-22).

This leads to an exhortation and encouragement. Since Christ thus suffered for sinners, they should exhibit the same fortitude and patience *He* displayed; for the man who bears his sufferings with a christian spirit ceases to sin habitually, that he should live according to the will of God. Christians should live no longer in fleshly lusts after the manner of the heathen (iv. 1-3).

As they had brought upon them the displeasure of the heathen by their holy conduct, they are referred to the judgment, when they and their accusers should receive a righteous sentence. And because the judgment is at hand, he enjoins upon the christians to be sober and watchful unto prayer; to have fervent charity towards one another; to be hospitable; each one employing his spiritual gift for the benefit of others; for example, the teacher or prophet uttering the words of God, not his own opinions, and every one ministering out of the ability bestowed by God, that He may be glorified in all his instruments (iv. 4-11).

He now animates and encourages them to bear the trial to which God should subject them, with joyful spirit. If they were reproached for Christ's sake, they were happy, inasmuch as the Spirit was in them as a Spirit of glory and power. They should be careful however not to suffer in a bad cause, but as followers of Christ, not ashamed, but rather praising God in this respect (iv. 12-16).

The necessity of bearing the judgment which was beginning to threaten the unbelieving, serves to console the suffering (iv. 17-19).

He now addresses himself to the elders of the churches, enjoining them to attend to their pastoral duties spontaneously, not for the sake of money, not lording it over the churches, but being examples of the flock, remembering that their reward should come from the chief Shepherd. The younger should be subject to the elder, none seeking to exercise authority over the rest, but all clothed with humility (v. 1-5).

The closing exhortation respects humble submission to God's will, sobriety, and watchfulness against the great adversary, whom they are commanded to resist with steadfast faith. To this is appended a prayer for the establishment of his readers in the truth, and a doxology (v. 6-11).

In conclusion he alludes to Silvanus as the bearer of the letter; sends salutations from the church at Babylon and Mark; and invokes the peace of God to be with them (v. 12-14).

"A logically arranged table," says Steiger, "of all the contents can scarcely be given, where the author does not lay out for himself an abstract view of his subject, with larger and smaller divisions; but goes from one to another, yet steadfastly advancing forward, and without any violent leap, and always having the end in view, still not according to logical method but the real sense. The transitions also are made so gradually that they can hardly be perceived."[a]

[a] Exposition of Peter, etc., Introduction, vol. i. p. 37, English translation.

SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER.

In examining this epistle we purpose to discuss the following topics:—

I. The Persons to whom it was originally addressed.
II. The Occasion and Object of it.
III. Its Relation to Jude's Epistle.
IV. Its Authenticity.
V. Integrity.
VI. Time and Place of Writing.
VII. Contents.
VIII. Original Language in which it was written.

I. *Original readers.*

The language of the first verse is:—"Simon Peter, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to them that have obtained like precious faith with us through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." This implies that the epistle was addressed to all christians generally. It would appear however from iii. 1 that the writer had in his eye the same persons to whom his first epistle was addressed. The apostle Paul had also written to them, as is stated in iii. 15. It may be inferred also from i. 16 that the writer (himself an apostle) had instructed them personally. Hence we are to look for the original readers in Asia Minor, where the churches were undoubtedly composed both of Gentiles and Jews, but of the former in larger proportion. When we interpret the commencement of the first epistle in the way already attempted, not restricting its phraseology to Jewish christians, but including Gentiles under it, there will be no contradiction between i. 1 and iii. 1.

II. *Occasion and object.*

The writer knew that many false prophets should appear, corrupting and contradicting the truth as preached by apostles and evangelists. Especially was he aware of the fact, that doubts should be disseminated by them of Christ's coming to judgment. Scoffers were to arise who should ridicule the great event of the final advent of the Lord Jesus. Indeed such characters in embryo had already manifested themselves. The churches of the Saviour were threatened even then with the pernicious leaven of these heretics and mockers. Hence Peter felt impelled to address his readers mainly for the purpose of establishing their principles and preventing apostasy from christianity. He was afraid that they might be tempted away from the true faith after his decease; and therefore he wrote, to repeat the truth of the doctrines contained in the former epistle; to confirm the christians in their present belief and profession; to warn them against false teachers, and profane scoffers deriding Christ's coming to judgment; and to exhort them to preparedness for that solemn event by a holy life.

It is difficult to draw a picture of the false teachers to whom the epistle refers, because the traits given of them are not clearly defined or marked. The description of them is vague, indistinct, shifting. We shall endeavour to bring the features together, as far as the language will assist us. And before doing so it may be well to remark, that we regard the persons to whom the second and third chapters refer as identical. The false teachers depicted in the one, and the mockers of the other, constitute one class.

The heretics in question are characterised both by theoretical and practical errors. In regard to the first, the sects or parties of a destructive nature which they formed were based on the denial of the Lord that bought them. They held erroneous ideas of spiritual beings, especially of Satan and his power, whom they reviled. They spoke evil of δόξαι and κυριότητες, *i. e.* of angelic dignities. They railed at that which was above their capacity to comprehend. They also derided the christian belief respecting the coming of Christ and the destruction of the world by fire. In regard to the second, nothing can be darker than the picture given of their conduct. They indulged in impurity or

unclean lusts. They were sensual, lewd, filthy, carnal. They also sacrificed the cause of Christ to their own selfish ends, by artful and hypocritical pretences. They had a reckless covetousness. Their eloquence was of a pompous and empty character, which imposed on the credulous and unstable. They spoke great swelling words of vanity; having the form and promise without the reality, preaching a false freedom while they themselves were the servants of corruption. It is intimated moreover, that they had once been professors of christianity but had apostatised; and their practices were now worse than those in which they had indulged before joining the ranks of the christians.

Who then are meant by these heretics?

They were not the Carpocratians, as Grotius thought,[t] because they did not spring up till the second century. Neither were they christians who had risen from the sect of the Sadducees, as Bertholdt believed,[v] for there is no point of contact between Sadduceeism and christianity. They were always opposed to one another. Hug[w] conjectures, that the system by which these heretics are characterised was similar to that theurgical and magian philosophy which he ascribes to the errorists combated in the epistles of Paul to the Colossians and Ephesians—a philosophy distinguished by its pneumatological speculations about angels and spiritual beings. But he enters into no proper investigation of the subject. Had he done so, he might possibly have found that his opinion is not the most probable. Mayerhoff supposes[x] that the persons censured by Paul in the two epistles to the Thessalonians, and those Corinthians who denied the resurrection of the dead (1 Cor. xv. 12, etc.), were related to the heretics before us. But he is certainly mistaken in this notion. The Thessalonian converts to whom Paul refers disturbed the minds of the believers with the idea of Christ's near advent, while *some* among the Corinthians, probably a very few, questioned the fact of the resurrection. But it does not follow from our epistle that the false teachers themselves denied Christ's second coming.

Others believe that the Gnostics are referred to. This is likely,

[t] Annotat. in 2^dep. S. Petri. [v] Einleitung, vol. vi. p. 3112, et seqq.

[w] Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 492, last edition.

[x] Einleit. in die Petrin. Schriften, pp. 156, 157.

for the seeds of Gnosticism existed in the apostolic age, though peculiar systems were not elaborated out of them till a later period. There was a large class of Antinomian Gnostics, to whom the principal features in the picture apply—Antinomians, who freely indulged in sensuality agreeable to their principles. We have already seen, that Paul condemned Gnosticism, especially in the second epistle to Timothy; and therefore there is a considerable resemblance between passages in the present epistle and in Paul's. Compare for example 2 Tim. iii. 6, 13; iv. 3, 4; ii. 18; and 1 Tim. iv. 7; vi. 20, etc., with the description given in the document before us.

If this view be correct, we need not refer to the opinions of Burton, Windischmann, Michaelis, etc., who believe that Peter combats the Nicolaitans. *They* were a branch of the Gnostics, and therefore this hypothesis virtually coincides with the former. Perhaps however it is too restricted. *All* the traits here specified can scarcely be found in any one particular sect of the Gnostics now known to us. They may be traced in Anti-jewish Gnosticism generally. There the Lord that redeemed mankind was denied, inasmuch as the unity of the divine and human natures in his person was rejected, or the humanity explained away and disbelieved, and the doctrine of the atonement necessarily excluded from their creed. There it was asserted that the outward man may freely indulge in every lust, provided the inner man be not disturbed in its meditation. Their conceptions of angels, aeons, and the demiurge or world-creator, were essentially connected with the idea of their speaking evil concerning dignities. They raised certain angels to the rank of creators, but held the authors of the creation to be rebels against the Supreme Creator.[y]

III. *Relation to the epistle of Jude.*

It is apparent to every reader that the second chapter of our epistle, with the commencement of the third, bears a close resemblance to Jude's brief letter. A question accordingly has arisen respecting the cause of this similarity. What is the reason of such close likeness between these two portions of the New Testament?

[y] See Michaelis's Introduction by Marsh, vol. iv. pp. 359, 360.

Their parallelism may be seen from the following table:—

2 Peter i. 1, 2.—Συμεὼν Πέτρος δοῦλος καὶ ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.	Jude 2.—Ἰούδας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου.
i. 5.— . . . . . σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες.	Jude 3.—Ἀγαπητοί, πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος γράφειν ὑμῖν, περὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας, ἀνάγκην ἔσχον γράψαι ὑμῖν, παρακαλῶν ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει.
i. 15.—Σπουδάσω δὲ ἑκάστοτε, ἔχειν ὑμᾶς μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον τὴν τούτων μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι.	
ii. 1.—Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσονται ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, οἵτινες παρεισάξουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας, καὶ τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην ἀρνούμενοι, ἐπάγοντες ἑαυτοῖς ταχινὴν ἀπώλειαν. 2. Καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξακολουθήσουσιν αὐτῶν ταῖς ἀσελγείαις, δι' οὓς ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας βλασφημηθήσεται. 3. Καὶ ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ πλαστοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς ἐμπορεύσονται· οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἔκπαλαι οὐκ ἀργεῖ καὶ ἡ ἀπωλεία αὐτῶν οὐ νυστάζει.	Jude 4.—Παρεισέδυσαν γάρ τινες ἄνθρωποι οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα, ἀσεβεῖς, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν χάριν μετατιθέντες εἰς ἀσελγείαν, καὶ τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι.
ii. 4.—Εἰ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλων ἁμαρτησάντων οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους.	Jude 6.—Ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας, δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν.
ii. 6.—Καὶ πόλεις Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρας τεφρώσας καταστροφῇ κατέκρινεν, ὑπόδειγμα μελλόντων ἀσεβεῖν τεθεικώς. . . . . 10. . . . . τοὺς ὀπίσω σαρκὸς	Jude 7. — Ὡς Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὰς πόλεις τὸν ὅμοιον τούτοις τρόπον ἐκπορνεύσασαι καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι ὀπίσω σαρκὸς ἑτέρας, πρόκεινται δεῖγμα,

ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μιασμοῦ πορευομένους, καὶ κυριότητος καταφρονοῦντας. . . . . δόξας οὐ τρέμουσι βλασφημοῦντες.

πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι. 8. ὁμοίως μέντοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι σάρκα μὲν μιαίνουσι, κυριότητα δὲ ἀθετοῦσι, δόξας δὲ βλασφημοῦσιν.

ii. 11.—Οπου ἄγγελοι, ἰσχύϊ καὶ δυνάμει μείζονες ὄντες, οὐ φέρουσι κατ' αὐτῶν παρὰ κυρίῳ βλάσφημον κρίσιν.

Jude 9.—Ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ὅτε τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος, διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ Μωσέως σώματος, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε κρίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν βλασφημίας, ἀλλ' εἶπεν· ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι κύριος.

ii. 12.—Οὗτοι δὲ, ὡς ἄλογα ζῶα, φυσικὰ, γεγενημένα εἰς ἅλωσιν καὶ φθοράν, ἐν οἷς ἀγνοοῦσι βλασφημοῦντες, ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ αὐτῶν καταφθαρήσονται.

Jude 10.—Οὗτοι δὲ ὅσα μὲν οὐκ οἴδασι, βλασφημοῦσιν· ὅσα δὲ φυσικῶς, ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα, ἐπίστανται, ἐν τούτοις φθείρονται.

ii. 15.— . . . . . ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Βαλαὰμ τοῦ Βοσόρ, ὃς μισθὸν ἀδικίας ἠγάπησεν.

Jude 11.—Οὐαὶ αὐτοῖς· ὅτι τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Κάϊν ἐπορεύθησαν, καὶ τῇ πλάνῃ τοῦ Βαλαὰμ μισθοῦ ἐξεχύθησαν, καὶ τῇ ἀντιλογίᾳ τοῦ Κορὲ ἀπώλοντο.

ii. 13.— . . . . . ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφὴν, σπῖλοι καὶ μῶμοι, ἐντρυφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀπάταις αὐτῶν, συνευωχούμενοι ὑμῖν. . . . . .

ii. 17.—Οὗτοι εἰσιν πηγαὶ ἄνυδροι καὶ ὁμίχλαι ὑπὸ λαίλαπος ἐλαυνόμεναι, οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται.

Jude 12.—Οὗτοι εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες, συνευωχούμενοι ἀφόβως, ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες, νεφέλαι ἄνυδροι, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων παραφερόμεναι. . . . . 13. . . ἀστέρες πλανῆται, οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται.

ii. 18.—Ὑπέρογκα γὰρ ματαιότητος φθεγγόμενοι. . . . . .

Jude 16.— . . . . . καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα. . . . . .

iii. 1.—Ταύτην ἤδη, ἀγαπητοὶ, δευτέραν ὑμῖν γράφω ἐπιστολὴν, ἐν αἷς διεγείρω ὑμῶν ἐν ὑπομνήσει

Jude 17.—Ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἀγαπητοὶ, μνήσθητε τῶν ῥημάτων τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποσ-

τὴν εἰλικρινῆ διάνοιαν· 2. μνησθῆναι τῶν προειρημένων ῥημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡμῶν ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος· τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες, ὅτι ἐλεύσονται ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν ἐμπαίγμονῇ ἐμπαῖκται, κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι.

τόλων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Jude 18.— Ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάτῳ χρόνῳ ἔσονται ἐμπαῖκται, κατὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι τῶν ἀσεβείων.[z]

From this parallel table it will appear that the likeness extends to *words* as well as *ideas*. Not only the sentiments but the language are the same, or at least very similar. How then is the phenomenon to be accounted for? Different explanations have been proposed.

1. Some suppose that both writers drew from a common source.

2. Others think that Peter made use of Jude's letter.

3. A third class believe that Jude followed Peter.

4. Olshausen and Augusti derive the resemblance from conversation and epistolary correspondence between the writers.

A few remarks on each of these hypotheses will suffice.

1. This was the opinion of Bishop Sherlock, who conjectured that both writers copied or imitated some Hebrew writer who had left behind him a description of the false prophets of his own or former times.[a] "Which indeed," says Lardner, "is ingenious and plausible. Nevertheless I think such conjectures ought not to be presently received as certain."[b] The book of Enoch is the most likely source according to this hypothesis, though Sherlock denies that it could have been the document. But then Jude and Peter have many things in common which are not found in that book. Hence this one document does not explain the correspondence. The assumption of another document is purely

[z] See De Wette's Einleit. p. 357, et seqq.

[a] Dissertation first, The authority of the second epistle of Peter; Works edited by Hughes, vol. iv. p. 137, et seqq.

[b] Works, vol. iii. p. 445, 4to. edit.

gratuitous, and virtually presents *two* sources according to Sherlock's hypothesis. The bishop himself feels that the old Jewish book which he conjures up is not sufficient of itself to explain the similarity existing between Peter and Jude, and therefore adds: "I see no inconvenience in supposing that St. Jude had as well the epistle of St. Peter as the old Jewish book, which contained the description of the ancient false prophets and the prophecy of Enoch concerning them, before him at the same time."[c] It is needless to refer to Herder's idea that, while Jude is followed by Peter, the former drew from a Persian source, not written but oral. Hasse's notion is similar, viz. that both derived their materials independently of one another from a Chaldeo-persian original. Kaiser thought of a lost Aramaean document which Peter and Jude translated into Greek.

2. Others believe that Peter made use of Jude's epistle. This opinion is favoured by the following circumstances.

(*a*) The phraseology of Jude is simpler than that of Peter which is more artificial, rhetorical, paraphrastic, and amplified. This is exemplified in

	compared with	
Jude 4.—*οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα,*		2 Peter ii. 3.—*οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἔκπαλαι οὐκ ἀργεῖ καὶ ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτῶν οὐ νυστάζει.*
Jude 6.—*δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν,*		2 Peter ii. 4.—*σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τετηρημένους.*
Jude 7.—*πρόκεινται δεῖγμα, πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι,*		2 Peter ii. 6.—*τεφρώσας καταστροφῇ κατέκρινεν, ὑπόδειγμα μελλόντων ἀσεβεῖν τεθεικώς.*
Jude 8.—*σάρκα μὲν μιαίνουσι,*		2 Peter ii. 10.—*ὀπίσω σαρκὸς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μιασμοῦ πορευομένους.*
Jude 8.—*κυριότητα ἀθετοῦσι,*		2 Peter ii. 10.—*κυριότητος καταφρονοῦντας.*

[c] Dissertation, etc., p. 147.

Jude 8.—δόξας βλασφημοῦσιν,	compared with	2 Peter ii. 10.—δόξας οὐ τρέμουσι βλασφημοῦντες.
Jude 9.—κρίσιν βλασφημίας,		2 Peter ii. 11.—βλάσφημον κρίσιν.
Jude 10.—ὅσα μὲν οὐκ οἴδασι, βλασφημοῦσιν,		2 Peter ii. 12.—ἐν οἷς ἀγνοοῦσιν βλασφημοῦντες.
Jude 10.—ἐν τούτοις φθείρονται,		2 Peter ii. 12.—ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ αὐτῶν καταφθαρήσονται.
Jude 16.—τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα,		2 Peter ii. 18.—ὑπέρογκα ματαιότητος φθεγγόμενοι.[d]

(*b*) Expressions occurring in Jude's epistle are altered in a very singular manner. Thus the word

Jude 12.—σπιλάδες, rocks on which vessels are shipwrecked,	becomes in	2 Peter ii. 13.—σπίλοι καὶ μῶμοι, spots and blemishes.
Jude 12.—ἀγάπαις, *love-feasts* or *agapae*,		2 Peter ii. 13.—ἀπάταις.

It is true that the reading in the latter is not certain; and Lachmann has even taken ἀπάταις into the text; but Tischendorf favours the common reading, which is the more probable one.

Jude 12.—νεφέλαι ἄνυδροι, *clouds* without water,	is altered in	2 Peter ii. 17.—into πηγαὶ ἄνυδροι, *wells* without water.

These changes are of such a nature as to shew the originality of Jude.

(*c*) Passages in Peter are so indefinite and general in their language as to be obscure without the light of the parallels in Jude. Thus 2 Peter ii. 4 is less definite than the corresponding Jude 6. From the former we could not tell to what occurrence in particular the author alludes, or what was the cause of punishment; but in the latter, light is thrown on the point in the

[d] See Jessien, De Ἀνθεντίᾳ epistolae Judae, p. 96, et seqq.

words "they did not keep their dominion, but left their own habitation (heaven)," by the comparison with the sin of the Sodomites. They went after strange flesh, like Sodom and Gomorrha, *i. e.* after the daughters of men. Peter employs the general word *ἁμαρτάνειν*, and avoids reference to the book of Enoch.

In like manner 2 Peter ii. 11 is unintelligible apart from Jude 9. Here Peter's language is general. He expresses himself indefinitely. We cannot tell to what he alludes. It is difficult to say what he intended to point out. Even few readers well acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures could have been aware of his meaning, because the key to it lay in a book not generally read or known. He took it for granted that Jude was already in the hands of his readers, and therefore he contents himself with an indefinite statement to the effect that there was a dispute between angels and fallen spirits: "angels who are greater (than these self-willed blasphemers) in power and might do not bring against them (the angelic dignities, δόξας), a railing accusation." But Jude on the other hand presents a definite statement. The dispute, as we learn from him, was between Michael and the devil about the body of Moses. Hence *angels* in Peter means *good angels*, Satan being included among *angelic dignities* or *δόξαι*. And the plural number is employed only to express in a more general way what Jude gives clearly in the singular.

(*d*) "The course of thought in Jude's epistle is firm and definite; in the second epistle of Peter it is unsteady, like that of an imitator. Compare Jude 4 with 2 Peter ii. 1, and i. 19-21; Jude 5-8 with 2 Peter ii. 4-11, where the interruptions in 7-9 and the change of case in verse 10 should be noticed. Compare also Jude 11 with 2 Peter ii. 15, etc.; Jude 17 with 2 Peter iii. 1, etc."[o]

(*e*) The opponents described and denounced in Jude are distinctly pourtrayed; but in second Peter the picture is not clear. In the former, practically atheistical men are delineated; but in the latter, false teachers of a very vicious character.

In short the brevity, liveliness, and close relation between the parts of the picture presented in Jude shew originality and inde-

[o] See De Wette's Einleitung, p. 359, fifth edition.

pendence; while Peter amplifies, and diverges into generality, loosening the close coherence of ideas.

(*f*) It is not so probable that Jude should have extracted a very brief epistle, energetic and powerful as it is, from a longer one, as that the writer of the longer should have used the shorter. Were it otherwise, the question would arise, What utility could there be in another sacred penman putting into the form of a distinct epistle a few verses so similar to part of an epistle already existing?[f]

The only plausible argument adduced in favour of the priority of second Peter to Jude, and pronounced decisive by Hengstenberg,[g] is derived from the seventeenth and eighteenth verses of Jude's epistle compared with 2 Peter iii. 3: "But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ: how that they told you there should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts." . . . . "Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts," etc. According to Hengstenberg, who follows Heydenreich, the words of Jude furnish the most important evidence in favour of the authenticity of Peter's second epistle. It may be conceded, that no such prophecy as that referred to by Jude is found in the New Testament writings which appeared before his own epistle. The allusion cannot well be to Acts xx. 29; to 1 Tim. iv. 1, etc.; to 2 Tim. iii. 1, etc.; or to 2 Thessal. ii. 3, though these passages have all been mentioned. Must it be therefore to 2 Peter iii. 3, and thus prove the priority of the latter? The conclusion does not follow. Jude speaks of *τῶν ῥημάτων τῶν προειρημένων*, *the words spoken before* by the apostles, etc., which does not necessarily imply that they were *written*. Rather do they presuppose the idea of those words *not* being written.

Another argument put forward by Heydenreich and adopted by Hengstenberg is, that the false teachers are said by Jude to have already appeared. They were then endeavouring to get into the churches with which Jude was connected. But in Peter

[f] See Mayerhoff's Einleit. in die Petrinischen Schriften, p. 179, et seqq., and Credner's Einleit. pp. 644, 645.

[g] Die Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes, u. s. w., vol. i. p. 19, note.

they are spoken of as future. His readers are warned against them before they appeared.

This argument for the priority of Jude would be unanswerable if it were certain that both wrote to the same persons, and against the same individuals. It is more probable, however, that they wrote to individuals in different countries—the one to Jewish christians especially; the other to Gentile christians, or at least to churches the greater proportion of whose members were Gentile christians—and that those censured by both belonged to different classes. Peter speaks of *false teachers* or *heretics;* Jude of *antinomian libertines.*

3. After the preceding reasons for holding that Jude, not Peter, is the original, we need not dwell on this hypothesis, which was entertained by Luther, Mill, Zachariae, Schmid, Wolf, Stolz, Michaelis, Storr, Schulze, Hänlein, Bauer, Dahl, Thiersch.

4. Olshausen, wishing to avoid the notion of the one writer having read the epistle of the other, indulges in the following conjectures to account for the resemblance. The primitive churches were connected in the most intimate fellowship. Both apostles (?) were called to contend with the same kind of heretics, and had come to a mutual understanding, either verbally or by epistolary correspondence, in respect to the arguments with which they could most effectually refute their errors. Peter might have been acquainted with the countries to which Jude sent his epistle. They may have resided together, or at least were not so far separated but that an interchange of sentiment might have been easily effected. Jude too may have been more accurately acquainted with the heretics, having easier access to them; and Peter would willingly give way to the authority of Jude when he believed that the latter had a more accurate understanding of a particular point.[h] In the same way did Augusti account for the similarity.[i]

But the hypothesis in question appears to be made up of a number of improbable conjectures. Instead of presenting us with a picture of the apostolic age, it transfers modern conceptions to primitive times. The idea of an apostle corresponding with Jude

[h] Opuscula theologica, pp. 62, 63, or translated in the American Biblical Repository by Prof. Edwards, for 1836, pp. 348, 349.

[i] Die Katholischen Briefe neu uebersetzt, vol. ii. p. 105, et seqq.

as to arguments to be employed against heretics, and of his following Jude because the latter was better acquainted with the subject, is preposterous. It is derogatory to Peter. And then it will be seen, that those against whom Jude writes were not false teachers or heretics. That they were so is an opinion which has been transferred from Peter to the epistle of Jude, without being *inherent* in the latter.

The more we consider the question before us, the less likely does any mode of accounting for the striking similarity between the two writers appear without assuming that Peter saw and read Jude's epistle. All circumstances that can be conjured up or conjectured for the purpose of explaining the coincidence without this, are improbable and insufficient. But in adopting the originality of Jude, it is not necessary to suppose that Peter was a mere copyist. Along with the similarity, and intersecting it, there is a difference. Peter still appears as an original writer. His individuality is not obscured. The case is as if the perusal of Jude's epistle had made a strong impression on his mind, so that its phraseology as well as its sentiments became incorporated with his mental constitution.[k]

IV. *Authenticity.*

Allusions to the epistle have been found in Clement of Rome, in his extant epistle to the Corinthians, where he writes: *Νῶε ἐκήρυξε μετάνοιαν, καὶ ὑπακούσαντες ἐσώθησαν*:[l] "Noah preached repentance, and those who obeyed him were saved" (2 Peter ii. 5). So too in another place: *Διὰ φιλοξενίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν Λὼτ ἐσώθη ἐκ Σοδόμων, τῆς περιχώρου πάσης κριθείσης διὰ πυρὸς καὶ θείου. Πρόδηλον ποιήσας ὁ δεσπότης, ὅτι τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει, τοὺς δὲ ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας εἰς κόλασιν καὶ αἰκισμον τίθησι*:[m] "On account of his hospitality and piety Lot was saved out of Sodom, when all the surrounding region was condemned by fire and brimstone. God made it appear, that he does not forsake those who trust in him; but on the other hand, those who turn aside he appoints to punishment and torment" (2 Peter ii. 6-9).

[k] See Schleiermacher's Einleitung, p. 411. [l] Cap. vii.
[m] Cap. xi.

In like manner: *Πόρρω γενέσθω ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη ὅπου λέγει· ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τὴν ψυχὴν, οἱ λέγοντες· Ταῦτα ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἰδοὺ γεγηράκαμεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τούτων συμβέβηκεν*:[n] "Let that be far from us which is written, Miserable are the double-minded, who are doubtful in their mind, which say: "These things have we heard even in the time of our fathers; and behold, we are grown old, and none of these things have happened to us" (2 Peter iii. 4).

The first of these passages can hardly be regarded as a quotation from or allusion to 2 Peter ii. 5, because the agreement is so slight. It was taken from the Old Testament. The second may possibly refer to 2 Peter ii. 6-9. It appears to us not improbable that Peter's words were in the mind of Clement when he wrote the passage. It is by no means certain, however, that this was the case. The third passage cannot be considered an allusion to 2 Peter iii. 4. It may refer possibly to James i. 5, etc.

Lardner and others find allusions to our epistle in Hermas, as well as Clement. They are the following: "Ii sunt qui crediderunt quidem, dubitatione autem sua reliquerunt viam suam veram:"[o] "They are such as have believed, but through their doubting have forsaken the true way" (2 Peter ii. 15).

"Aurea autem pars vos estis, qui effugistis seculum hoc:"[p] "The golden parts are you who have escaped this world" (2 Peter ii. 20).

But the resemblance here is too slight to warrant the conclusion that Hermas had special reference to Peter.

Justin Martyr says in his Dialogue with Trypho: *Συνήκαμεν καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον, ὅτι ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη, εἰς τοῦτο συνάγει*:[q]

"We have also understood, that the saying, 'that a day with the Lord is as a thousand years,' belongs to this matter" (2 Peter iii. 8).

Here also there is no certainty that 2 Peter iii. 8 is referred to; for Psalm xc. 4 may be equally intended. The context shews that the Old Testament rather than the New was in the writer's

[n] Cap. xxiii.
[o] Lib. I. Vis. iii. 7.
[p] Ibid. I. iv. 3.
[q] P. 308.

mind. Irenaeus has two passages[r] in which the words "the day of the Lord is as a thousand years" occur. But they are not exactly the same as those in Peter; and may also refer to Psalm cx. 4.

Lardner quotes the following passage from Athenagoras: *καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προφητῶν, οἳ κατ' ἔκστασιν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λογισμῶν κινήσαντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, ἃ ἐνηργοῦντο ἐξεφώνησαν:*[s]

"Of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah and the other prophets, who according to the ecstasy of the thoughts in them, the divine Spirit moving them, spoke out those things which were working in them."

This is supposed to allude to 2 Peter i. 21. But the allusion is quite indefinite. The idea contained in the passage was a common one; and the language bears little resemblance to the supposed original. The reference is more than doubtful.

Hippolytus Bishop of Portus appears to allude to the epistle when he writes: *οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἰδίας δυνάμεως ἐφθέγγοντο (οἱ προφῆται). . . . . οὐδὲ ἅπερ αὐτοὶ ἐβούλοντο, ταῦτα ἐκήρυττον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐσοφίζοντο ὀρθῶς, ἔπειτα δι' ὁραμάτων προεδιδάσκοντο τὰ μέλλοντα καλῶς. εἶθ' οὕτω πεπεισμένοι ἔλεγον ταῦτα, ἅπερ αὐτοῖς ἦν μόνοις ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένα:*[t]

"For the prophets did not speak by their own power, nor did they preach what they wished themselves; but, in the first place, they were truly enlightened by the word, then they were taught by visions in respect to future events; and being thus influenced, they uttered things which God had revealed to them alone."

These words bear considerable resemblance to 2 Peter i. 21, of which passage they are an expansion. It is not so likely they were taken from Philo, as Mayerhoff supposes.

Tertullian and Cyprian never quote our epistle.

Theophilus of Antioch writes: *οἱ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι πνευματοφόροι πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ προφῆται γενόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμπνευσθέντες καὶ σοφισθέντες ἐγένοντο θεοδίδακτοι:*[v]

"Men of God filled with the Holy Ghost, and becoming pro-

[r] Advers. Haeres. lib. v. 23, 2; and Ibid. 28, 3.

[s] Legat. pro Christianis, p. 9. [t] De Antichristo, cap. 2.

[v] Ad Autolycum, lib. ii. p. 87, ed. Colon.

phets, inspired by God himself, and being enlightened, were taught of God" (2 Peter i. 20, 21).

It is possible that these words may contain a paraphrase of 2 Peter i. 20, 21; but it can scarcely be pronounced probable. The idea of prophets being moved by the Holy Ghost is not exclusively Petrine. It is also Pauline. And the phrase *οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, men of God*, which is found both in Theophilus and in Peter, occurs in Paul's second epistle to Timothy.

Another passage in Theophilus is: *ἡ διάταξις οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ φαίνων ὥσπερ λύχνος ἐν οἰκήματι συνεχομένῳ ἐφώτισε τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν*:[w]

"The ordination of God then is this, viz., his word shining as a lamp in a house confining it, gives light to the whole world under heaven" (2 Peter i. 19).

Here Theophilus compares the word of God with a lamp, a comparison common in his day, and used by the apostle John. It is quite uncertain whether he took it from Peter.

There is no reference in the extant works of Clemens Alexandrinus to the second epistle of Peter, as Lardner himself admits. But Eusebius says: *Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑποτυπώσεσι ξυνελόντα εἰπεῖν, πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκου γραφῆς ἐπιτετμημένας πεποίηται διηγήσεις, μὴ δὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγομένας παρελθών· τὴν Ἰούδα λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς· τήν τε Βαρνάβα καὶ τὴν Πέτρου λεγομένην ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους δὲ ἐπιστολήν, κ. τ. λ.*:[x]

"But in his Institutions, to speak briefly, he gives short explications of all the canonical Scriptures, not omitting those which are contradicted: I mean the epistle of Jude and *the other catholic epistles*, and the epistle of Barnabas, and the book called the Revelation of Peter, and the epistle to the Hebrews," etc.

Cassiodorus says: "Ferunt itaque scripturas divinas veteris novique Testamenti ab ipso principio usque ad finem, Graeco sermone declarâsse Clementem Alexandrinum:"[y]

"They say therefore that Clement of Alexandria illustrated the divine writings of the Old and New Testament from beginning to end, in the Greek language."

[w] Ad Autolycum, lib. ii. p. 92. [x] H. E. vi. 14.
[y] De Institut. divin. lib. praef.

This agrees with Eusebius's testimony. But the same writer says elsewhere: "In epistolis autem canonicis, Clemens Alexandrinus presbyter, qui et Stromateus dicitur, id est in epistola S. Petri prima, S. Joannis prima et secunda, et Jacobi, quaedam Attico sermone declaravit. Ubi multa quidem subtiliter, sed aliqua incaute locutus est, quae nos ita transferri fecimus in Latinum, ut exclusis quibusdam offendiculis purificata doctrina ejus securior potuisset hauriri. . . . . Sed cum de reliquis canonicis epistolis magna nos cogitatio fatigaret, subito nobis codex Didymi Graeco stilo conscriptus in expositionem septem canonicarum epistolarum. . . . . concessus est:[z]

"Clement of Alexandria, presbyter, author of the Stromata, gave some illustrations in the Greek language of the canonical epistles, *i. e.* of the first epistle of Peter, the first and second of John, and the epistle of James, where he has made many acute though some incautious remarks. These I have so rendered into Latin, that while I have excluded some obnoxious passages, the pure doctrine might more safely be drawn from its pages. When I had become wearied by a close examination of the remaining canonical epistles, the manuscript of Didymus, an exposition of the canonical epistles written in Greek, was put into my possession."

From these words of Cassiodorus, who, as is stated, published a Latin translation of the Adumbrations, it has been inferred by Mayerhoff and others, that Clement commented only on the epistles mentioned, viz. first Peter, first and second John, and James. But the language of Eusebius, and the other passage in Cassiodorus, are too clear to be explained away in this manner. Eusebius had read the Institutions of Clement; whereas it would appear from the last passage of Cassiodorus, that he had no more than an extract from the Institutions containing the epistles he specifies. Photius in like manner speaks of Clement's explications of the catholic epistles.[a] We believe therefore, that Clement of Alexandria was acquainted with the second epistle of Peter. He commented on it along with the other catholic epistles. But it is impossible to tell what he thought of its authenticity and inspiration.

Origen refers to the epistle in various of his writings. Thus

[z] De Institut. cap. viii. [a] Bibliotheca cod. 109, ed. Bekker.

in the seventh homily on Joshua he writes: "Petrus enim duabus epistolarum suarum personat tubis:"[b] "For Peter speaks aloud through the two trumpets of his epistles." Again, in the fourth homily on Leviticus: "Et iterum Petrus dicit; Consortes, inquit, facti estis divinae naturae:"[c] "And again Peter says, And ye are made partakers, says he, of the divine nature." In the thirteenth homily on the Book of Numbers, speaking of Balaam: "Et ut ait quodam in loco scriptura: Mutum animal humana voce respondens, arguit prophetae dementiam:"[d] "And as the Scripture says in a certain place, the dumb ass speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet."

These testimonies however, are suspicious, because they are found only in the Latin translation made by Rufinus. We know that Rufinus took the liberty of adding to Origen's own words, especially in his Homilies. In his commentary on John, Origen styles Peter's first epistle "the catholic epistle;" but he does not so name the second. Eusebius has also given an extract in which Origen says: *Πέτρος . . . . . μίαν ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην καταλέλοιπεν, ἔστω δε καὶ δευτέραν· ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ:*[e]

"Peter has left one epistle universally acknowledged. But let it be granted likewise that he wrote a second; for it is doubted of."

This passage is scarcely consistent with the extract from his seventh homily on Joshua, or with the other quotations in which Origen is made to speak as if he had no doubt about Peter's writing the second epistle. If he received the epistle as Peter's composition, why did he not use it in support of his doctrines, instead of resorting to remote and inferential arguments? Is it not remarkable, that in his Greek writings he has not quoted the epistle as Peter's, or ascribed it to him? It is true, that in the Dialogue De recta Fide, current under the name of Adamantius, which some ascribe to Origen, a passage is quoted from the second epistle of Peter, and expressly ascribed to that apostle; but it is generally believed that the Dialogue in question was not written by Origen. In none of his *authentic* Greek works is our epistle expressly quoted, or attributed to the apostle Peter. Hence it is likely that Rufinus, his Latin translator, inserted the phrases

[b] In libr. Jesu Nave. Opp. Tom. ii. p. 412, ed. De la Rue.
[c] Opp. Tom. ii. p. 200. [d] Ibid. p. 321. [e] H. E. vi. 25.

which now appear in his Homilies, but which do not well agree with Origen's own assertion as given by Eusebius. This opinion is confirmed by the fact, that Hilary of Poitiers, who followed Origen closely and adopted his canon, has not made use of our epistle. The result of our inquiry into Origen's sentiments on the present point is, that he was acquainted with the second epistle of Peter, but did not reckon it the apostle's composition, and therefore did not use it as a part of Sacred Scripture.

Firmilian in his epistle to Cyprian writes: "Adhuc etiam infamans Petrum et Paulum beatos apostolos, quasi hoc ipsi tradiderint; qui in epistolis suis haereticos execrati sunt, et ut eos evitemus, monuerunt:"[f]

"Abusing also the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, as if they had delivered this doctrine; though they in their epistles have cursed heretics and admonished us to avoid them."

Here Firmilian speaks of *epistles*, and appears to allude particularly to the second of Peter. The plural number *epistolis* might refer indeed to *one* epistle of Peter with those of Paul, but the context "qui haereticos execrati sunt," can only refer to the second epistle of Peter, the first containing nothing against false teachers or heretics. Yet one cannot help wishing, says Lardner, that we had this letter in its original language. Cyprian, to whom it was addressed, has observed an entire silence respecting second Peter.

Our epistle is not in the Peshito or old Syriac version. Hence the Syrian church rejected it.

In Methodius bishop of Tyre we find the following: ἐκπυρωθήσεται γὰρ πρὸς κάθαρσιν καὶ ἀνακαινισμὸν καταβὰς, ᾧ πᾶς (ἅπας?) ὁ κόσμος κατακλυζόμενος πυρί:[g]

"For the whole world, that it may be purified and renewed, will be burned up with devouring flames."

In another place he writes: διὸ ἀνάγκη δὴ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὖθις, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐκφλόγωσιν ἔσεσθαι πάντων, καὶ τὸν βρασμόν:[h]

"Wherefore it is necessary that both earth and heaven exist again, after the conflagration of all things and the fervent heat."

[f] See Cypriani Opp. ep. xxv. (ed. Paris 1726.)

[g] Ap. Epiphan. Haeres. lxiv. 31. [h] Ibid.

It is likely that passages in our epistle such as iii. 6, 7, and 12, 13, floated before the mind of Methodius when he was writing; but there is no proper citation.

Eusebius writes: *Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία ἡ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ προτέρα ἀνωμολόγηται· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ οἱ πάλαι πρεσβύτεροι ὡς ἀναμφιλέκτῳ ἐν τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν κατακέχρηνται συγγράμμασιν· τὴν δὲ φερομένην αὐτοῦ δευτέραν, οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν, ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν*:[1]

"One epistle of Peter called his first is universally received. This the elders of ancient times have quoted in their writings as undoubtedly genuine. But that called his second epistle, we have been informed, has not been received into the New Testament. Nevertheless appearing to many to be useful, it has been carefully studied with the other Scriptures."

In another place[k] he says, that the second of Peter belonged to the controverted writings (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*). It would appear from these passages of Eusebius, that many before him did not admit the canonical authority of our epistle, though it was publicly read as *useful*. That he himself did not believe in its authenticity is probable from the cautious manner in which he speaks of it, and his putting it among the controverted writings.

Didymus, at the end of his commentary on our epistle remarks, "Non est ignorandum, praesentem epistolam esse *falsatam*, quae licet publicetur, non tamen in canone est:"[l] "It should not be concealed, that the present epistle has been falsified; and though it has been published, it is not in the canon." Here the word 'falsatam' does not mean *interpolated*, but *pronounced spurious*. The epistle was reckoned spurious by various persons; and Didymus himself entertained the same opinion.

But it has been thought by various critics, that the words in question are not authentic, because Didymus elsewhere cites the epistle as *Petrine* and *catholic*; and designates the first epistle, *the first epistle* of Peter (implying a second of Peter).[m] It is proba-

[1] H. E. iii. 3. [k] Ibid. iii. 25.

[l] See Gallandi Biblioth. patr. tom. vi. p. 294.

[m] De Trinitate I. 15, 21, 28; 28, 87; 32, 99. II. 6, 151; 10, 234; 11, 7, 182.

ble however that the language here attributed to Didymus has been added to his explanation of the epistle by a later hand.

Jerome says: "Scripsit (Petrus) duas epistolas quae catholicae nominantur, quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur, propter styli cum priore dissonantiam:"[n]

"Peter wrote two epistles which are called catholic, the second of which most persons deny to be his, on account of its disagreement in style with the first."

In another place he explains the difference of language and style by the fact, that Peter employed a different *interpreter* (ἑρμηνευτής) in the case of the second epistle. Thus he writes: "Habebat ergo (Paulus) Titum interpretem, sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum, cujus evangelium, Petro narrante et illo scribente, compositum est. Denique et duae epistolae, quae feruntur Petri, stilo inter se et charactere discrepant, structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum interpretibus:"[o]

"Paul therefore had Titus for his interpreter, as also Saint Peter had Mark, whose gospel was composed by Peter narrating and the other writing. Finally also, the two epistles which are called Peter's differ from each other in style and character and structure of words. Whence we understand that he used different interpreters, according to the necessity of the case."

After Jerome, the epistle was received by Rufinus and by Augustine, so that it was regarded as an essential part of the New Testament canon.

Let us now review the external evidence affecting our epistle.

The first *certain* trace of it that appears is at Alexandria, where Clement was acquainted with it, and treated of it in connexion with the other catholic epistles. As far as the history of the epistle can be investigated, it is always found in connexion with the other catholic epistles. Origen and Eusebius placed it among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*. The council of Laodicea, in its fifty-ninth canon, decided in favour of two epistles of Peter. So too Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and probably Epiphanius. But though the epistle came to be generally received as Peter's, in the eastern church, during the fourth century, yet doubts of its authenticity still lingered; for Gregory of Nazianzum states, that

[n] De Scriptor. ecclesiast. cap. i. [o] Epist. cxx. ad Hedib. cap. 11.

some received *three*, others *seven* catholic epistles. Didymus forms a prominent exception in this century to the reception of the epistle's authenticity.

In the western church, we do not meet with any notice of the epistle till Philastrius of Brescia received it into his canon towards the close of the fourth century. It was also adopted by the council at Hippo, A. D. 397. Cyprian in the third century speaks of but one epistle of Peter; and the canon of Muratori makes no reference to the second. Jerome, as we have seen, adopted it, and afterwards it was admitted equally with the first, as a part of Scripture.

In the Syrian church, the earliest view taken of the epistle was unfavourable to its authenticity, as may be deduced from its omission in the Peshito. But in the fourth century, Ephrem admitted the seven catholic letters, influenced doubtless by the Greek church. So too the new Syriac version received the seven. But Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected it, if Leontius of Byzantium is to be believed. Junilius also relates,[p] that in the Syriac school at Nisibis, the authenticity of second Peter, second and third John, Jude, and the Apocalypse, was doubted. Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Egyptian monk, rejected it; but probably on doctrinal grounds.

How then, it may be asked, does the state of the external testimony affect the epistle's authenticity? We see that the letter was generally associated with the other catholic ones, and publicly read like them; but that it was not received as Peter's, by distinguished men like Origen and Eusebius. Were the deniers of its apostolic authorship influenced by historical considerations? If they were, the authenticity would in that case be a very doubtful thing. But, as far as can be gathered from antiquity, they were not so influenced. Their reasons for hesitation and doubt would seem to have been *critical* and *doctrinal*. Jerome says expressly, that its authenticity was denied by many or most (plerique) from the disagreement of its style with that of the first epistle. Who the *plerique* particularly were, cannot be made out; but the word certainly implies that the epistle had many opponents, not perhaps in Jerome's own day, but in the preceding time.

[p] De partibus legis divinae, in Galland. Bibl. Patr. vol. xii. pp. 77-92.

Perhaps the difference of style between it and the first epistle; the passage respecting the world's dissolution (2 Peter iii. 7, 10, 13), opposed as it was to the sentiments of various fathers; the remarkable agreement of a part of the epistle with Jude's, the latter being thought the original; and the limited circulation of the catholic epistles generally, for a considerable time after they had been written, were the main causes of that scepticism which retarded its general canonical reputation for so long a time. Still it must candidly be allowed, that our epistle obtained its canonical position in an uncritical period, viz. the fourth century.

We do not feel that the external evidence is sufficient to disprove the authenticity of our epistle. Of course it is far from proving it. One fact of importance is shown by it, viz. that the treatise was in existence before the time of Clement of Alexandria. It is quite probable too, that it was not composed in his life-time, certainly not at Alexandria, else he would not have made that use of it which he did. It must have appeared *before* his time; how long, it is impossible to tell. The silence of the earliest fathers is not a conclusive argument against its existence or authenticity, because that silence may be explained by a variety of circumstances. "None of the shorter books of the New Testament," says Olshausen, "are referred to by the fathers, but with rare exceptions; some books, on account of the nature of the argument, would furnish much less opportunity for citation; and as a great part of the writings of the ancient fathers has perished, it might easily happen, that, in the writings now extant, no mention would be made of a book which all the ancients might have read."[q]

In addition to these external testimonies, it has been thought that internal evidence furnished by the epistle itself disproves its Petrine origin. Indeed this is more relied on than the external. Here the arguments are chiefly such as follow:—

1. The use which the writer makes of Jude's epistle does not suit the position and character of an apostle.

2. The second epistle presupposes another relation of the writer to his readers than that found in the first.

3. The visible anxiety of the author to make himself known as

[q] American Bib. Reposit. for 1836, pp. 122, 123.

the apostle Peter, points to the conclusion that Peter himself was not the writer.

4. The appeal to an apostolic commandment (iii. 2), where the writer plainly distinguishes himself from the apostles, argues another writer than Peter.

5. The citation of all Paul's epistles under the title of γραφαί, (iii. 15), refers to a later age than the apostolic.

6. There is a reference to doubts of Christ's second coming, which were probably of later origin.

7. The doctrinal view given of the origin and destruction of the world (iii. 5-7), is contrary to apostolic simplicity.

8. The difference of style and diction between the first epistle and the present argues a difference of authorship. Nor is this diversity confined to the second chapter of the second epistle: it extends to the first and third.

9. The designation of the mountain in which Christ's transfiguration occurred as *the holy mount* (i. 18), betrays a post-apostolic period.

10. The allusion in 2 Peter i. 14, to the words of Christ recorded in John xxi. 18, is unsuitable.

11. The false teachers who are described in Jude's epistle as *actually existing*, are here represented, in the spirit of prophecy, as *about to appear*.

12. There is a great discrepancy between 1 Peter v. 8, and 2 Peter ii. 4.

13. The author is acquainted with and observes the distinction between a canonical and apocryphal literature. For it is manifest that there is an aversion to refer to an apocryphal book and an apocryphal narrative, by virtue of which he avoids quoting the book of Enoch (Jude 14 and ii. 11; see Jude 9), and makes no mention of the dispute between the archangel Michael and the devil. This procedure compelled him to omit and alter, so that his text is obscure and unintelligible in part without the explanatory comment furnished by Jude. Thus Schwegler argues,[r] after De Wette and other writers.

These arguments require examination.

[r] Das Nachapostolische Zeitalter, vol. i. p. 497.

1. The epistle of Jude is partly copied, partly imitated. This is inconsistent with the character and position of an apostle.

We assume it as a clear conclusion deduced from a comparison of the two epistles, that the present writer had seen and read the epistle of Jude. In no other way is the resemblance between them satisfactorily accounted for. Here then the case is simply that of an apostle copying and imitating the composition of one who was not an apostle. It may indeed be admitted, that Jude's epistle had the sanction of apostles, having been written by an apostolic man; and that it contains nothing unworthy of an apostle. Still Jude was *not* an apostle. He was simply brother of James the apostle. Is it likely then, that Peter should follow the epistle of such an one in the manner he has done? It is *possible*, that if Jude had been an apostle, Peter might have adopted his words and sentiments to the extent which now appears; but it does seem to us improbable that he should do so under the real circumstances of the case. We do not believe, that the present epistle of Jude was written later than to allow of the apostle Peter's reading it; but it is *the unsuitableness of the relation in which an apostolic author would be placed* which indisposes us to allow of the idea in question. Hence the argument is of weight against the hypothesis that the epistle proceeded from Peter himself. We are unable to meet it satisfactorily; or to see *probability* in any of the circumstances adduced for the purpose of obviating this objection. No valid or sufficient answer has yet been offered to it. All the replies come short of the mark.

2. The author assumes that he is writing to the same churches as he had done in the former epistle; and yet what he says of his relation to his readers is inconsistent with that assumption; for according to the second epistle they must have been individuals who had been *personally* instructed by the apostle Peter, and with whom he stood in a close personal connexion. But the churches addressed in the first epistle could not stand in this relation to the writer of the second.[s]

Here it is necessary to inquire into the proof of the statement, that in the second epistle it is taken for granted those addressed

[s] Neander, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, etc., vol. ii. p. 33. (English Translation.)

had been personally instructed by the apostle Peter. On looking into the document for the basis of the assertion, the words of i. 16 occur: "For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, *when we made known unto you* the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ," etc. This is the only passage which favours the idea in question; for the English translation of iii. 2 is certainly incorrect. Now in the first epistle of Peter, there are various allusions to the coming of Christ, especially in the fourth and fifth chapters, to which the expressions in 2 Peter i. 16 may have been designed to refer. And then it should be noticed, that though the writer of the second epistle assumes a nearer relation to the persons addressed than did the writer of the first, yet there is no allusion by the former to impending or actual persecutions relating to these christians, as there is in the latter. Hence the more definite allusions to afflictions which are found in the first epistle may be set over against all that is contained in the second epistle, especially as i. 16 does not truly involve the fact of Peter's personal preaching among the churches written to. Besides, it is not necessary that an author should bring forward *the same degree of relationship* he sustains to churches, in various epistles addressed to them. His subject may not demand it. The circumstances of each case may require treatment involving a nearer or a more distant relation. While the relation *absolutely* remains unchanged, circumstances may cause it to appear *relatively* different.

It has also been contended, that while the salutation in the first verse gives the idea of an encyclical letter to all christians, and the sixteenth verse of the first chapter contracts the relation of the writer to his readers, the circle of the persons addressed is subsequently limited (iii. 1) to the believers in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, and even to such as the apostle Paul had written to (iii. 15, comp. ep. to Romans ii. 4).[t]

But it is better to explain the general salutation at the commencement by ch. i. 12-17 and iii. 1 than *vice versa*, in which case it will not suggest the idea of a letter intended in the first place for *all* christians—an idea which is not necessarily or abso-

[t] See Mayerhoff, Einleit. u. s. w., pp. 150, 151, and Schwegler, Nachapostolische Zeitalter, vol. i. p. 492.

lutely inherent in the words. The apostle Paul, as is expressly stated, had written to them; but the passage in Romans ii. 4 appears to us to have no proper connexion with the point. We should rather be inclined to take the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians, which were written to christians in Asia Minor. In that case, however, the difficulty of finding any suitable passages in them respecting the second coming of Christ presses weightily upon us. *Perhaps* the writer of our epistle took it for granted that every Pauline letter was intended for all christians. *If so*, the allusion in iii. 15, 16 is to the first epistle to the Thessalonians, iv. 13-v. 11, where the topic of Christ's second advent is treated at considerable length. We are not wholly satisfied with this explanation, but cannot offer a better. There is perplexity in iii. 15, 16 compared with its context and with iii. 1, which raises a suspicion against the authenticity that has not yet been removed.

3. The solicitude with which the writer endeavours to make himself known as the apostle Peter, betrays, it is alleged, an apocryphal writer. Thus in i. 1 he uses the double name Simon Peter. In i. 14 he states that he should shortly die, as the Lord Jesus Christ had revealed to him. In i. 18 he speaks of the transfiguration on the mount, wishing to shew that he was none other than Peter. Again, in iii. 1 he identifies himself with the author of the first epistle. So also in iii. 15 he wishes to appear as an apostle.

These considerations do not possess much weight; for it is easy to conceive of circumstances requiring or justifying the particularity in question.

The double or full name Simon Peter at the commencement is not an uncommon phenomenon. When an author has two appellations of this nature, he will sometimes employ that by which his contemporaries usually distinguish him; and sometimes the entire name. Both Simon and Peter are found together in Matth. xvi. 16 and John i. 41, whence it appears, that both were retained by himself and by others. Again in i. 14 the allusion may be either to the words of our Lord recorded in John xxi. 18, or *to a vision*, in which the knowledge of his approaching death had been communicated to Peter. In the former case, attention

is drawn to the fact that the last chapter of John is supposititious, so that the allusion made to words recorded in *it* only strengthens the suspicion against the authenticity of Peter's second epistle. But we have already seen, that the chapter in question forms an integral part of the gospel. Even on the supposition therefore of the reference being to John xxi. 18, etc., nothing can be fairly adduced against our epistle from the character of that final chapter.

We prefer referring i. 14 to a communication which Peter had received in vision respecting his impending death, because John's record of the Redeemer's words alludes to *the mode* rather than *the time* of the apostle's decease. We say the *mode*, and that mode *crucifixion*, for to that the words most readily refer. It is perfectly ridiculous to assert with Bacon,[u] that they imply only "that Peter was destined to pass a long life in the service of his Master,—that he should, after having worn out his bodily and mental energies in his devoted exertions, attain such an extreme decrepid old age as to lose the power of voluntary motion, and die thus." And if this be so, Peter speaks in a manner analogous to Paul's. An extraordinary event had occurred to him. He had been favoured with a revelation. In like manner Christ appeared to Paul, at his conversion, and subsequently. But surely an epistle of Paul is not to be pronounced spurious, because in it he speaks of himself as favoured with an extraordinary communication (Acts xxii. 17; xxiii. 11; 2 Cor. xii. 1, etc.). Besides, the context shews, that the writer does not introduce the words in question with the view of drawing attention to himself *as the writer*, but in order to impress his counsels on the memories of the readers.

In i. 18 the author designates himself an eye-witness of the transfiguration of Jesus on the holy mount, but not with the view of assuring the readers that he was none other than Peter. Had this been so, he would have separated himself from John and James, who were also present on that occasion. It is for the purpose of shewing, that he had not followed cunningly devised fables in the course of his preaching, but was able to give a true account of the power and coming of the Lord Jesus Christ,

[u] Lives of the Apostles, p. 274.

inasmuch as he had witnessed the glorification of Him on the mount.

In iii. 1 the writer calls his readers' attention to the fact, that he was addressing to them a second epistle, not with the view of assuring them that he was none other than Peter himself, but by recalling to their recollection the circumstance of his writing twice on the same subject to keep them in mind of the holy doctrines they had received from prophets and apostles, and the necessity of maintaining them. He had written two epistles to stir up their pure minds by way of remembrance.

In iii. 15 the reference to himself is not so specific as to justify the assertion for which it is adduced. There is no anxiety to make himself known as Peter, else the language would have been more definite. The writer merely styles Paul *our beloved brother*, which may or may not signify *fellow-apostle*. The expression is a general one, and may equally mean *fellow-christian*, or *fellow-apostle*.

In looking back on the passages which have just been considered, the candid critic must admit, that they contain no special solicitude on the writer's part to obviate misapprehension regarding his person. They are so interwoven with the context as to shew another purpose.[x]

4. The appeal to an apostolic commandment (iii. 2), where the writer plainly distinguishes himself from the apostles, argues another writer than Peter.

Here it is affirmed, that the author betrays himself as one distinct from the apostles. Forgetting that Jude in saying ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν wrote correctly, because he was not an apostle, he transfers the words to himself, *retaining the pronoun* ἡμῶν, and thus unconsciously throws off his assumed character while writing τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡμῶν ἐντολῆς, "the words spoken by the holy prophets, and *the commandment of our apostles of the Lord and Saviour*." Before inquiring into the force and pertinency of this argument, it is needful to remark, that the interpretation of the clause assumed by the opponents of the epistle's authenticity is correct. That given in our English version is inadmissible, viz., "and of the commandment of us, the apostles of the Lord and Saviour." The pronoun ἡμῶν,

[x] See Schott's Isagoge, p. 419.

cannot be taken in apposition with *ἀποστόλων*, *us the apostles*, else it would precede, not follow, *ἀποστόλων*. The examples adduced by Feilmoser[y] from Acts x. 41; xiii. 32; 1 Cor. i. 18, where the pronoun is put in apposition with an *antecedent* word, are not analogous to the present one, which is peculiar, on account of the *τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος* following. "*The commandment of our apostles of the Lord and Saviour*" denotes, "the apostles who have preached to us, and were sent by, the Lord and Saviour."[z]

Assuming this to be the correct interpretation, it should be observed, that the reading of the place is not absolutely certain. Instead of *ἡμῶν*, *us*, various authorities have *ὑμῶν*, *you*. The latter is taken into the text by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Others expunge the pronoun altogether, retaining neither *ὑμῶν* nor *ἡμῶν*. But this is scarcely warranted by the amount of testimony in favour of the omission. It is difficult to decide between *ἡμῶν* and *ὑμῶν*, a fact which makes the conduct of those who rely so confidently on the passage appear precipitate. Is it not preposterous to base an argument, considered to be so important, on a place whose text is unsettled?

But Mayerhoff affirms,[a] that *ὑμῶν* makes no difference to the argument, for in that case also, the writer distinguishes himself from the apostles. "*The commandment of your apostles of the Lord and Saviour*," i. e. "the apostles who have preached to you and were sent by the Lord and Saviour." Why cannot this language include himself among the apostles? Surely the phrase *commandment of your apostles*, does not exclude the writer himself from the number. *It neither includes nor excludes him.* The fact whether he was himself one of them or not, must be determined on other grounds. It is not settled by the phrase under examination. We agree therefore with Olshausen and Windischmann in thinking, that the reading *ὑμῶν* is consistent with Peter's authorship; though differing from their modes of representing it as such.

If *ἡμῶν* be the true reading, the passage is insuperably strong against the epistle's authenticity. If *ὑμῶν* again be the true reading, it is not at all decisive. In the meantime, who shall deter-

[y] Einleit. p. 522. [z] See De Wette's Exeget. Handbuch, iii. 1, p. 95.
[a] Einleit. u. s. w., p. 187.

mine with certainty that the former is the right, and the latter the wrong word? Till the opponents of the epistle's authenticity settle the respective claims of each pronoun, they gain nothing.

5. A collection of all the Pauline epistles is referred to, and it is assumed that Paul in all of them referred to one subject which yet does not appear in all. Paul's epistles are quoted as γραφαί, as one apostle would certainly not have expressed himself respecting the epistles of another apostle, for this term in the apostolic epistles is always used to designate the writings of the Old Testament.[b]

The passage on which this argument is founded is iii. 15, 16: "And account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also, according unto the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you. As also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood," etc. These words, it is alleged, attribute a collection of the Pauline epistles to the apostolic age; whereas such a collection was not completed till the second century. Bertholdt[c] urges in reply, that the adjective πάσαις should not be taken *absolutely*, as though it referred to *all* the epistles of Paul, but *relatively*, like the corresponding Hebrew כל. It is only *the more important* epistles of Paul which were in the hands of the readers of the present author, not *the body* of the epistles; all the epistles *that Peter knew*, not *all that Paul had written*.[d] This answer is not satisfactory, because it does not take the obvious and natural sense. Nor were the important epistles those in which the things here referred to by Peter were treated. "Speaking in them of these things," λαλῶν ἐν αὐταῖς περὶ τούτων, appear to us to allude to the coming of Christ and the phenomena connected with it, for we cannot agree with Augusti,[e] who thinks that λαλῶν, κ.τ.λ., do not allude solely to the discussion respecting the Lord's return, but have relation to the scope of the entire epistle. Nor are we able to see the propriety of Olshausen's method of corroborating Augusti's interpretation, when he adduces ταῦτα, so frequently used (comp. i. 4, 8, 9, 10, 15), and the preceding

[b] Neander, Planting and Training, etc., etc., vol. ii. p. 34.
[c] Einleit. vol. vi. p. 3101. [d] Ibid.
[e] Commentar ueber die kathol. Briefe, p. 75, et seqq.

words σπουδάσατε ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι αὐτῷ εὑρεθῆναι ἐν εἰρήνῃ (iii. 14).[f] The unsatisfactory nature both of Bertholdt's and Augusti's reply becomes apparent as soon the words ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφὰς, are examined; for they imply that Paul's epistles were classed among the γραφαί or sacred writings, which they were not in the apostolic age. ὁ λοιπός, as Ullmann[g] has observed, denotes things of a like kind or nature; so that the epistles of Paul, by means of this adjective with the article prefixed, are put in the category of γραφαί or *sacred writings*. Yet ὁ λοιπός, sometimes refers to things or persons of a different nature, of which instances may be found in Acts v. 13; Ephes. ii. 3; and then the meaning of the clause would be, "As they wrest also other writings," viz. such as they use. But this interpretation, *suggested* by Olshausen, does not satisfy himself, and is manifestly too artificial.

Olshausen's explanation is the most plausible yet proposed:— "The author of the epistle distinguishes between the letters sent by the apostle Paul to the *readers* [of Peter's epistles] and the letters written to *other* churches: καθὼς Παῦλος ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς. I think that the ensuing words are to be referred to what I may call the two classes of epistles: ἐν οἷς (αἷς) ἐστι δυσνόητά τινα, ἃ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀστήρικτοι στρεβλοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς. The words ἐν οἷς (αἷς), relate to the epistles which Paul had sent to the readers of Peter's epistle: αἱ λοιπαὶ γραφαὶ are the other epistles of Paul, just previously named πάσαι ἐπιστολαί; the sense of the passage then is: 'The unstable pervert, not unfrequently, all the epistles of Paul, those sent to you, as well as those sent to others.'"[h]

This is an ingenious exposition. But its correctness may be questioned. It assumes that ἐν οἷς should be read ἐν αἷς, which is at least doubtful. It also assumes, that πάσαι ἐπιστολαί, is the same as αἱ λοιπαὶ γραφαί, which is far fetched. Better it is to take αἱ λοιπαὶ γραφαί, generally, of the other Scriptures beside the Pauline, *the other New Testament writings*. It is obvious that

[f] Opuscula, p. 70.

[g] Der Zweyte Brief Petri kritisch untersucht, p. 115.

[h] Translated by Edwards, in Bib. Rep. 1836, p. 357.

the Pauline epistles are reckoned as γραφαί, a term which is always used in the apostolic epistles to designate *the Old Testament.*

The argument before us is on the whole a very strong one against the authenticity of our epistle. None of the attempts to set it aside appear to be satisfactory. That of Windischmann, like most of his independent argumentation in defence of the epistle, is miserably weak.[i] We are not able to give such an explanation of the passage as will remove the serious difficulties involved in it.

6. The doubts about the second coming of Christ occasioned by the expectation of that event's speedy occurrence, and the disappointment of the expectation, point to a later period than the first age.

Those who denied or doubted Christ's coming exclaim:— "Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." Now it is improbable that there were men of this kind who troubled the apostolic age. Sufficient time had not elapsed to justify the expression "the fathers had fallen asleep." Here Olshausen's answer is satisfactory. "The words in question do not relate to christians of the true church, but to the gnostics; neither do the gnostics advance their own sentiment, but they are adduced as in the attitude of ridiculing the belief respecting the return of Christ, cherished by the whole body of primitive christians. This was done by the gnostics in order that they might destroy the faith of weak christians. Now the faith of these heretics had not been weakened on account of the lapse of time; they never had believed that Christ would return in a bodily form; all alliance with matter they rejected with abhorrence. Besides, these words avail nothing in determining when the epistle was written; the heretics do not doubt, but scoff; and after a single generation had passed, they could insultingly exclaim: οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν."[k]

We do not understand οἱ πατέρες of the first generation of christians, but of the Jewish patriarchs. This is confirmed by

[i] See Vindiciae, etc., p. 38, et seqq.

[k] American Bib. Repos. for 1836, p. 354.

the language "all things continue as they were *from the beginning of the creation.*" Thus the objection has no weight, being capable of a valid answer.

7. The account of the origin of the world from water, and its destruction by fire, is inconsistent with the simplicity and practical spirit of the apostolic age. It savours of a later time, when foreign elements were mingled with the proper religious spirit.

We cannot see much value in this objection, though Ullmann attaches considerable importance to it, regarding its two propositions as *myths*. It is asserted by Peter, first, that the earth arose out of water; secondly, that it is to be destroyed by fire. As to the first proposition, viz. *the aqueous origin of the earth*, it is not found elsewhere in the New Testament. Nor is it contained in the Old. The Mosaic cosmogony however *agrees with* it. There is no inconsistency between the sentiment and any part of the Mosaic account. And then it should be remembered, that scientific writers hold the same idea. It is one of the settled principles of geology that our present continents were once covered by the ocean.[1] It is well known also, that the earth's spheroidal figure is just that which it would assume, if, when in its fluid state, it began to revolve on its axis with its present velocity. Nor is it any objection to this, that it must have been *igneous*, not *aqueous* fluidity; because the time when the earth was first created, and the epoch to which the Mosaic account refers are different; and the language of the present writer goes back only to the latter. In regard to the second proposition, viz. *that the world is to be destroyed by fire*, it is also agreeable to Scripture. This is *intimated at least* by Old Testament prophets,[m] and was held by the early fathers. Almost all geologists too allow, that the earth contains vast reservoirs of heat; whence it is easy to conceive how the earth and the things therein might be burnt up. An agency already exists, which has only to be commissioned for its work of destruction.[n] Nor can it well be maintained, that these sentiments are out of place. They are closely intervoven with the author's reasoning. In condemning the scoffers and shewing

[1] See Hitchcock's Elementary Geology, p. 290, eighth edition.

[m] Comp. Isaiah li. 6; Zephan. iii. 8. [n] Hitchcock, p. 291.

their folly, it is exactly in point to adduce the fact of the world's being submerged and arising out of the ocean, against the false assertion that all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation. Geology disproves the statement of the scoffers. It is also agreeable to the solemn exhortations of the writer respecting the day of the Lord, to introduce the burning of the elements, the earth and its works.

In these sentiments, we can see nothing mythical or contrary to the genius of christianity. They are certainly in a great degree new; but the fact of their novelty cannot be derogatory to their truth or adaptation.

8. The difference of style and diction between the first epistle and the present argues a difference of authorship. Nor is this diversity confined to the second chapter of the second epistle: it extends to the first and third.

The following particulars have been pointed out as exemplifications of the different linguistic character belonging to our epistle compared with the first.

(*a*) The appellations applied to God the Father and to Christ. Thus, in the use of the words *κύριος* and *θεός*, the two epistles differ. In the first epistle, *κύριος* is only applied to Christ once (i. 3), where it is most probably not original, but borrowed from Ephes. i. 3. In quotations from the Old Testament, where it always occurs, with a single exception, viz. ii. 15, it is applied to God the Father. In the second epistle it always designates Christ. *Θεός* occurs very often in the first epistle—nearly forty times: in the second only a very few times. Peter always has *Χριστός*, without the article, with the single exception of *τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήματι*, in iv. 13; v. 1, and *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, or *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς*, without other predicates. But the author of the second epistle has never *Χριστός* by itself, but with attendant predicates.

The author of the second epistle is fond of applying the epithet *σωτήρ* to Jesus; but in the first epistle the epithet is not found. It is peculiar to the first epistle to subjoin certain epithets to the terms God, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit, for the purpose of exalting our conceptions of the glory pertaining to the Deity. Compare i. 3, 11, 12, 15, 17, 21; ii. 3, 9, 21; iii. 18, 22; iv. 11,

19; v. 10. But in the second epistle, such epithets are not added to the name of God, though it occurs very frequently, except in i. 3 and ii. 1.

(*b*) In speaking of Christ's second coming, different expressions are employed. Thus the second epistle has *παρουσία*, *ἡμέρα κυρίου*, *ἡμέρα κρίσεως*: while the first has *ἀποκάλυψις* and *ἀποκαλύπτειν*.

(*c*) In the first epistle there is a peculiar use of the particle *ὡς*, which appears very frequently. See i. 14, 19; ii. 2, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16; iii. 7, 16; iv. 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19; v. 3. But in the second epistle, this use of it does not occur. In the former case, it implies quality, character, circumstances, and might be easily dispensed with;° in the latter it is only used in comparisons.

(*d*) In the second epistle, by means of the preposition *ἐν* and a substantive, a subordinate clause is frequently formed, such as, *τῆς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ φθορᾶς*, i. 4. Compare also ii. 3, 7, 10, 13, 18; iii. 1, 3. This peculiarity does not appear in the first epistle.

(*e*) In the attributes by which the christian religion is designated, there is a difference of phraseology between the two epistles. In the first we find *ἐλπίς*, i. 3; iii. 15; *χάρις*, i. 10, 13; v. 12; *ἀληθεία*, i. 22; *λόγος*, ii. 8; iii. 1; *πίστις*, v. 9; *εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ*, iv. 17. In the second epistle, on the other hand, we find *ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας*, ii. 2; *ὁδὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης*, ii. 21; *ἁγία ἐντολή*, ii. 21; *ἐντολὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, iii. 3.

(*f*) In quotations from the Old Testament, the epistles are different. The first makes much more use of it than the second. Peter cites the Old Testament in i. 16; ii. 6; using the formulas *διότι γέγραπται*, *διὸ περιέχει ἐν τῇ γραφῇ*. Or, he weaves it into his narrative without formal citation, as if it were familiar to his mind, which is evidenced by such passages as i. 1, 23, 24, 25; ii. 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 22, 23, 24, 25; iii. 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15; iv. 18. The latter course is seldom adopted by the writer of our epistle, the former never. Some perhaps may think that, in 2 Peter ii. 22, the writer quotes from Prov. xxvi. 11, but the words are very different, so that a current proverb appears to be the source. In iii. 8, the allusion need not be to Psalm xc. 4, but to a proverb in the mouth of the Jews. * The only passage where

° See Mayerhoff, p. 166.

there is a reference to the Old Testament (Isaiah lxv. 17) appears to be iii. 13, where the addition of *κατὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα αὐτοῦ* requires it.

(*g*) In the second epistle, stress is laid on *the knowledge* of God and of Christ, *γνῶσις* or *ἐπίγνωσις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ*, i. 2, 3, 5, 8; ii. 20, 21; iii. 18. But in the first epistle attention is not prominently directed to the *ἐπίγνωσις τοῦ κυρίου*. More stress is laid on *hope*, *ἐλπίς*.

(*h*) The second epistle is distinguished by a poverty of language, as shewn in the drawling repetitions we meet with. Thus *διὰ* with the genitive occurs four times in i. 3, 4. In the same verses, we have *δεδωρημένης* and *δεδώρηται*. In ii. 1-3, *ἀπώλεια* occurs three times. In ii. 7, 8, *δίκαιος* occurs three times; ii. 12, *καὶ φθορὰν—ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ—καταφθαρήσονται*. In iii. 12-14, *προσδοκᾶν* is found three times. Compare also *σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες*, i. 5; *διὸ μᾶλλον σπουδάσατε*, v. 10; *σπουδάσω δὲ ἑκάστοτε*, v. 15; *στοιχεῖα—καυσούμενα λυθήσονται—κατακαήσεται—πάντων λυομένων—οὐρανοὶ πυρούμενοι λυθήσονται καὶ στοιχεῖα καυσούμενα τήκεται*, iii. 10-12. There is also an uniformity in the formulas by which verses are attached to preceding ones. For this purpose the pronoun *ταῦτα* is much used, as in i. 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15; iii. 11, 14, 16.

(*j*) The style of the first epistle is fresh, lively, periodic; that of the latter flat, cold, heavy.

There are also a great number of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* in the second epistle, but the first too has its *ἁπ. λεγόμ.* though in less quantity. On this argument no reliance can be placed, and it is unnecessary to adduce the words in question.

Mayerhoff and Olshausen have adduced several other points of difference between the two epistles, but they are of less note, so that it is needless to allude to them; or they are of questionable accuracy, such as Olshausen's statement respecting the modes in which the sentences of both epistles are constructed and joined together.[p] Those given are the strongest and most palpable. Let us look at them with calmness and candour, judging of their relation to the authenticity of our epistle.

(*a*) We do not see how this can be set aside by critics like

[p] See Opuscula, pp. 45, 46.

Pott, Dahl, and Windischmann, who try to shew that there is no good ground for impugning the epistle's authenticity. It possesses force, and clearly favours diversity of authorship in the two epistles.

(*b*) To this it has been answered, that in the first epistle the coming of Christ is set forth for the comfort of the good who were suffering from persecution, and therefore the future glory to be revealed is treated of; while in the second, the enemies of the truth are threatened with the great and dreadful day of the Lord. The false teachers against whom Peter writes had declared that the day of the Lord would never come, and therefore the term *day* is employed. Such for substance is the reply of Olshausen and Windischmann. The former, however, justly remarks, that it diminishes, without removing the discrepancy. The peculiar phrascology is not confined to the part of the second epistle expressly directed against the false teachers, and the epistle was not wholly or chiefly written to threaten the enemies of the truth with the dreadful day of the Lord. It was the writer's object to establish and comfort, as well as to terrify. Hence the answer is insufficient.

(*c*) *All* the examples of ὡς, given by Mayerhoff from the first epistle, are not used in the peculiar way which he describes. Some of them, such as those in ii. 1, 5, are used by way of *comparison*. In like manner, all the instances in which ὡς occurs in the second epistle are not instances in which the particle has a *comparative* sense. Thus, in i. 3; iii. 16, it has the same usage which is prevalent in the first epistle. Subtracting, therefore, the few examples which are alike in both epistles, namely, where the particle is used by way of comparison, a large class remains unaccounted for. None will deny that the word does occur *very often* in the first epistle in a peculiar sense; or that it occurs much seldomer in the second, and *that* generally in another way. This phenomenon favours difference of authorship in the two epistles.

(*d*) Perhaps Windischmann[q] is right in objecting to some of the examples here given, believing that they exhibit nothing singular. He also adduces, as similar examples from the first epistle, i. 5, 15; iii. 2. But they are scarcely analogous. After

[q] Vindiciae Petrinae, p. 14.

making all reasonable deduction, there is some force in the argument, though it cannot be called an important one.

(*e*) An attentive examination of this consideration will shew, that it rests on an arbitrary and incorrect assumption. The terms in question do not strictly mean *the Christian religion*, neither are they synonymous. Each denotes some peculiarity, aspect, or effect of that religion, and is suited to the context in which it stands. It is clear, that those who admit the validity of the consideration are not careful to discriminate things that differ.

(*f*) Here the argument is plain and unassailable. In the case of the first epistle, the writer makes considerable use of the Old Testament, incorporating its sentiments and diction into his own composition; but in the second there is hardly a reference to the Jewish Scriptures.

(*g*) This argument is weak, because the difference in question may be accounted for from the different condition of the readers. The circumstances of the persons originally addressed were unlike. And it was quite appropriate in the writer of the second to dwell on the *knowledge* of God and of Christ, because he exhorts to maintenance of pure doctrine in opposition to the false teachers. On the other hand, the hope of future salvation suited the suffering, persecuted readers of the first epistle.

(*h*) The discrepancy here noticed cannot be removed. Slightly lessened, perhaps, it may be; but its strength is little affected. Windischmann mentions in reply, that repetitions of the same, or of similar words, occur in the first epistle. Thus *σωτηρία* occurs three times in 1 Peter i. 5-10; *ἀναστροφῇ—ἀναστράφητε—ἀναστροφῆς*, i. 15-19; *ἀναστροφῆς—ἀναστροφή*, iii. 1, 2; *τιμήσατε* and *τιμᾶτε*, ii. 17. The preposition *ἐν* occurs five times in i. 4-7. These examples are scarcely analogous, because they relate to favourite terms of Peter's, with the exception of the last two, which are easily explained.[r] It is right, however, to adduce the points of resemblance between the epistles, by means of which some think they prove identity of authorship.

There is the same conformation of periods, 1 Peter ii. 7, 8, 12; iii. 7, 19. (Comp. 2 Peter i. 3, 5; ii. 4-11.)

The article is separated from its substantive by several words

[r] Vindiciae Petrinae, pp. 46, 47.

inserted, 1 Peter ii. 2; iii. 3, 16. (Comp. 2 Peter i. 4; ii. 7; iii. 2.)

The salutation, "grace unto you and peace be multiplied," is common to both, 1 Peter i. 2: 2 Peter i. 2. The use of *ἀναστροφή*, *ἀναστρέφεσθαι*, 1 Peter i. 15, 17, 18; ii. 12; iii. 1, 2, 16; 2 Peter ii. 7, 18; iii. 11; *ἀπόθεσις*, 1 Peter iii. 21; 2 Peter i. 14; *ἀρετή* of God, 1 Peter ii. 9; 2 Peter i. 3; *ἄσπιλος καὶ ἄμωμος*, 1 Peter i. 19; 2 Peter ii. 13; iii. 14; *ἐπόπτης*, 2 Peter i. 16 (comp. *ἐποπτεύειν*, 1 Peter ii. 12; iii. 2); *ἴδιος*, 1 Peter iii. 1, 5; 2 Peter i. 20; ii. 16, 22; iii. 16; *κομίζεσθαι* of rewards and punishments, 1 Peter i. 9; v. 4; 2 Peter ii. 13; *πορεύεσθαι ἐν ἐπιθυμίαις* or *κατ' ἐπιθυμίας*, 1 Peter iv. 3; 2 Peter ii. 10; iii. 3; *καλεῖν*, used of the divine invitation to men, 1 Peter i. 15; ii. 9, 21; iii. 9; v. 10; 2 Peter i. 3; *πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας*, 1 Peter iv. 1; *ἀκαταπαύστους ἁμαρτίας*, 2 Peter ii. 14.

But these phrases and words, which are common to both, do not lessen the discrepance of style already described, because most of them occur in other parts of the New Testament. Those which appear in the two epistles alone, or which appear, at least, in a prevailing degree, should be fairly taken into account. The term *ἀπόθεσις* is of this nature. So also *ἀρετή*, applied to God.

Too much caution cannot be used in drawing a conclusion from style and diction favourable or unfavourable to the authenticity of an epistle. There are many modifying circumstances. A writer appears differently on different occasions. In the present instance, we can hardly tell precisely what the peculiar style of Peter was; for the first epistle is of small compass; and it may have been coloured by familiarity with the productions of Paul. After a careful sifting of the coincidences and discrepancies in respect to language, the latter are so conspicuous as to arrest attention, and excite strong suspicions against identity of authorship. Had a few peculiarities only been observable, they might have been satisfactorily explained; but in the one short epistle before us, they are very numerous. They are thickly sown throughout it. They present themselves frequently. We are unable to account for them, on the supposition that both epistles proceeded from the same writer.

9. The mountain of transfiguration is termed *the holy* mount,

betraying, it is alleged, a later view than the evangelists present. Hence Mayerhoff affirms, that the epithet suits Mount Zion alone.

The christians in Palestine, who lived thirty years after Christ, would naturally look upon the mount of transfiguration with feelings of reverence; and the writer used the current epithet embodying those feelings. It was a holy mountain, on account of the miracle that took place on its summit. The argument, therefore, seems to us to have no force.

It is further asserted, that the allusion to the phenomena at the transfiguration is inappropriate and unusual. The writer appeals to these phenomena to distinguish himself as a credible witness of the life of Christ. But it is not natural that one of the apostles should select this insulated fact from the whole life of Christ—of which they had been eye-witnesses—a fact not essentially connected with that which was the central point and object of his appearance. The apostles were accustomed to claim credit as witnesses of the sufferings and resurrection of Christ.[8]

In this argument, the purpose for which the mount of transfiguration is referred to is misapprehended. The writer does not appeal to the marvel on that mount with the view of attesting his credibility as a witness, but in order to confirm the minds of his readers in the certainty of Christ's second coming, which the scoffers turned into ridicule. The transfiguration on the mount was a representation and earnest of Christ's future appearance. Considering the nature of the context, the writer could not appropriately appeal to the sufferings and resurrection of Christ; but to that phenomenon of which he was himself an eye-witness. The apostles, it is true, were accustomed to claim credit as witnesses of the Saviour's sufferings and resurrection; but that was in attestation of the truth of their doctrine; not to prove the certainty of His second coming. For the latter purpose, nothing was better suited than the transfiguration; inasmuch as it was the forerunner of the glorious manifestation of the Son of God. The writer naturally introduces himself as an eye-witness—one that could not be deceived; but he refers in like manner to James and John. Thus the argument does not strike us as of much weight, because we are unable to perceive its pertinency or validity.

[8] See Neander, Planting and Training, etc., vol. ii. p. 33.

10. This has been anticipated under another head.

11. The false teachers who are described in Jude's epistle as actually existing, are here represented in the spirit of prophecy as about to appear. Thus the future tense is used in ii. 1-3, whereas in subsequent verses of the same chapter (10-15) the present tense is employed. Ullmann regards this fact as a clear proof of the epistle's spuriousness.

It will not do to say that the future is used for the present: *that* is contrary to the philosophy of language. The case admits of a very simple explanation, according to Windischmann.[t] He thinks that the writer of the second epistle describes the false teachers as about to appear among the christian churches in Asia to which he writes. He saw their incipient operations before his eyes, and naturally concluded that their leaven would spread far and wide. In respect to himself and the place where he was, they were present; but in relation to the Asiatic christians to whom he writes, they were future. They had not yet appeared openly among the latter.

This reply is unavailing. The writer does not thus discriminate between the localities in which he was himself and where the readers resided. He throws himself into the situation and circumstances of those addressed, just as the other sacred authors are accustomed to do. Had he followed the course Windischmann attributes to him, he would have adopted a method of proceeding having no analogy in other epistolary writers of the New Testament. The distinction in question must have been clearly marked, *had it been intended.* How then is the very serious difficulty to be removed? Is it insuperable, as Ullmann supposes? We believe not. There are analogous examples in Paul's epistles to Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 1, comp. with vi. 20; and 2 Tim. iii. 1, comp. with iii. 8; where Gnostic heretics are described both as future and present; *i. e.* the seeds of what was afterwards embodied in the Gnostic system had already appeared, and were fully unfolded thereafter. The predictions began to be fulfilled in the apostles' time, but their complete fulfilment was then future. If the argument were valid, it would militate equally against the authenticity of Paul's epistles to Timothy. But it is by no means formidable.

[t] Vindiciae Petrinae, p. 26.

12. Some have discovered disagreement between 1 Peter v. 8 and 2 Peter ii. 4: "Your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour." . . . . . "For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment," etc. In the one case, evil spirits prowl about for their prey; in the other, they are bound in chains and hurled down into Tartarus, to be kept there till the judgment. Here all depends on the ideas attached to the words in 2 Peter ii. 4, σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας, which mean literally having cast them down with chains of darkness into the pit, *i.e.* hell. In so far as hell is a *place*, we are quite ignorant of its situation. But it is *a state* as well as *a place;* and the state of a spirit will largely determine its hell. Hell may be anywhere throughout the illimitable domains of Deity, except heaven; and it is quite consistent with a wide range of locality. Chains of darkness signify metaphorically, *misery*, *obduratenèss in wickedness*, and *despair*, which again are the chief ingredients of what is termed *hell* or the *bottomless pit.* Thus there is no need to stumble at this discrepancy between the two epistles, unless we could ascertain that the place called *hell* is confined and small.

13. Here much is *assumed* that will not be readily conceded by the impartial inquirer. Thus *the aversion* to refer to an apocryphal work is not so manifest as is asserted. The mode in which the writer proceeds may be accounted for by the fact that Jude's epistle was well known, so that he needed do no more than allude in an indefinite way to what was already familiar.

On the other side, and in opposition to these internal arguments against the epistle, it has been thought that it was written by Peter, because,—

1. "It seems that Peter took, in his second letter to the churches of Asia Minor, the same course as in his first. In the latter he chose Paul as his example, and under his guidance planned and executed his instructions to these churches, respecting which he had not much knowledge, making some use also of the epistle of James; and in his second composition he guided himself by the epistle of Jude, who had already attacked the heretics, against whom he wished now to oppose his own authority in addition.

The method too of proceeding in the second epistle is the same as that of the first. There is the same manner of appropriating the ideas and expressions of others, giving them certain slight alterations, sometimes embellishing them, setting them off with participles, and otherwise amplifying them.

This resemblance of the second epistle to the first does not consist merely in certain synonymous modes of expression, such as any one who undertook to forge a composition in the name of another would naturally select and employ; but extends to the plan and private scheme of the composition, to peculiarities in its execution, and to the ingenuity shewn in preventing the attention from being arrested by whatever, for special reasons, it was necessary to borrow out of other writers. This resemblance, therefore, is not superficial, but characteristic; and so thorough as to denote identity of authorship."[u]

2. There is a striking resemblance between what is said in both epistles respecting Noah. Compare 1 Peter iii. 20 with 2 Peter ii. 5. This is urged by Pott and Dahl.

3. The great importance attached to the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, which referred to Messiah, suits Peter in particular. So Bertholdt judges.

4. The remark made respecting the Pauline epistles is most appropriate in the mouth of Peter, who stood always in a sort of rival relation to his fellow-apostle. This consideration is advanced by Bertholdt.

5. "The design of the first epistle was to assure the uncircumcised christians that they stood in the grace of God. Now it was not generally known that this was the design of it, and therefore we cannot suppose that any person whose object was to forge an epistle in St. Peter's name should have observed it. But the design of the second epistle was certainly the same as that of the first, as appears from the address, chap. i. 1. *Τοῖς ἰσότιμον ἡμῖν λαχοῦσι πίστιν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ.*"[w]

6. There is a likeness between Acts iv. 20; v. 32; x. 41; 1 Peter v. 1, where Peter appeals to his testimony as an eye-witness, and 2 Peter i. 16-18. Also between 1 Peter iv. 3-5

[u] Hug, Introduction, etc., translated by Fosdick, sect. 177, collated with original of the last edition, sect. 176, vol. ii.

[w] Michaelis, Introduction by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 351.

and 2 Peter ii. 3, etc.; 1 Peter ii. 16 and 2 Peter ii. 19; 1 Peter iv. 7 and 2 Peter iii. 11, etc. Feilmoser has collected these and other parallels.

7. Certain words and phrases are common to both epistles.

A few remarks on these arguments will suffice.

1. The name of Hug, and his deserved reputation as a critic, have induced us to give these statements almost in his own words. But they appear to us wholly baseless. They are derogatory to Peter, whose imitation of Paul and also James, in his first epistle is assumed as a certain thing. The manner in which the writer of the second epistle employs Jude's, *in one portion of it only*, is very unlike the manner in which Peter deals with Paul's epistles in his first letter. *If* the apostle of the circumcision planned and executed his instructions to the churches of Asia Minor under the guidance of Paul's writings, a thing however which we must deny, he proceeded in the case of his second letter to copy the epistle of Jude in a very different way. Admitting the fact that Peter did follow Paul, in the one case; the other, in which he followed Jude, is by no means analogous. To reason from the one to the other, and thence to identity of authorship, is preposterous. Hug mistakes the character of the first epistle of Peter. He depreciates the composition unjustly. It is pervaded by an independent tone and spirit, and betrays no ingenuity in weaving foreign materials into its texture.

2. In regard to the second consideration, the main circumstance is declared to be that both epistles mention the fact of only eight persons being preserved. Admitting this to be the right interpretation, there is not much force in it. One who wrote in the name of Peter would all the more readily specify eight persons, because Peter had specified the same number. Yet the true meaning of the passage is doubtful, because the point of chief importance may be that Noah was a wonderful example of providential protection. If this be the right interpretation, then must ὄγδοον be joined with δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα, rather than Νῶε (2 Peter ii. 5), and the sense will be *the eighth preacher of righteousness*. This is favoured by the parallel passage in Jude, verse 14, where it is written, προεφήτευσε ἕβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἐνωχ. In favour of the former interpretation ὄγδοος Νῶε, *Noah the eighth*, i.e. Noah with seven others, the position of the adjective

is urged. While the interpretation of the passage is thus uncertain, it is idle to rely upon it, especially when neither explanation is of the importance which Pott and Dahl claim solely for the one.

3. Here attention is directed especially to 2 Peter i. 19-21 compared with Peter's discourses as recorded in the Acts. But the argument in question is worthless, for the same observation might be applied with equal truth to passages in Paul's epistles which are particularly addressed to Jewish christians.

4. We do not agree with Bertholdt in supposing that the remark made by Peter respecting Paul's epistles, had anything to do with motives of jealousy or rivalry. The remark is highly honourable to the apostle of the circumcision.

5. It is incorrect to say, that the design of the first epistle was to assure the uncircumcised christians that they stood in the grace of God. Hence the argument of Michaelis falls to the ground.

6. The likeness between these passages is perceptible though slight. But there is a much greater likeness between some passages in the second epistle and in Paul's writings; so that the argument, proving too much, proves nothing.[x]

7. The words and phrases, parallel in both epistles, have been already stated and examined.

Thus the positive arguments adduced in favour of identity of authorship in the two epistles are extremely feeble. They may be easily answered and refuted by any inquirer, should he think them worth the attention.

We have thus gone over *the chief* internal arguments advanced against the epistle's authenticity, and endeavoured to shew their value.

There are others of less moment which have not been stated simply because they are trifling or obviously erroneous. Thus when Schwegler affirms, that the author had probably read the pastoral epistles, that he appeals to John xxi. a late appendix to the gospel itself, and alludes unquestionably to Mark's gospel in i. 12-15; there is no need to overthrow the opinion entertained by him of the late period at which the documents said to have been used by the writer of the second epistle of Peter appeared. It is *not clear* that he *did* quote or make use of the two gospels,

[x] See Mayerhoff's Einleitung, pp. 170, 171.

or of the pastoral epistles. It is more than doubtful. It is highly probable he did not. And even if he did, Schwegler's view of the time when the gospels and pastoral letters were written, must be at once discarded as untenable.

We have now pointed out the strength and weakness of the principal arguments of an internal nature, which have been urged as unfavourable, and intimated their separate relation to the apostolic origin of the letter. Taking them together, making due allowance for the less important, and leaving out of account such as possess no weight whatever, being incorrect or irrelevant, what is the bearing of the whole on the authenticity of our epistle? We cannot perceive that they *disprove* the authenticity. They do *not* evince the spuriousness of the document. But they have excited grave doubts of the authenticity in the minds of some honest inquirers. They have given rise to strong suspicions. They have led them to pause and reflect, for they have appeared unfavourable to the idea that Peter, who certainly wrote the first epistle that goes by his name, composed the second also. They are thought to be *adverse to* the authenticity, though they cannot *entirely overthrow* it. It must be confessed that they have never been explained consistently with the authenticity of the letter. Nor are we able, any more than former critics, so to explain them. To affirm that they are absolutely incapable of explanation on that hypothesis, were too bold; but we do think that they will not soon be placed in a satisfactory light by such as advocate the Petrine origin. Perhaps they will always continue to perplex the calm student of Scripture, and lead him to look upon our epistle as *deutero-canonical* rather than *canonical*.

But it is unfair to view the internal considerations to which attention has been directed, *by themselves*. Let us look at them in connexion with external testimony. What voice does the united testimony, external and internal, taken as one great argument, give forth? Here we believe that it is easier to account for the epistle's authenticity than for its supposititious character. Where did it first appear, supposing it a production of the second century? In Alexandria, it will probably be answered. But the christians there were not asleep. It was a place of learned activity. How could it start forth into existence there without Clement's suspicions being strongly awakened, or at least those of some christian prior to

Clement? How did it come to be associated with the catholic epistles, from the earliest period to which we can trace that collection? Why did not the early fathers speak of it as a forgery, which it unquestionably was, if Peter did not write it? Why did they not denounce the writer? They hesitated to receive it; but they did not argue against it, and attack it as the work of an impostor? And then if it were written in the second century by one who personated the apostle, what was his object in composing it? It will be answered, perhaps, to combat the Gnostic errors. But a small part only is occupied with this. The new and obscure sentiments introduced are adverse to the idea of forgery; and the discrepance of style betrays one who was not well qualified for his task. If he was so unskilful as often to discover himself, why was he successful in accomplishing his purpose? It may be said that he did *not* attain the end till an uncritical age had arrived; but it should be considered, that the end was *partially* attained from the earliest time, because the antagonism made to the epistle was never of an active kind. It consisted rather in doubting of the authenticity, than in openly impugning it.

But though it be impossible to account for the appearance of the letter in the second century, from the hand of a forger, without resorting to the most unnatural conjectures, yet it is, on the other hand, very difficult to attribute the two epistles to the one author Peter. Many things lie against this conclusion. Were we called upon to decide positively either to admit the epistle as Peter's, or to reject it as supposititious, we should take the former alternative, believing it to be on the whole, exposed to fewer objections. But the state of the question is doubtful. We will not pronounce the epistle supposititious. On the other hand it is not easy to admit it as Peter's. *Evidence* does not justify the supposititious character of it. There is nothing in the epistle unworthy of an apostle; nothing inconsistent with the analogy of faith or with other parts of the New Testament. On the contrary, it breathes an apostolic spirit. It is conducive to truth and godliness. With all this, however, we cannot be sure that Peter himself wrote it. We are compelled to leave the matter in suspense, affirming positively and dogmatically neither on the one side nor the other. Judging on subjective grounds we should

receive it as apostolic, in opposition to objective difficulties. But our mind is not *wholly* satisfied respecting it. The evidence on both sides has been given. It is for each one to judge of it according to his ability.

As it may be interesting to know how the question has been viewed by learned men since the Reformation, we subjoin the names of those who are against and for the authenticity of our epistle.

It was doubted or denied by Calvin and Grotius. The former says: "Though there is some affinity in the style of this epistle to that of the first, yet I think the discrepancies are such as to indicate that they had not the same author. We may also derive from it other probable conjectures. At the same time, all agree that it contains nothing unworthy of Peter, for it shews the apostolic spirit everywhere. But if it is to be received as canonical, Peter must have been its author, since it has not only his name in the inscription, but he declares that he had lived with Christ. For any other to have personated the apostle would have been a deception unworthy of the christian name. I therefore conclude, if the epistle be regarded as worthy of credit, that it came from Peter; not that he himself wrote it, but some one of his disciples in obedience to his orders. He was then, as is probable, in extreme age, and near death. It is possible, that at the request of the disciples, he suffered this epistle to go forth as his dying testimony."[y] Grotius believed, that it was written by Simeon or Simon, bishop of Jerusalem, in the time of Trajan. It was therefore composed after the destruction of Jerusalem, and in opposition to the Carpocratians.[z] Bertholdt has taken the trouble of refuting this groundless hypothesis at length, though it does not deserve so much consideration.[a] The epistle was also doubted, or rejected as Peter's by Cajetan, J. J. Scaliger, Salmasius, Erasmus, Semler, Schmidt, Welcker, Eichhorn, Schott in a measure, Mynster, Credner, Neander, Mayerhoff, Neudecker, De Wette, Magnus, Reuss, Jachmann, Schwegler. Bertholdt conjectured that the second chapter has been interpolated. He

[y] In secundam epistolam Petri argumentum; translated by Prof. Edwards, in the American Bib. Repos.

[z] Annotatt. ad secund. Petri. [a] Einleitung, vol. vi. p. 3124, et seqq.

holds the authenticity of the rest. Ullmann supposes, that the first chapter only is authentic, the second and third having been added after Peter.

On the other hand, the authenticity of the epistle has been advocated by Michaelis, Pott, Augusti, Storr, Flatt, Nietzsche, Dahl, Hug, Schmid, Lardner, Guerike, Feilmoser, Windischmann, Thiersch. Olshausen hesitates to speak decidedly, but inclines to this side of the question.

V. *Integrity.*

Bertholdt conceived that he should establish the authenticity of the epistle on a surer basis by conjecturing that the second chapter was interpolated, the first and third only being authentic. In this manner he was willing to sacrifice the second chapter, which afforded most arguments to the opponents, for the sake of the other two. But there is no external authority in favour of this arbitrary hypothesis. All manuscripts and versions have the entire epistle, and none of the fathers hint at such an idea. And even if the second chapter were removed, the difficulties would not vanish. Considerations unfavourable to the apostolic origin appear in the first and third chapters. Besides, the first three verses of the third chapter shew an acquaintance with Jude's epistles on the part of Peter. They may be compared with Jude 17 and 18. Hence Bertholdt's conjecture must be pronounced a gratuitous one.

Ullmann, alive to the weakness of this hypothesis, put forward another, more plausible, though not more true. He conjectured, that the first chapter alone was written by Peter, the remaining two being of later origin. This idea is equally opposed to all external authority. Manuscripts, fathers, and versions know nothing of it. Besides, the first chapter contains preparatory references to the heretics described in the second and third. Thus "the cunningly devised fables" in the sixteenth verse correspond to the "feigned words" of the second chapter; while there are characteristic phrases *throughout* the epistle which shew the same author. Nor is the style of the chapters other than what proves each to have had a common origin. Bunsen[b] thinks,

[b] Ignatius von Antiochien und seine Zeit, p. 175.

that the first twelve verses, and the concluding doxology, were written by Peter, the remainder of the epistle by some other.

But it is needless to waste time on these conjectures, which have obtained no acceptance even in the novelty-seeking country where they started forth in their crudeness. They have been well refuted by Olshausen and Hug.

VI. *Time and place of writing.*

The time of writing cannot be determined. If Peter was the author of the epistle, it was composed shortly before his death, when he was an old man looking forward to his speedy release from the tabernacle of the body (i. 14). What interval occurred between the first and second can only be conjectured. If the date assigned to the former, viz. A. D. 63, be correct, then this epistle cannot have been long after. Peter was put to death A. D. 64; and therefore it was written in the earlier part of that year. He makes no apology in the thirteenth and fifteenth verses of the first chapter for writing this second epistle, as is asserted by Lardner[c] and Macknight,[d] and therefore no argument can be derived thence in favour of a brief interval between the epistles. But it is tolerably certain, that the apostle suffered not long after Paul, within a year, in the same city; so that we are restricted by history to the end of A. D. 63, or to the first half of the next year. The latter is the more probable date. Koehler, according to his most peculiar and perverse chronology, brings it down to A. D. 69.[e] Whether persons came to Peter from Asia Minor soon after he had sent away Silvanus with his first letter, giving him an account of the state of religion among them, by which means he was induced to write again, is quite uncertain, though Lardner thinks it probable.

The place whence it was despatched was Rome. We have no reason to believe that Peter left that city after he had come to it. The information given by the early writers favours the idea of his residence in Rome from his arrival there till his martyrdom. The epistle was therefore composed in the same country and city as his former one. The preceding observa-

[c] Works, vol. iii. p. 423, 4to. ed. [d] Pref. to the 2nd epist. of Peter, sect. ii.

[e] Versuch ueber die Abfassungszeit, u. s. w., p. 214.

tions respecting time and place proceed on the assumption that Peter himself was the writer. But this, we have seen, is not certain.

Such critics as reject its authenticity must of course affirm a later date. It is possible for the advocates of its apostolic origin to bring it down to 68 or 69, because some hold that Paul was put to death so late as A. D. 68; but their opinion is untenable. Grotius believed that it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, by Simeon, successor of James in the bishopric of the church at Jerusalem. This assigns it to the reign of Trajan and the beginning of the second century. Most critics who reject its authenticity assign it in like manner to the second century. Schwegler dates it at the close of it.

A principal consideration advanced in favour of a late date is, that the expectation of a speedy appearance of Christ had been already disappointed (see chap. iii. 4). But there is no force in this. The mockers who are represented as saying, "Where is the promise of His coming?" are spoken of *as future*. They were to appear after the time of the writer. Besides, it has been already remarked, that the heretics attempt in this manner to destroy the faith of weak christians, not because the latter had been disappointed, nor because they themselves advanced their own sentiments, but simply to pour contempt on that which the primitive adherents of christianity believed.

Another reason is derived from a passage in the third chapter, where a collection of the Pauline epistles is referred to (verse 16). Such a collection was not made till the time of Irenaeus.

This argument has been already touched on.

But the authenticity has not been disproved, and therefore these late dates are of little account.

VII. *Contents.*

The epistle naturally divides itself into three parts, exclusive of a brief introduction, viz. ch. i. 3-21; ii. and iii.; to which is prefixed i. 1, 2.

The first portion contains an admonition to steadfastness and advancement in the knowledge and practice of christianity, that christians might obtain a ready and ample entrance into the everlasting kingdom of God (i. 3-21).

The second relates to false teachers who were to appear, describing their godless procedure and certain punishment.

The third is directed against scoffers, in opposition to whom it is shewn that Christ will come again, followed by an exhortation suited to the solemn event whose certainty is affirmed.

I. The inscription and salutation are contained in the first two verses, after which the writer says, that since the divine power has given christians all that contributes to life and godliness by means of the knowledge of God who calls them through glory and might, whereby He has bestowed the greatest and most precious promises in order that by such things they might share in the purity of God, escaping the prevailing corruption of the world which consists in sinful lust; such being the case, he exhorts them to exercise all due industry in adding one christian virtue to another, for if these things belonged to them abundantly they would render them active and fruitful for the knowledge of Jesus Christ. Whereas the person lacking such graces is blind, forgetting his purification from former sins. Wherefore, subjoins the apostle, be so much the more zealous to make sure to yourselves your calling and election to God's kingdom, for if you practise the virtues enumerated you shall never fall, since in that way a rich entrance will be afforded you into the kingdom of God our Saviour (i. 3-11).

The author follows up the exhortation just given by confirming the doctrine of Christ's future appearance to set up His kingdom; which he does by adducing his own testimony as that of an eye-witness, and Old Testament prophecies.

Of the truth of the gospel he deems it his duty to remind them during the short remainder of his life, and endeavours to make them bear it in remembrance after his decease. He states that he and other apostles were credible preachers of the Saviour's coming, since they were eye-witnesses of His glorification on the holy mountain; and besides, predictions of prophets testified of the same event. We have, says he, the word of prophecy in a confirmed condition, to which ye do well to take heed, knowing that no prophecy admits of a solution *proper to its utterer.* It cannot be explained exclusively from the prophet himself, but from its real author (i. 11-21).

II. In the second chapter, the apostle states, that as in the days of the true prophets there existed false prophets also, so there will arise false teachers who shall introduce destructive heresies, denying the Lord that redeemed them and bringing speedy destruction on themselves. Many will be seduced by them from the way of truth. Such persons will traffic in christianity for the glutting of their own avarice. But God's vengeance does not sleep. For if He did not spare the sinning angels, but hurled them into the abyss with chains of darkness, to be reserved for punishment—if he did not spare the old world but destroyed the whole human race with the exception of Noah and seven others —if he condemned to destruction the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, but preserved the righteous Lot who had to suffer from the impious conduct of the lawless—if such be the past records of divine justice, God has ways of delivering the pious out of their trials and reserving the ungodly to the day of judgment, especially such as lust after strange flesh with unclean desires, and despise wholesome discipline—daring self-willed persons—who are not afraid to slander angelic dignities, while good angels themselves, who are superior to them, do not venture to bring against angelic dignities railing accusations. Yet these persons revile what they do not understand, and thus run headlong to destruction. They will, however, receive the reward of their iniquity. The passing luxury of the world they count pleasure; like spots and blemishes they riot in their deceptions, while they feast with christians; having sensual eyes that never cease from sin, enticing unstable souls, having a heart practised in covetousness, cursed children. Like Balaam they have left the right way, loving unrighteous gain. Like wells without water and clouds driven by the tempest, they disappoint expectation. But their end will be the blackness of eternal darkness. Making empty, idle pretensions, they entice away by fleshly lusts, those who have really escaped from such as are entangled in error, promising freedom while they themselves are the slaves of corruption. When they have escaped from the polluting influences of the world by the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and are again overcome by them, their last state will be worse than the first. Better not to know the path of righteousness, than knowing it, to turn again from the holy law of God (ii.).

III. In the last chapter, the objection of certain scoffers to the second coming of Christ is introduced and combated. They are represented as saying, "Where is the promise of His coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." In opposition to these doubts, he refers to the destruction of the old world by the flood, which shews that all things have not continued as they were from the beginning of the creation; and declares that one day is the same as a thousand years in the view of the Lord; so that nothing militates against the reality of the event from its being delayed (iii. 1-10).

He then admonishes them to prepare for that solemn day, affirming that the delay was simply an evidence of God's long suffering and patience, as the apostle Paul, styled his beloved brother, had written to them; though in the truths revealed in respect to the end of the world and the general judgment, difficulties are inherent which the unlearned and unstable distort to their own ruin (iii. 11-16). The epistle concludes with a solemn caution, an exhortation to growth in grace, and a doxology to the Saviour (iii. 17, 18).

VIII. *Original language of the epistle.*

Though some of the fathers believed that Peter could not write Greek, but was obliged to employ an interpreter to render his Aramaean discourses into that tongue, yet there is no good reason for holding this opinion. Jerome says, in one passage, that the apostle employed different interpreters in the two epistles; which would serve to explain the difference in style; but it is probable that he had no historical tradition for this opinion. It seems to have been his own sentiment, which we are at liberty to adopt or reject at pleasure. Agreeably to Jerome's conjecture, some have attributed the translation of the first epistle into Greek to Silas or Mark; that of the latter to Glaucias. Believing, as we do, that Peter wrote his first epistle in Greek, not in Aramaean, it follows, that if the second proceeded from him, it was originally composed in the same tongue.

FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.

THE questions relating to this epistle may be conveniently arranged under the following heads:—

I. ITS AUTHENTICITY AND GENUINENESS.
II. THE FORM OF IT.
III. THE TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.
IV. THE PERSONS TO WHOM IT WAS ORIGINALLY ADDRESSED.
V. THE OCCASION AND OBJECT OF IT.
VI. ITS CONTENTS.

I. *Authenticity and genuineness.*

The author of this epistle or essay does not designate himself by name. He no where calls himself the apostle John, or identifies himself with the writer of the fourth gospel. But he declares that he was an eye-witness of Jesus's person and history (i. 1-4; iv. 14). By this means, and especially by the internal character of the epistle itself, we are irresistibly led to identify him with the author of the fourth gospel. There is a striking resemblance between the two productions. They bear the same impress. The stamp of one author is upon them.

The manner of writing is the same. Diction, phraseology, and style should be compared that their agreement may be observed.

Again, the leading doctrinal ideas are alike. Examples of both have been already given under the gospel of John,[f] and they need not therefore be repeated on the present occasion. Those who wish to see them in a somewhat different form may consult De Wette.[g] Macknight[h] has drawn out a number of parallels in English to confirm the same conclusion.

[f] Vol. I. p. 341. [g] Einleit. sect. 177, a.
[h] Preface to the first epistle of John, sect. 2.

In this manner we arrive at the certain conclusion, that the writer of the fourth gospel was also the writer of our epistle.

Ancient testimony is favourable to the same result. In recognising the production as apostolic and assigning it to John, the voice of antiquity is all but unanimous.

Polycarp knew and used it. In his epistle to the Philippians he writes: *πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν*:[1] "Every one who confesses not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is an Antichrist." The resemblance between this language and 1 John iv. 3 is too great to be mistaken. Now Polycarp was the disciple of John, either of John the apostle, or the presbyter of the same name who was partly contemporary with the apostle.

In like manner, Papias employed our epistle, as Eusebius relates: *κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς (ὁ Παπίας) μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῆς*:[k] "He (Papias) has used testimonies out of the first epistle of John." The objections of Bretschneider and Zeller to these quotations are too trifling to require notice or refutation.

Irenaeus often cited passages in his writings from the epistle, as Eusebius[l] relates. In accordance with this testimony we find allusions to it in his extant work against heresies, especially in iii. 18, where he expressly attributes it to the apostle John. Kirchhofer says that he cites the epistle three times. They are all in one chapter.[m]

Clement of Alexandria was well acquainted with our epistle, for he has referred to it repeatedly. Thus in his Stromata: *φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ μείζονι ἐπιστολῇ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐκδιδάσκων ἐν τούτοις· ἐάν τις ἴδῃ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτάνοντα, κ. τ. λ.*:[n]

"John also in his larger epistle seems to shew the difference of sins: 'if any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death,'" etc.

Tertullian received the epistle as John's: "Denique inspiciamus quem apostoli viderint: Quod vidimus, inquit Joannes, quod audivimus, oculis nostris vidimus:" etc.[o]

[1] Cap. vii. [k] H. E. iii. 39. [l] H. E. v. 8. [m] See ed. Grabe, pp. 241, 242. [n] Lib. ii. p. 389. [o] Advers. Praxeam, cap. 15.

"Lastly, let us consider whom the apostle saw: 'That which we have seen,' says John, 'which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes,'" etc.

Cyprian writes: "Et Joannes apostolus mandati memor in epistola sua postmodum ponit: 'In hoc,' inquit, 'intelligimus quia cognovimus eum, si praecepta ejus custodiamus:'" etc.[p]

"And the apostle John, remembering the commandment, afterwards puts in his epistle, 'In this,' says he, 'we understand that we have known him, if we keep his commandments.'"

The epistle is found in the old Syriac version, which does not contain the second and third epistles of John; and in the ancient fragment on the canon published by Muratori.

Origen speaking of the apostle John says: *καταλέλοιπε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων στίχων· ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην· ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντες φασὶ γνησίους εἶναι ταύτας· πλὴν οὐκ εἰσὶ στίχων ἀμφότεραι ἑκατόν:*[q]

"He has also left an epistle of a very few lines. Grant also a second and a third; for all do not allow these to be genuine. However, they do not both together make a hundred lines."

Dionysius of Alexandria held the authenticity of our epistle as well as of the fourth gospel; for on that ground he questions the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse.[r]

Eusebius himself places it among the *ὁμολογούμενα*, or *writings universally received* by the churches.[s]

Other testimonies need not be quoted. All succeeding fathers agree with these earlier ones, so that the epistle is clearly attested as John's by the uniform voice of antiquity.

But notwithstanding the very strong evidence internal and external in favour of John's authorship, the epistle has not escaped attack. Lange was the first who assailed it.[t] He was followed by Cludius[u] and Bretschneider.[w] Since then the Tübingen school have taken the same course, Zeller being in this

[p] Epist. 28. (alii 25). [q] Ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 25.

[r] See Eusebius, H. E. vii. 25. [s] H. E. iii. 25.

[t] Die Schriften des Johann. übersetzt und erklärt. vol. iii. p. 4, et seqq.

[u] Uransichten des Christenthums, p. 52, et seqq.

[w] Probabilia de evangelii et epistolarum Ioannis apostoli indole et origine, p. 164, et seqq.

case their representative.[x] We shall mention their arguments very briefly.

1. The Alogi and Marcionites did not receive the epistle.

2. The logos-doctrine and Anti-docetic tendency of the treatise betray an author of the second century.

3. Its eschatology differs from that of the gospel.

4. The doctrine respecting the Holy Spirit is different.

5. There is a harsh distinction between 1 ep. v. 6 and gospel xix. 34.

A word or two on these objections will suffice.

1. Although it is not expressly declared by Epiphanius that the Alogi rejected all John's writings, but merely the gospel and Revelation,[y] yet it is probable they did so; and accordingly that father himself draws the conclusion that they did not receive the epistles. It is manifest however, that they proceeded on doctrinal grounds which cannot stand the test of criticism. They were influenced by caprice or prejudice. In ascribing the gospel and the Apocalypse to Cerinthus, it is easy to see the utter worthlessness of their judgment.

As little weight belongs to the opinion of Marcion and his school, who rejected all John's writings on arbitrary principles, and from an overweening attachment to the Pauline element. They ignorantly supposed that the spirit breathing through John's productions was opposed to that which characterises Paul's.

2. Bretschneider argues from the logos-doctrine and anti-docetic direction of the letter to an authorship belonging to the second century.[z]

In the beginning of the epistle, the logos-doctrine is briefly touched, but not so slightly as that its coincidence with the prologue of the gospel escapes observation. The logos-doctrine of the second century is different. It appears in a developed, metaphysical form. It is further unfolded. The germs of it can be traced even in some of the Old Testament books and apocryphal writings, as well as in the Pauline epistles. It was not new even in the apostolic age. But in the second century it was carried out in metaphysical distinctions and developments in a manner

[x] Theologische Jahrbücher for 1845, Heft 4, p. 588, et seqq.

[y] See Advers. Haeres. li. cap. 3.

[z] Probabilia, etc., p. 166.

totally unlike the brief hints in the gospel of John, and the still briefer intimation at the commencement of our epistle.

As to the anti-docetic tendency discernible in the epistle, it is undeniable. But the seeds and germs of docceticism appeared as early as the time of Christ. They were even prior to that period, being found in the Jewish theology wherever it was united to oriental theosophy. The doceticism of the second century is more developed than that which made its appearance in the first. Compare for example the form of it which Ignatius and Polycarp opposed, with the scattered unsystematised traces of it found in Paul's epistles and more distinctly referred to by the apostle John. Had the writer of our epistle lived in the second century and combated doceticism, he would have presented it in a different manner.

In short, so far from the logos-doctrine and anti-docetic tendency in the epistle betraying an author belonging to the second century, they shew an earlier writer. They do not correspond to the characteristics of that century, but point to a time of greater simplicity.

3. Zeller urges the different eschatology of the gospel and epistle. The latter speaks expressly of an ἐσχάτη ὥρα, *last hour*, and a future φανερωθῆναι, *manifestation* of Christ, recognising both the idea and name of ἀντίχριστος, *antichrist*. The gospel, on the other hand, no where speaks with the same definiteness of Christ's external appearing and the end of the world; but resolves the former into the idea of an internal appearing by the Holy Spirit. This objection is based on misconception and error. Yet Grimm's[a] reply to it is feeble and incorrect. The gospel, says he, speaks of *the last day*, ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα, which corresponds with the ἐσχάτη ὥρα of the epistle. (See vi. 39, 40, 44, 54.) If these passages speak of the body's resurrection, they imply Christ's appearing to judgment. But the ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα of the gospel is not synonymous with the ἐσχάτη ὥρα of the epistle, and therefore Grimm's reasoning falls to the ground. The former means *the day of judgment*; the latter has a different sense, as will be shewn hereafter. Supposing there is the difference stated by Zeller, it militates nothing against identity of authorship or time of writing. How often does a writer insert ideas in one produc-

[a] Studien und Kritiken for 1847, p. 177.

tion which are not found in another! Difference is not *opposition.* And then it is quite natural that the gospel should speak little or not at all of Christ's *future manifestation*, because it is occupied with the history of his first manifestation in the flesh. The Comforter too is promised as His substitute, but *his* presence in the hearts of believers is never spoken of as an *internal manifestation* of Christ, as Zeller appears to say.

4. Zeller derives another objection from the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the gospel and in the epistle being dissimilar. He compares ep. ii. 20, 27, with the fourteenth chapter of the gospel, and finds a distinction. In the latter the Spirit is promised by Christ as the *paraclete.* In the former he is represented as the author of a χρῖσμα or *unction.* But both are figurative expressions, and not at all dissimilar in sense. In the gospel, Christ promises to send the Paraclete to the disciples to be their *helper* and *counsellor;* in the epistle the same Spirit is already imparted to christians, his influence on their minds being represented as an *unction.* The idea of unction is included in the general designation *paraclete.* The aid afforded to true christians is in one aspect of it *an anointing*, by means of which they become the children of God, knowing all evangelical truth, and indisposed to apostatise.

5. Zeller still further insists on the difference between ep. v. 6 and gospel xix. 34. It is needless to enter into this consideration, because we do not allow of the symbolical meaning attached to xix. 34, nor believe that in it the evangelist intends to set forth the fulfilment of the promise given in vii. 38, etc. The words of xix. 34 are to be taken literally. There is no reason for seeking out a symbolic meaning in them. In the epistle (v. 6) water stands as the symbol of purification; blood, of atonement. This is he, says the writer, who came not only to give purity of heart, but to atone for its sins.[b]

The preceding observations will shew the flimsy arguments which hypercriticism is not ashamed to adduce. Indeed there is no proper reasoning in such ill-favoured and lean observations advanced against the epistle's authenticity.

That the epistle is *genuine*, or in other words, that it remains in all material points the same as when it proceeded from the author,

[b] See Grimm in the Stud. und Kritik. p. 171, et seqq.

has not been questioned; the only exception being a passage in the fifth chapter, which is inserted in various MSS. and versions. The words in the seventh and eighth verses of that chapter, beginning with *in heaven* and ending with *in earth*, are spurious. The evidence against them is clear and preponderating. But we cannot enter into an examination of them in the present place.

II. *The form of it.*

The work is commonly called the first *epistle* of John. From the earliest period it has been so styled. Externally, however, it has little of the epistolary form. It wants an inscription, it has no salutation at the commencement, and closes without a benediction. All the other catholic epistles have more or less of the outward epistolary conformation in these respects. But, though it be defective in several of the outward requisites of a formal epistle, yet the internal composition and texture shew the propriety of retaining the usual appellation. The want of an epistolary *form* is compensated by the internal qualities of a letter. Thus the readers are addressed occasionally in the second person; there are references to their condition (i. 3, etc.; ii. 1, 7, 13, 18, 20, 23, 24), special allusions to definite views and particular relations belonging to them, a somewhat loose connexion between the ideas, frequent repetitions, and other peculiarities betokening the colloquial style of epistolary composition. We cannot therefore agree with such interpreters as designate the work before us a treatise or discourse, departing from the common title, as Michaelis suggests.

Such as take this idea of its nature and purport sometimes connect it with the gospel, calling it the polemic part of the latter, with Storr; or the practical part, with Berger. In like manner Hug terms it an accompaniment and dedication of the gospel; an introduction and preface commending John's work on the Logos to every age and condition—to the entire church.

But to link it to the gospel in this method is to present it in a false aspect. It is composed in a different method from that of the gospel. It presupposes a more definite circle of readers. It was uniformly styled an epistle in early times, and always separated

from the gospel. There is no reason for supposing that it was intended to belong to it, or that it ever had such a position of proximity.

The oldest MSS. and versions present it apart. Why were they not written together, if the one was a supplement or companion of the other? To this question Hug answers, that the copyist of the Cambridge MS. furnishes us with the ancient custom. On the first page of the leaf on the opposite side of which the Acts of the Apostles begin, he wrote the Latin column of the last verse of John's third epistle, and then subjoined

Epistulae Johanis III.
explicit
incipit
Actus Apostolorum;[c]

whence Hug infers that the copyist had an ancient MS. before him in which John's epistles immediately preceded the Acts of the Apostles. But the conclusion does not follow legitimately from the premises; and the argument besides proves too much, for not only the first epistle but the other two likewise were thus accompaniments or introductions to the gospel. How natural it was for copyists occasionally to put the writings of one apostle together for the sake of unity!

In view of all that has been said against the title *epistle*, we see no reason for abjuring it as improper. The book has enough of the epistle about it to warrant the old designation.

III. *The time and place of writing.*

The date is extremely uncertain. Opinions are much divided respecting it. Some fix it *before*, others *after the destruction of Jerusalem*. And in relation to *the gospel*, it is variously put before, and after it. There are no good data on which a safe conclusion can be built.

Viewing it as composed before or after *the destruction of Jerusalem*, some argue for the former on the following grounds.

1. "Because the expression *It is the last hour* may more naturally be understood of the last hour of the duration of the Jewish

[c] See Kipling's facsimile, p. 657, pars altera.

state than of any later period; especially since the apostle adds, 'and as ye have heard that the antichrist cometh, so now there are many antichrists'; whence we know that it is the last hour;' plainly alluding to our Lord's prediction concerning the false teachers who were to arise before the destruction of Jerusalem."[d] This argument has been very common since the time of Grotius.

The meaning of the expression ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστιν, *it is the last hour*, in ii. 18, is very obscure. Hence it is unsafe to found an argument upon it. Here it is interpreted of the last time of the Jewish state's duration. So Hammond and many others explain it. We doubt the correctness of the exposition, for the phrase should be considered in connexion with similar ones in Acts ii. 17; Heb. i. 1; 1 Peter i. 20; Jude 18, whence it appears that some particular part of the period intervening between the first and second advent of Christ is referred to, viz. that in which the writers themselves lived. The phrase might refer to any part of the gospel age or present dispensation; but John in this instance has specially in view his own time. It is, says he, the last hour. The latter part of the gospel age has arrived, in which the opponents of truth will prove violent and active. Whether the apostle believed that the day of Christ's final advent was at hand, cannot be affirmed or denied on any good ground. He alludes simply to one particular period of the gospel dispensation —that which he himself witnessed. That the final destruction of Jerusalem was uppermost in his mind when he used the phrase is wholly improbable.[e]

2. "The expression *ye have known him from the beginning* applies better to the disciples immediately before Jerusalem was destroyed, than to the few who may have been alive at the late date assigned to this epistle. For thirty-five years after our Lord's ascension, when Jerusalem was destroyed, there may have been many living who had seen and conversed with him during his ministry on earth. Whereas in the year 98, or even in 92, there could not be many alive who were of that description."[f]

This argument is founded on misapprehension of the true

[d] Macknight, Preface to the first epistle of John, sect. 4.

[e] See Michaelis's Introduction by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 395, et seqq.

[f] Macknight, Preface, etc., sect. 4.

meaning belonging to the phrase ἐγνώκατε τὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (ii. 13, 14), which does not denote, as Macknight appears to think, that *they were acquainted with Christ from the beginning of his ministry*, but that they had a spiritual apprehension of Christ, who was or existed *from the beginning of the world;* or in other words, *from eternity*. The very first clause of the verse with which the epistle begins, compared with the gospel's opening sentence, shews, that the existence of the Logos from eternity is the main idea set forth by the apostle.

3. As the other apostles, James, Jude, Paul, and Peter, had written catholic epistles to the Hebrew christians especially, it is likely that one of the principal pillars of the church would not be deficient likewise in this labour of love.

This argument, advanced by Hales,[g] does not appear adapted to prove the thing for which it is adduced. It proceeds on the supposition that James, Jude, Paul, and Peter, wrote each an epistle or epistles specially intended for Hebrew christians, which cannot be shewn in reference to some of them; and that this epistle is mainly addressed to Hebrew christians, which is exceedingly doubtful. It also assumes, that John would follow the same course precisely as the other leading apostles. It is thus made up of gratuitous and improbable assumptions.

4. "Nothing could tend so strongly to establish the faith of the early Jewish converts as the remarkable circumstances of our Lord's crucifixion, exhibiting the accomplishment of the ancient types and prophecies of the Old Testament respecting Christ's passion, or sufferings in the flesh. These John alone could record, as he was the only eye-witness of that last solemn scene among the apostles. To these, therefore, he alludes in the exordium, as well as to the circumstances of our Lord's appearances after the resurrection; and to these he again recalls their attention in that remarkable reference to 'the water' at his baptism; to 'the water and blood' at his passion, and to the dismissal of 'his spirit' when he commended it to his Father and expired, v. 5-9."[h]

This argument on behalf of an early date is as futile as the last. It takes for granted again, that John wrote for the benefit of Jewish converts; and it explains v. 5-9 erroneously. "The

[g] Chronology, vol. iii. p. 452, second edition. [h] Ibid.

spirit" mentioned in the eighth verse, along with the water and the blood, is none other than the Holy Spirit, as appears from the sixth verse. "The water and the blood" do not mean the water and blood at his passion; but symbolically, *purification* and *atonement.*

5. Another argument proposed by Hales is founded on John xix. 35-37 compared with v. 9 of the epistle. In the former it is said, "he that saw, *hath testified*," intimating that he had already delivered his testimony to the world, *i.e.* in the epistle. Thus the priority of the epistle to the gospel is made out.[1] But the argument fails, because the perfect tense is here employed in a present sense, as the context shews, and as it is similarly used in i. 34: "he that hath seen wishes hereby to testify," etc.[j] Besides, Dr. Hales introduces this among the reasons for dating the epistle before the destruction of Jerusalem; whereas, even if valid and decisive, which it is not, it only shews the priority of the epistle to the gospel.

6. Another argument is derived from the expression, "A new commandment I write unto you" (ii. 8). It is supposed that John would not have conveyed his exhortation in this form, had he been writing fifty or sixty years after the first publication of the gospel.

But this consideration is worthless in favour of an early date, because the apostle writes in the verse immediately preceding, "I write no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment which ye had from the beginning;" and because he designates it a new commandment in imitation of the language used by the Saviour, as recorded in the fourth gospel (xiii. 34).

Others maintain, that the epistle was not written till *after* the destruction of Jerusalem. In doing so they argue from—

1. The passage ii. 18, where John says, *it is the last hour.* But words so ambiguous can prove nothing, especially as they are adduced by other commentators, such as Baronius, Basnage, Mill, and Le Clerc, to prove the opposite, viz. that Jerusalem had not yet been destroyed.

2. It is also alleged, that the heretics who, according to the

[1] Chronology, vol. iii. p. 452, second edition.

[j] See Lücke's Commentar, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 771, third edition.

ancient fathers, propagated the errors condemned in the epistle, did not arise till after the destruction of Jerusalem. Whatever may be said of the heresies opposed by John, it is certain that the elements of them were in operation before the destruction of Jerusalem, and even before Christ's appearance in the flesh, as has been already stated. Thus the argument is of no force.

Let us now view the date of the letter in connexion with that of the gospel. Was it written *before* or *after* the gospel?

We are inclined to answer that it *succeeded* the gospel, though the grounds from which this conclusion is drawn are not very distinct or definite. In the absence, however, of decisive marks and characteristics, whether internal or external, we must be contented with such *slight indications* as the epistle itself affords.

In various parts of the epistle there are plain references to the gospel. So Hug and others assert. He relies particularly on the commencement. Even Lücke affirms, that the allusion to the gospel in i. 1-4 is unmistakeable.

According to Hug, the apostle writes what he has heard, seen, etc. The things which John had not only heard, but seen with his eyes, and handled with his hands, must have been things which fell under the cognizance of the senses mentioned; *i. e.* events and incidents for which he presents himself as voucher. Now, what things can be meant but those to which he testifies in his gospel? John even gives, as it were, the title of the book. Respecting that which was from the beginning—the word—we inform you: ὁ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς—περὶ τοῦ λόγου—ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν. This is exactly the introduction to the gospel: *In the beginning was the word.* He then adds in the epistle, *of the word of life—which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us:* περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς—ἥτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, κ. τ. λ. So at the beginning of the gospel: *The word was life, he was with the Father, and we saw his glory.* After quoting i. 4; ii. 12, 13, 14, 21, 26, Hug asks, "Who would aver five times at the very outset of an epistle that he was writing, and four times that he had written, what he was only going to write? The case is inexplicable except on the supposition that these declarations do not refer to the epistle itself, but to something else."[k] If the

[k] Introduction, translated by Fosdick, p. 460.

declaration at the commencement refer to his book on the Logos, the object of his thrice-repeated asseveration, that he declares what *he had seen, heard, and handled*, is apparent, viz. the certainty attaching to his testimony as set forth in the gospel.

There are other allusions to the gospel in ii. 21, 25, 26.

After this manner does the ingenious critic reason. But we are by no means satisfied with the correctness of such argumentation, as far as it is really intelligible to us. Neither at the commencement, nor in any other part of the epistle, is there a clear allusion to the gospel. The writer presupposes, on the part of his readers, an acquaintance with the contents of his oral teaching, as may be inferred from i. 3; ii. 7; iv. 14.[1] It is probable, also, that their familiarity with the substance of his written gospel is taken for granted. But to find plain references to the gospel in the epistle, is to discover what does not appear. It is obvious that John had preached to the persons here addressed. They were familiar with his instructions. The doctrines to which he specially adverts at the commencement, they had already heard from his lips. They had read, perhaps, his written gospel. But there is no plain, designed, reference to it, in any part of the epistle. All is intelligible and natural without the hypothesis in question. As to the expressions *I write*, and *I have written*, there is no difficulty in referring them to the present epistle. The past and the present are employed interchangeably, for the sake of variety and emphasis. It is wholly artificial to assign the one to the gospel just written, and the other to the epistle meant to accompany it, in the way Hug does.

How far then, it may be asked, does this consideration affect the date of the epistle? The document, as a whole, is more intelligible, and various expressions in it more natural, on the supposition that the readers were acquainted, both with John's oral teachings, and with his written gospel. This is all that can be fairly deduced from the letter itself. But when we have concluded that the gospel's composition preceded that of the epistle, we are still perplexed as to the true date of the latter; because the interval of time between them may have been considerable or otherwise. If, however, the gospel appeared about A.D. 97,

[1] See Schleiermacher's Einleitung, p. 391.

as is probable, the epistle was written soon after. Not more, perhaps, than two or three years intervened between the two works. The epistle belongs to the close of the first century. With this agrees the entire tone of it, which is characteristic of old age. It is pervaded by a subdued and quiet gentleness which frequently accompanies that time. There are also turns of thought and expression which point to a late period of life. Not that the weakness of old age, or the decay of memory and thoughtfulness, is observable, as Eichhorn asserts from his own peculiar subjectivity;[m] but the mellowness, repetition, and tendency to diffuseness, characterise one far advanced in years; while the fatherly spirit of the aged christian is unmistakeable. Hence he uses the word τεκνία so often, addressing his hearers as *little children*. *The repetition* of the appellation in question favours the idea of John's old age. We are quite aware of the fact to which Stuart[n] calls attention, viz. that the Saviour addresses his disciples with the same appellation (John xiii. 33), some of whom at least were older than himself; and that Paul addresses the Galatians in the same manner (iv. 19); whence the critic argues that it is only an expression of *endearment*. It is the *frequent* use of it which leads us to believe that it is not *merely* a compellation of endearment with John. It is right to argue from it to the comparative age of the writer, because he applies it so often to his readers. Nor is it an objection that in one passage (ii. 13) he addresses part of those to whom he wrote by the appellation πατέρες, *fathers*; because the title is there employed, not in relation to himself, but in relation to the other classes whom he designates as νεανίσκοι and παιδία respectively.

It is also probable that the apostle wrote this epistle later than the gospel, and therefore at an advanced age, from the manner in which various errors are noticed and denounced. In the gospel similar heresies, or seeds of heresy, are indistinctly alluded to. They are indirectly characterised. They are obliquely noticed. But here they are strongly marked. The tone assumed in relation to them is more decided. The readers are repeatedly warned

[m] Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 339.

[n] Notes to Fosdick's version of Hug's Introduction, p. 732.

against them. Doubtless they had increased. Hence he adopts a firmer and more emphatic strain of admonition against them.

Another argument in favour of the gospel's priority is derived by Lücke from the shorter, more contracted expressions symbolising the same ideas which are found in the larger work. The more copious phrases he looks upon as the earlier; the abbreviated, the later. Agreeably to this principle, the abbreviated formulas of our epistle regarding the λόγος, viz. ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς, ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἥτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν, were later than the fuller ones in the gospel, i. 1, etc. In like manner, a comparison of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν σάρκι ἐληλυθὼς (iv. 2), with that presented in the gospel (i. 14), evinces the earlier composition of the latter.[o]

But this argument appears somewhat precarious. Does it usually happen that the shorter, more contracted expressions relative to the same topics, betray a later time than the more copious and developed formulas? Do they not *precede* as often as follow the latter? The younger and more energetic one is, the more forcible and terse is his language; while with age it spreads out into greater diffuseness, and loses its strength. Lücke's argument tells as much against as for, his view. Its soundness is exceedingly questionable.

The place where the epistle was written is associated in part with the readers to whom it was originally sent. But if, as we suppose, the gospel was written at Ephesus, it is most probable that the epistle was written at the same place. Here John resided during the latter part of his life. And here it seems that antiquity fixed the birth-place of the document.

IV. *Persons addressed.*

In the Latin church, especially since the time of Augustine, this epistle has been often termed *ad Parthos*, to the Parthians. It is so called in the inscription of Augustine's treatises on it, and in the text of another work which he wrote. Idacius Clarus, Cassiodorus, the Venerable Bede, and various Latin MSS., mention the same title; and one Greek MS., viz. 62 of Griesbach, has ἰωάννου β. πρὸς πάρθους, at the end of the second epistle.

[o] Commentar über die Briefe des Evangelisten Johannes, p. 22, 2nd edition.

It is evident, however, that the Greek church was ignorant of the inscription in question. In whatever way it originated, there can be little doubt that it began in mistake. It is needless to enumerate the various conjectures which have been put forth for the purpose of explaining the origin of the title, by Serarius, Semler, Whiston, Michaelis, Hug, Wegscheider, Paulus, and Gieseler.[p] That of Gieseler[q] is the most probable, according to which the subscription of the first and second epistles was at first ἐπιστ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ παρθένου, which the Latins misunderstanding, converted into *epist. ad Parthos.* John was early styled παρθένος, because he was unmarried. Whatever explanation may be given of the mistake, it is certain that the epistle was not sent at first to the Parthians.

Benson supposes, that it was addressed to the Jewish christians in Judea and Galilee. This opinion is wholly groundless. Macknight is inclined to take a similar view; for chap. ii. 3, "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world," seems to intimate, as he thinks, that the epistle was intended chiefly, though not exclusively, for the Jewish believers in Judea and the neighbouring countries.[r] But this language does not allude to the distinction between Jews and Gentiles, but between christians and those not christians. Neither can it be correctly inferred from the formulas, "the old commandment which ye had from the beginning," "the word which ye have heard from the beginning," "ye have known him that is from the beginning" (ii. 7, 13, 14), that the readers were Palestinian christians who had seen and heard the Saviour teaching. The knowledge of Christ referred to, means a spiritual apprehension of his person.[s] Lightfoot thought that it was written to the church at Corinth, of which Gaius was a member: "I wrote unto the church; but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the preeminence, receiveth us not" (3 John 9). "This must needs," says Lightfoot, "be understood of the first epistle of John."[t]

[p] See Bertholdt, Einleitung, vol. vi. p. 3205, et seqq., & Lücke, p. 28, et seqq.

[q] Compendium of ecclesiastical history, English translation, vol. i. p. 106.

[r] Preface to the first epistle of John, sect. 5.

[s] See Schott's Isagoge, p. 448, note 1.

[t] See Works edited by Pitman, vol. iii. p. 330.

It must be so, only after it has been proved that Gaius mentioned in the third epistle, was identical with the Gaius whose name appears in Acts xix. 29; that John stood in so intimate a relation to the church at Corinth as the epistle implies; and that ἔγραψα, *I wrote*, refers not to the third epistle itself, but to a prior one.

Untenable as is the hypothesis of Lightfoot, it has not been allowed to pass into complete oblivion. Since the time of that scholar, it has been discovered by an anonymous writer that the first epistle of John was originally addressed to *the Jewish portion* of the christian church at Corinth. And an attempt is made to give a colour of plausibility to this wild idea, by adducing coincidences of sentiment and language between Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians and our present letter—parallels which shew no more than that the apostles were inspired by One Spirit, and that christians in different lands may be suitably addressed in similar exhortations, warnings, and encouragements. John is also represented as opening a communication at Ephesus with the numerous *Jewish* christians at Corinth, and reiterating admonitions they (i. e. *the Jewish* christians) had received from Paul eight or ten years before. Finally, an intention is put into his mind of following up his epistle by a personal visitation.

Here is a tissue of improbable conjectures. John had preached among the believers to whom the epistle is directed. They were familiar with his doctrines. He was well acquainted with their state, having seen it with his eyes. He had already visited them in person. The hypothesis is inadmissible on this ground alone.

We gather from the epistle itself, that the readers were *Gentile* christians. Hence they are warned against idolatry (v. 21). Hence too the absence of quotations from the Old Testament, and the warnings against Docetic̈ism (iv. 2, etc.). The apostle was their spiritual teacher and friend (ii. 7); he was well acquainted with their state and prevailing temptations (ii. 12-14; 20, 21, 24, 27); he had preached among them; he had instructed them; for he writes to them the same doctrine which they had already heard from his lips (i. 3). All this points to Asia Minor, where John abode during the latter part of his life, principally at Ephesus.

Hug, who thinks that it was sent to the one church at Ephesus, believes that it was absolutely required as an accompaniment and dedication of the gospel sent from Patmos; an hypothesis wholly gratuitous, and altogether improbable. He endeavours also to find a similarity between the contents of the epistle and that part of the Apocalypse which refers especially to the church of Ephesus. Little value attaches to such reasoning, because it proceeds on the assumption of various particulars that require proof. The most likely view of the epistle is, that it was originally addressed to various churches of Asia Minor, whom John had taught and superintended, including of course that of Ephesus. It was, therefore, meant to be a circular letter. This agrees with its position in the collection of *catholic* or *general* epistles. The prevailing element in the churches addressed was certainly the Gentile one.

It will now appear, that such critics as think it was written, *in the first instance*, for the use of christians of every denomination and country, are mistaken. Thus Oecumenius says it was written to the whole church in general; Lampe, to all believers of John's time in general; Du Pin, that it was addressed to many christians; Lardner, that it was designed for all christians in general, especially those under the apostle's inspection and nearest to him; Michaelis, that it was written for the use of christians of every denomination; Tomline, to christians in general of every place, and of every denomination. This follows neither from its designation, *catholic* epistle, nor from the absence of words restricting it to a particular people, still less from the concluding exhortation, "keep yourselves from idols." And because it does not apply to believers in Judea, it was not on that account meant for the use of christians in every other country.[w] Indeed it is ridiculous to affirm that it was addressed at first to christians of all lands; because an intimate relation between the writer and readers is apparent throughout it. In one point of view it *was* intended for the use of all believers; but so were all the writings of which the New Testament consists. It is one thing to inquire who the parties were whom a sacred writer had in view, and to whom he despatched his epistle: it is another thing, to seek for

[w] See Lardner's Works, vol. iii. p. 429.

the extent of object it was meant to serve. The former demands investigation; the latter is patent to the weakest understanding.

V. *Occasion and object.*

It has been usual to assign a polemic purpose to the writer of this epistle. The combating of false teachers, or at least of erroneous doctrines which had crept into the churches addressed, has been regarded as his special object.

Loeffler[x] and Semler[y] found an anti-jewish direction in the epistle. The former seems to have looked upon the doctrinal part of it as written in opposition to Jewish teachers, Jewish particularism, legality, and prejudice against the appearance of Christ in the flesh; the latter, against Judaising christians. Lange,[z] Eichhorn,[a] and Hänlein,[b] thought that John wrote against Jewish christians who had apostatised to Judaism, because the apostle says of them, "They went out from us, but they were not of us, for if they had been of us they would no doubt have continued with us." Barkey,[c] Storr,[d] and Keil,[e] supposed that he wrote against the disciples of John the Baptist, afterwards called Zabians or Sabians; Kleuker,[f] against the Gnostics generally; Schmidt,[g] Bertholdt,[h] Niemeyer,[i] against the Docetae; Michaelis,[k] against the Corinthians, or at least against Gnostics and Magi; Paulus,[l] against a peculiar kind of gnosis which consisted in a Parsee-magian dualism.

Without stopping to discuss the respective claims of these

[x] In the Commentatt. Theolog. ed. a Velthusen., etc. vol. i. p. 138, et seqq.
[y] Paraphrasis in primam Joannis epistolam, etc., etc., ad ii. 22, iv. 3, 5.
[z] Die Schriften Johannis, u. s. w., vol. iii. p. 19, et seqq.
[a] Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 291, et seqq.
[b] Einleitung, u. s. w., vol. ii. p. 236.
[c] In the Bibl. Hag. cl. iii. Fascic. iii. p. 590, et seqq.
[d] Ueber den Zweck der evangelischen Geschichte, u. s. w., sect. 3-20.
[e] Ad Fabricii Biblioth. Græca, ed. Harless. vol. iv. p. 782.
[f] Ueber den Ursprung und Zweck der apostolischen Briefe, p. 519, et seqq.
[g] Einleitung, u. s. w., vol. i. p. 317, et seqq.
[h] Einleitung, u. s. w., vol. vi. p. 3246.
[i] Comment. de Docetis, p. 29, et seqq.
[k] Introduction to the New Testament, by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 402.
[l] Die drey Lehrbriefe von Johannes, u. s. w., p. 45, et seqq.

diversified views—a task which has been already performed by Bertholdt and Lücke—we remark, that with one or two exceptions, they possess a portion of truth. The epistle does contain polemic allusions. John speaks of antichrists, that is, false teachers, whose doctrines and character he describes in ii. 18-26. He refers also to spirits, or pretended spiritual teachers who would not confess that Jesus was come in the flesh, iv. 1-6; while the opening of the letter points to persons belonging to the same class. The most probable reference of the passage iv. 1-6, is to the Docetae, who held that Christ took only the appearance of a body, denying the reality of his humanity. It is apparent too, that the commencement of the letter is directed against some such error; for the apostle asserts emphatically the true humanity of the Saviour. But in maintaining that he had in view the sentiments of the Docetae, it is not necessary to hold that the sect had acquired much notoriety in the apostolic age. The germs of their heresy were afloat, and in the latter part of John's life were growing rapidly to maturity in Asia Minor; but it was not till after his death, that they assumed a consistence and solidity that rendered them formidable to the orthodox faith. Probably the same docetic views are alluded to in less definite language, in ii. 18-26, where several false teachers are pointed out, and a theoretical denial that Jesus is the Christ is characterised as an ἀντίχριστος or antichrist.

But while holding that John combats the Docetae in i. 1-3; iv. 1-6, and probably in ii. 18-26, it is wrong to exalt these passages into undue prominence so as to deduce from them *the leading object* of the writer. They form but a small portion of the letter. Why then should the apostle's main design in writing be based on them alone? Indeed the chief purpose of the author does not appear to have been a polemic one in reference to persons of any particular character. His great object was not to combat any party. His notices of false teachers and their errors are a subordinate matter. They are introduced into the execution of a more general purpose. Hence those writers who assume a polemic design on the part of John, either *wholly* or *chiefly*, take a partial, one-sided view of the epistle. It is only in a *very qualified sense* that it can be allowed that the apostle's design was to combat the

Docetae; in a sense requiring considerable qualification. Schott, Lücke, and De Wette present the correct view.

If this opinion be correct, it follows that it is equally unnecessary and improbable to assume that John wrote "to confute the errors of the false teachers and their different sects—against the Docetae, who denied the humanity of Christ—against the Cerinthians and Ebionites—and against the Nicolaitans or Gnostics, who taught that the knowledge of God and Christ was sufficient for salvation; that being justified by faith, and freed from the restraints of the law, they might indulge in sin with impunity."[m] For, in the first place, the false teachers referred to in the epistle probably belonged to one sect; though the sect was not properly formed at the time when the apostle wrote. And, secondly, the Ebionites should not be mentioned along with the Cerinthians, because John writing to the Gentile christians of Asia Minor could scarcely have had them in view. Thirdly, it is incorrect to speak of Nicolaitans or Gnostics as teaching that sin might be indulged in with impunity, or to class together indefinitely Nicolaitans and Gnostics, as though they were identical. *Gnostics* is a general appellation under which the Docetae are included. The Docetae were a part of the Gnostics. As to the Nicolaitans, it is unlikely that they constituted a sect, or that they came under the general designation of *Gnostics*. The name is symbolical. It is well known that *some* of the Gnostics threw off the restraints of morality. Hence we may assume that the practical and theoretical errors alluded to in the epistle belonged to one and the same class of false teachers. They should not be distributed among different classes, as is done in the vague, confused, incorrect view of the writer's purpose which Townsend has borrowed from Macknight.

What then is the writer's leading object in the present epistle? It is to confirm and establish the readers in their attachment to christianity, especially in holiness and love. They are reminded of the great fundamental principles of evangelical morality, and exhorted to practise them continually. In inculcating the inseparable connexion between morality and faith, they are warned

[m] The New Testament, arranged in historical and chronological order, by Townsend, vol. ii. p. 460, et seqq., fourth edition.

against the false doctrine which denies the reality of Christ's human appearance. They are thus admonished to steadfastness in faith as well as in love.

It is scarcely correct to say with Horsley,[n] that the epistle is "a didactic discourse upon the principles of christianity both in doctrine and practice." It is occupied with the ethical principles of christianity rather than the doctrinal; and is far from discussing any of them in the manner of a didactic discourse. Nor does it "propound with perspicuity the deepest mysteries of our holy faith." That is done in the gospel of John. The epistle scarcely touches on the relation of the Son to the Father and the Holy Spirit. In short, it is more practical than doctrinal. It breathes throughout a spirit of holiness, love, and good-will. These practical qualities are set forth as inseparable from faith in Christ, and a steady adherence to the plain truths of his gospel.

Thus the state of his readers was the occasion which gave rise to the epistle, and the main object of it was their establishment in the leading principles of the christian religion, from which they were in danger of swerving amid the seducing influences they were exposed to. The apostle himself says, "These things have I written unto you that ye may know ye have eternal life while believing in the name of the Son of God" (v. 13), in which terms he announces in a very general way the object for which he wrote. He meant to promote and establish christian faith and practice in the communities over which he watched. In the same manner, towards the close of the gospel, the writer states, "these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; *and that believing ye might have life through his name*" (xx. 31). But under so comprehensive a purpose, various subordinate objects might be attained, and therefore John frequently introduces throughout the letter such phrases as, *I write*, or *I have written*, accompanied with a variety of statements. Thus i. 4, "These things write we unto you, that your joy may be full."

VI. *Contents.*

The epistle may be divided into three parts and an introduc-

[n] Sermons, pp. 144, 145, second edition.

tion. These parts, however, are not *externally* separable from one another. They are not formal. They lie in the ideas of the writer more than the outward expression of them. Hence they have been called three *admonitions*. The introduction is contained in i. 1-4; the three exhortations in i. 5-ii. 28; ii. 29-iv. 6; iv. 7-v. 21, respectively.

The first four verses form a kind of preface to the epistle. Its proper theme may be perceived from them. They furnish the key to its contents and internal unity.

The apostle, who had been a direct witness of the historic reality of the manifested Word of life, wishes to write to his hearers to confirm them in communion with the Father and the Son, that they might attain to perfect joy in that hallowed fellowship, i. 1-4.

I. *He reminds them of the nature of christian fellowship. It consists in light, in purification from sin, in keeping the divine commandments, in love* (i. 5-ii. 28).

Having stated the object of the treatise, viz. the complete establishment of his readers in communion with the Father and the Son, he begins with reminding them of the ground and root of such communion, viz. the holy nature of God, and the consequent holiness indispensable to communion with Him (i. 5-7, "fellowship one with another").

This holy communion implies first, purification and redemption by the death of Christ. The idea of purification from sin by the blood of Christ is then developed by the writer. Its conditions are, the perception and confession of sin, as well as repentance for it with sincere conscientiousness; and if notwithstanding any one should fall into sin, he can find an advocate and propitiation in Christ (i. 7, "and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin"—ii. 2).

This communion implies, secondly, the keeping of God's commandments, especially that of love. In introducing love as that great commandment to which all others may be reduced, he asserts that he writes about no *new* commandment, since it had been already inculcated (John xiii. 34), but one with which they were acquainted from the commencement of their christian life. And yet in one aspect, it was a new commandment, not only be-

cause it had been recently revealed by Christ, but especially, because it had a new and quickening power over their life (ii. 3-11).

This description of the nature of christian fellowship is followed by an admonition, introduced by a direct address to the readers, which is intended to quicken and elevate their christian consciousness. The address is: "I write unto you, little children, because your sins are forgiven you," etc. The changes in the forms of expression, such as, *I write, I have written*, are designed to give variety, definiteness, and urgency, to the considerations addressed to the various classes of christians whom the writer individualises. The admonition itself consists of a warning against love of the world, against certain false teachers who had not true faith in Christ, inasmuch as they denied the Son, and therefore the Father also; and an exhortation to abide in Christ. The conclusion is a promise of confidence at the day of judgment (ii. 12-28).

II. The apostle begins again with the fundamental principle, that *communion with God, or as it is here called, Sonship, is inseparably connected with a pure morality. It is associated with the doing of righteousness and freedom from sin. Whosoever commits sin belongs to the devil. Love and hatred, in particular, constitute the distinction between those who belong to God and those belonging to the devil. Hence we ought to exemplify a self-sacrificing, true, active, love* (ii. 29-iv. 6).

He sets out with the principle, that God is righteous, and whoever doeth righteousness is a child of God. How great is the evidence of the divine love towards us in making and calling us *children of God.* The hope of being like God hereafter must lead to holiness (ii. 29-iii. 3).

This is followed by the incompatibility of sin with Christ's redemption-work, communion with Him, and sonship. So far from sin having any association with God and Christ, it rather belongs to the devil (iii. 4-10).

The apostle again reminds his readers of the commandment of love, pointing out the inconsistency of hatred to brethren with eternal life, exhorting them to self-sacrificing love in imitation of Christ who laid down his life, to compassion for distressed brethren, and to the *active* manifestation of love (iii. 11-18).

And by the habitual temper of our minds, and loving conduct to others, we have, says he, a good conscience before God, and are sure of being heard in prayer; because we do what is well-pleasing in His sight, maintain fellowship with Him by faith and love, and possess His spirit (iii. 19-24).

The believers to whom he writes are admonished to prove the spirit of the teachers who appeared, whether it be of God. And this test is given—if they teach the manifestation of Jesus Christ in the flesh, they are genuine. Such as deny this fact, belong to antichrist and the world (iii. 19-iv. 6).

III. The writer returns to his former theme—the great moral theme of the epistle. *But in this instance, he sets out with the principle of love alone, shewing that it constitutes the essence of God, has manifested itself in the mission of Jesus Christ, and is the necessary condition of sonship and communion with God* (iv. 7-v. 21).

He enunciates the fundamental principle that love is divine, and he that loves is a child of God (iv. 7, 8).

God's love has been evidenced in the sending of his Son; and as He loved us, we ought to love one another, and by love have fellowship with Him (iv. 9-12).

The characteristic mark of this communion is the possession of the christian spirit which holds fast and confesses that the Father sent the Son as the Saviour of the world, that Jesus is the Son of God, and that God has revealed Himself as *love* (iv. 13-16).

The consummation of love is seen in christians having confidence at the day of judgment, and no fear before God. Let us therefore, says the apostle, love Him, and we shall love our brethren also (iv. 17-21).

Whoever believes in Christ is a child of God. Such an one loves his brethren, and keeps God's commandments, which are not burdensome to the person who has the powerful principle of faith in him (v. 1-5).

Jesus is certified to be the Son of God by water, blood, and spirit, and the divine testimony contained in them, in the reception or rejection of which testimony, belief and unbelief are seen (v. 6-10).

The essential, practical, import of this testimony is, that God has given to us eternal life in Jesus Christ (v. 11-13).

In concluding the admonition, the apostle refers, as before, to confidence in God as the fruit of perfect love, connected with the hearing of prayer, and especially intercessory prayer on behalf of sinning brethren when they do not commit the sin unto death; for a child of God cannot sin habitually, by virtue of his communion with Him and the knowledge of the true God given by the Son. A warning against idolatry shuts up the whole (v. 14-21).

From this brief analysis it will be seen, that there is a connexion between the parts of the epistle which give it unity and comprehensiveness. They are not so loose or disjointed as many have imagined. Thus Eichhorn speaks of the rhapsodical character, the want of order and internal connexion which pervade the letter throughout, strangely attributing them to a failure of memory. Unjust, however, as this writer is to the mind of the apostle, it is *unfair* to speak of him as finding in the epistle "the Geschwätzigkeit (prattle) of old age."[o] And yet this affirmation of Stuart is implicitly quoted and adopted by the editor of the Pictorial Bible. Bad as Eichhorn is, he is here made to say what he does not. Even Calvin affirms, "Nihil horum continua serie facit. Nam sparsim docendo et exhortando varius est." But in recent times, an opposite view has obtained, chiefly in consequence of the investigations conducted by Knapp, Rickli, and Lücke; though among the older commentators also, several like Oporinus and Heumann, were not wanting, who had a right perception of the writer's theme and method. Yet there is no epistle in the New Testament, says Lücke, whose arrangement it is more difficult to exhibit. The style is certainly aphoristic in part, but it is also repetitious. The subject is arranged without rhetorical art. No precise, logical method is followed. But though the language be that of feeling rather than intellect, the fact does not necessarily lead to disorder of ideas. Taken *as a whole*, the epistle is simple and well arranged; but *in particulars*, precision, definiteness, and clear sequence are wanting. It is much easier to trace the course of the thoughts, than the transitions and links presented by their outward symbols. The sense is apparent; while the associating bands are feebly marked, or

[o] Stuart's notes to Fosdick's translation of Hug's Introduction, p. 733.

left to be understood. The main business of a good interpreter will be, to get a right view of the leading ideas, and especially of the manner in which they arise out of one another. He must steer a middle course between the apparent disorder of the materials composing the epistle, which some put together without any connexion, and the more accurate constructions, exhibiting greater order, precision, and completeness, than are really found in the epistle. The apostle's great theme is communion with the Father and the Son. After this has been treated of till a certain part of the letter, it is resumed anew, and handled in a way not very dissimilar. Indeed the general outline of both methods is substantially the same. When the apostle returns to his theme the third time, setting out afresh, he contracts it into a more definite form, so that the arrangement here is considerably different.

SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF JOHN.

THE topics connected with these epistles will be discussed in the following order:—

I. THEIR AUTHENTICITY.
II. TO WHOM THEY WERE ORIGINALLY ADDRESSED.
III. THEIR OCCASION AND OBJECT.
IV. THE TIME AND PLACE AT WHICH THEY WERE WRITTEN.
V. THEIR CONTENTS.

I. *Authenticity.*

The tradition in favour of these epistles is ancient, though they belong to the class termed *antilegomena.*

Clement of Alexandria knew of several epistles of John, of two at least. Thus he calls the first epistle, *the larger* one, ἡ μείζων ἐπιστολή.[p] He also writes: "Secunda Joannis epistola, quae ad virgines scripta est, simplicissima est. Scripta vero est ad quandam Babylonian Electam nomine:"[q]

"The second epistle of John, which was written *ad virgines*, is most simple. But it was written to a certain Babylonian lady named Electa."

It is not certain whether the fragment of his *Adumbrationes* in which the latter passage occurs be authentic. Eusebius says,[r] that he explained the catholic epistles in his *Hypotyposes*, which are thought to be the same as the *Adumbrationes*. If so, he received the third as well as the second epistle of John. But in his extant works they are not quoted.

[p] Stromata, lib. ii. p. 389, ed. Sylburg, or 464, Potter.
[q] Adumbrat. ed. Potter, p. 1011.
[r] H. E. vi. 14.

In the fragment on the canon published by Muratori two epistles of John are mentioned.[s]

Origen speaks of these epistles as not being received by some in his day,[t] but he does not express his own opinion, nor does he quote any passages from them.

Dionysius of Alexandria, a disciple of Origen, admitted them as the authentic productions of John, as appears from the use he applies them to in arguing against the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse. He writes: *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένῃ Ἰωαννου καὶ τρίτῃ, καίτοι βραχείαις οὔσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, ὁ Ἰωαννης ὀνομαστὶ πρόκειται, ἀλλ' ἀνωνύμως ὁ πρεσβύτερος γέγραπται*:[w]

"Nor yet in the second and third epistles ascribed to John, though they are but short epistles, is the name of John prefixed: for without any name he is called the elder."

Alexander of Alexandria quotes the second epistle, ascribing it to John the apostle: *πρέπει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὡς χριστιανοὺς ὄντας κατὰ χριστοῦ. . . . . μὴ δὲ κἂν χαίρειν τοῖς τοιούτοις λέγειν ἵνα μήποτε καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῶν κοινωνοὶ γενώμεθα ὡς παρήγγειλεν ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης, κ. τ. λ.*:[x]

"For it becometh us as christians . . . . . not to say to such, God speed, lest we be partakers of their sins, as the blessed John directs."

It is unnecessary to quote Athanasius, the author of the Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae, and Didymus, who received the epistles as canonical. Thus the Alexandrian church was early favourable to the reception of the epistles as the apostle John's authentic writings.

In regard to the African church, neither Tertullian nor Cyprian quotes them. But we are informed, that Aurelius, bishop of Chollabi, in the council of Carthage, A. D. 256, gave his opinion by quoting the second epistle, tenth verse, as the words of *John the apostle*.[y] Cyprian took an active part in this council, and therefore it may be inferred that he received the epistle as John's.

[s] See Neudecker's Einleitung, p. 729, note 2.
[t] Ap. Euseb. vi. 25.
[w] Ap. Euseb. vii. 25.
[x] Ap. Socrat. H. E. lib. i. cap. 6.
[y] Cypriani Opp. ed. Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 120.

There is no reason for concluding that Tertullian and he were opposed to the authenticity of these two epistles because they do not quote them in their extant works. On the contrary, it would appear from Aurelius that the African church in the third century was friendly to their canonical authority.

In the Syrian church, the epistles were not received at first, as is inferred from their not being in the old Syriac version.

But Ephrem in the fourth century quotes both epistles, introducing the ninth verse of the second with "the word of John the divine;" and the fourth verse of the third with, "the Scripture says."[z] Thus he attributed both to the apostle.

According to the testimony of Leontius of Byzantium formerly quoted, Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected the catholic epistles. Whatever weight be attached to this statement, it may be inferred with probability that he did not believe in the authenticity of the two epistles before us. Chrysostom, or rather a contemporary belonging to the school of Antioch, for the homily in question is not Chrysostom's, though it has been attributed to him,[a] says that they were not held to be canonical by the fathers. In conformity with this Theodoret never mentions them. Thus the voice of the Syrian church is unfavourable to the authenticity of our epistles.

Irenaeus, who may be taken as the representative of the early church of Asia Minor, quotes the second epistle and attributes it to John *the Lord's disciple*. His words are: Ἰωάννης δὲ, ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητὴς, ἐπέτεινε τὴν καταδικὴν αὐτῶν, μηδὲ χαίρειν αὐτοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν λέγεσθαι βουληθείς· ὁ γὰρ λέγων αὐτοῖς, φησὶ, χαίρειν, κοινωνεῖ, κ. τ. λ.:[b]

"For John, the Lord's disciple, has held out condemnation against them, not even allowing us to bid them God speed; for, says he, he that biddeth them God speed, is partaker of their evil deeds."

Eusebius places them among the Ἀντιλεγόμενα, with reference perhaps to Origen's doubts and their exclusion from the old

[z] De Amore Pauperum, vol. iii. p. 52, and Ad Imitat. Proverb. vol. i. p. 76.

[a] In Matt. xxi. 23. Opp. ed. Montfaucon, vol. vi. p. 430.

[b] Advers. Haeres. lib. i. c. 16.

Syriac. He speaks doubtingly about them in such terms as ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου εἴτε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυγχάνουσαι, εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρου ὁμωνύμου ἐκείνῳ :[c]

"Whether they are written by the evangelist or by another of the same name."

In his Evangelical Demonstration he says: ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μνήμην τῆς οἰκείας προσηγορίας ποιεῖται, ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ ἀπόστολον, οὐδὲ εὐαγγελιστήν:[d]

"In his epistles, he either makes no mention of himself or calls himself only elder, no where apostle or evangelist."

Here the historian evidently refers to the three epistles, and speaks of them as written by John the evangelist or apostle. "But this," says Lardner, "affords no certain proof that he was persuaded they were all written by one and the same person. It is sufficient foundation for the observation there proposed, that they were generally, or by many, supposed to be written by the apostle. As for himself, he has plainly shewn by what he says elsewhere, and by not quoting the two last epistles, that he was not fully satisfied they were written by the apostle and evangelist."[e] Neudecker on the other hand asserts that Eusebius *must* have held the epistles authentic, but it is not at all a necessary inference from the words quoted. After Eusebius, the epistles came to be very generally received. They are in the Apostolic Canons, and in the sixtieth canon of the council of Laodicea. They were also recognised by the council of Hippo, and the third held at Carthage.

In the time of Jerome, who adopted them as authentic, prevailing opinion put them among the other catholic epistles. Yet there were still doubts in the minds of some persons respecting them, as we learn from Jerome, who says: "Reliquae autem duae, quarum principium *senior*. . . . . Joanni presbyteri asseruntur, cujus et hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesios ostenditur:"[f]

"The other two, the beginning of which is, *The Elder*, are said to have been written by John the presbyter, whose sepulchre

[c] H. E. iii. 25. [d] iii. 5. [e] Works, vol. ii. p. 384.
[f] De vir. illustr. c. 9.

is to this day shewn at Ephesus." In another place he calls this "opinio *a plerisque* tradita."

In looking at the state of the evidence now presented, the general impression of the whole is more favourable than adverse to the apostolic authorship of the two epistles. And especially, it is much easier to account for the doubts which were entertained respecting their composition by the apostle John, than to explain the fact of their being attributed to *him* by so many, if they proceeded from *John the presbyter*. On the whole, there is no *cogent* reason in the voice of antiquity as far as we have yet heard it, for rejecting these two epistles from the canon, as though they were written by another than John the apostle. The second is better attested, simply because it is oftener mentioned than the third.

In accordance with the prevailing tone of antiquity is the internal evidence. It cannot be denied that the sentiments and language bear the impress of John the apostle. Both the ideas and their form of expression remind the reader of the writer to whom we owe the first epistle and fourth gospel. Examples are abundant, such as *μένειν ἔν τινι*, 2 John 9; *ἔχειν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν*; 2 John 9; *ὁρᾶν τὸν θεὸν*, 3 John 11; *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι*, 3 John 11; *χαρὰ . . . . . πεπληρωμένη*, 2 John 12; *ἠκούσατε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*, 2 John 6; *αὕτη . . . . . ἵνα*, 2 John 6. The same thing is affirmed and denied at the same place, 2 John 9. A more definite explanation is subjoined by opposites, *οὐ . . . . . ἀλλὰ*, 2 John 5, etc. So close is the resemblance between the second epistle and the first, that eight of the thirteen verses constituting the former are said by Mill[g] to be found in the latter, either in sense or expression.

But in modern times, doubts regarding their authenticity have been revived by Erasmus, Grotius, Beck, Fritsche, Bretschneider, Paulus, Credner, Jachmann, Schleiermacher.

They have been assigned to John the presbyter, not to John the apostle, because—

1. The writer specifies himself, contrary to the custom of the apostle John, and calls himself too *ὁ πρεσβύτερος*, not *ὁ ἀπόστολος*.

2. There is a departure in style from the first epistle and

[g] Prolegomena, sect. 153.

gospel. A mixture of Johannean and Pauline elements appears, pointing to an author who had carefully perused the writings of both apostles, but had appropriated more of the former than the latter.

3. The tenth verse of the second epistle is inconsistent with the well-known character of the apostle John.

4. The obstinate resistance of Diotrephes to the writer's admonitions and recommendations ill agrees with the authority of an apostle which was generally recognised in the apostolic age.

A few remarks must be made on each of these arguments.

1. Little importance attaches to the fact that the writer of the epistles describes himself. Some such designation was required by the character of the productions. They were each addressed to private individuals. Hence self-specification was almost demanded. And in regard to the designation ὁ πρεσβύτερος, which he employs, however difficult it be to explain it satisfactorily, it does not present an insuperable objection to the authorship of John the apostle. The title cannot mean simply *the aged one*, equivalent to ὁ γέρων. Had the writer intended it so, it is likely that he would have employed the unambiguous ὁ πρεσβύτης of Paul,[h] or ὁ γέρων. Perhaps the title was used by John of himself inasmuch as he was overseer of the church at Ephesus in connexion with a circle of churches round about. He does not employ ἐπίσκοπος, because the apostles were not accustomed to apply it to themselves, neither does he take ὁ ἀπόστολος; but he modestly and humbly assumes the epithet ὁ πρεσβύτερος, *the elder*, putting himself so far on a level with the elders of the churches which had been established in Asia Minor. Writing to single persons, and those too unofficial, it was almost unavoidable to designate himself; but in doing so, he avoids mention of his name, as in the gospel and first epistle, and modestly adopts the title *elder*, waiving that of *apostle*. Surely this is consistent with the known character of John.

If the presbyter John were contemporary or nearly so with John the apostle, as is related, it is not likely that he would have been contented with the distinctive and solitary epithet, *the elder*. When there were two Johns who might both designate them-

[h] Philem. verse 9.

selves *elders*, the best known and most prominent one could alone call himself by it without risk of confusion. He alone would at once be identified by means of it. In consequence of his distinguished position as an apostle, and overseer of many churches, he could the more readily dispense with the use of the highest epithet, or the accumulation of various appellatives. But the less known or more obscure John could not afford to dispense with a more exact specification of himself. Nor would he have done so, considering that he was contemporary with John the apostle. He could not have desired to speak of himself in a manner which might readily identify him with the other. He must have been anxious to avoid identification with his greater namesake. Thus it is not easy to see, how the presbyter John could have written these two epistles without a more definite description of himself at their commencement; while it is not difficult to discover the reason why an apostle, who does not style himself *John* in the first epistle and gospel, nor *bishop* in any of his writings, would be content with an appellation suited to his own modest disposition, and pointing to himself as the incomparably more eminent of the two persons, with little danger of mistake.

2. There are departures from John's phraseology, such as κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, 2 John 3, but Lachmann and Tischendorf omit κύριος. εἴ τις, 10, instead of ἐάν τις. φέρειν τὴν διδαχὴν, 10; κοινωνεῖν, 11; περιπατεῖν κατὰ, 6; μειζότερος, 3 John 4; πιστὸν ποιεῖν, 5. This argument is of the weakest character. Because the writer employs a few phrases and expressions which are not found in John's writings, therefore he is another than John. He must repeat himself without any deviations. But surely the confessedly *prevailing* character of the language employed in the two epistles determines the authorship. The exceptions are of less importance than the rule. And yet they are made to override the latter. Such procedure is preposterous. If John the apostle were not the author, then John the presbyter closely imitated his language. He was almost a slavish follower, especially in 2 John 5-7 and 3 John 12. This however is inconsistent with the position assigned to him by Papias. He was an apostolic man, not only almost contemporary with John, but occupying a high position. Hence he could hardly have been so slavishly dependent

on the apostle for two very brief epistles. When it is affirmed that Pauline expressions are found in them, the fact is neutralised by the occurrence of Pauline terms in the fourth gospel and the first epistle. A few individual and isolated expressions prove nothing in opposition to the predominant tone and character.

3. "If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds." These verses, it is said, breathe another spirit than that of the loving John. They present a different aspect from that of any passage in the first epistle. It is the part of christian love to rebuke the erring, not to thrust them away; whereas even hospitality is here forbidden.

In reply to this it might be observed, that if the verses in question be thought contradictory to the first epistle, they are equally so to the fifth verse of the epistle itself, where brotherly love is expressly enjoined as the essence of the gospel. If therefore the writer of the second epistle breathes a different spirit from that of the apostle, he breathes in like manner a different spirit from his own. He is inconsistent and self-contradictory. But in truth there is no opposition in the verses quoted either to the first epistle, or to the amiable character of John. Christian love is always associated by him with christian truth. The one must be based on the other. And without the latter there is no faith. He that believes not has made God a liar. Hence the writer looks on him who virtually denies the gospel as God's enemy. And in that light he speaks against aiding or encouraging him in any way. Christian love is accompanied with christian fidelity, with zeal for the truth, and concern for God's honour. The title *Boanerges* given by Christ to John shews, that his natural temperament was warm and impetuous; and the anecdote related of him that he made haste to quit a public bath at Ephesus after Cerinthus the heretic entered it, declaring he was afraid the building would fall, agrees with the passage before us.

4. We know very little of the relation in which Diotrephes stood to John. Perhaps he was elder in a church. Why he did not regard the instructions of the writer, can only be guessed at. One thing is apparent, that he was ambitious. He withstood John.

He maliciously accused him. Such a fact was not strange in the apostolic age. The apostle Paul suffered much from persons of like disposition. Reverence for apostolic authority was not universal, even in that early period. Self-seeking individuals and false teachers endeavoured to undermine the authority of apostles and to thwart their proceedings in different ways. The manner in which the writer addresses Gaius clearly implies that he had authority, and does not agree well with John the presbyter. How could the latter have had such authority as is presupposed, and written with that presumption, apart from all mention of his name or specific notification of his person? How could the elder John write 2 John 10, 11, and 3 John 10, if he had not attained to an eminence which a mere presbyter could not have obtained; or if he had, must he not have distinguished himself from the apostle at the beginning of the epistles?[1]

On the whole, there are so many difficulties attaching to the hypothesis that John the presbyter wrote the present epistles, and so few comparatively belonging to the common opinion, that there can be little hesitation in choosing the latter. It is far more probable that John the apostle was the author than John the presbyter. They may not be so well attested as is desirable; some peculiarities incapable of a satisfactory solution may belong to them; objections may be made to their authenticity; but their apostolic origin is not substantially affected by such matters. They are so like the first epistle, that it is all but certain they proceeded from the same hand.

It is impossible to conceive of any adequate motive which could have prompted another than John the apostle to write them. One who wished to send them forth in the apostle's name, and to deceive others with the idea that they were really his, would have set forth the name and authority of the pretended author with unmistakeable clearness. And then a fabricator would scarcely have undertaken *such* epistles. They are not of an important character. Their contents possess no peculiar value. Their very inferiority in value and significance to the first epistle is an argument in favour of them.

[1] See Lücke's Einleit. p. 337, et seqq., second edition; and De Wette's Einleit. pp. 371, 2.

And if John the presbyter wrote them with a good design, how were they so early attributed to the apostle? Were the two Johns early confounded so far as that documents proceeding from the one were assigned to the other? How could Irenaeus, a disciple of Polycarp, who again was a disciple of the apostle himself, fall into such an error?

In conclusion, we cannot but avow our belief that the two epistles proceeded from the writer of the first epistle. Perhaps the probability is somewhat less in favour of the third than the second. Their late acknowledgment by the early church was owing to the fact of their exceeding brevity and undidactic character. Had they been of importance doctrinally, they would doubtless have been sooner quoted. But having more of a private than public character, they were neglected for a considerable time. And the additional fact that while the first epistle has no descriptive appellation of the writer, both these have the title *elder* or *presbyter* at the commencement, led some to conjecture that they proceeded from John the elder. Even Eusebius knew of this hypothesis.[1] How long before his time it was put forth cannot be discovered.

II. *To whom the epistles were addressed.*

The former is addressed ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ, and her children. Who or what is meant by the Greek words in question, has been variously determined by critics and commentators.

(*a*) Some understand a particular christian church, as did Cassiodorus; or the christian church generally, with Jerome. This figurative sense is wholly untenable. The usage of the terms will not bear it. Especially does κυρία forbid it, for with it must be supplied ἐκκλησίᾳ, and the sense elicited "elect church which comes together on Sundays." To take κυρία thus by itself, is without example. Although therefore several moderns favour this interpretation, such as Whiston, Hammond, Augusti, Michaelis, Hales, it will not stand examination.

(*b*) Others translate the phrase "to the lady Electa." So Wetstein, Grotius, and Middleton. But this is also untenable, because the position of the words would have been either τῇ κυρίᾳ

[1] H. E. iii. 39.

ἐκλεκτῇ, or ἐκλεκτῇ τῇ κυρίᾳ; because it is doubtful whether the Greeks were accustomed to use κυρία of females *along with their name;* and chiefly, because the thirteenth verse, τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς, intimates, on this principle, that the sister's name was also Electa. This last objection appeared so formidable to Grotius, that he had recourse to another reading, εὐδεκτῆς, i.e., *Eudecte*, which however is found in no manuscript; and Middleton in like manner conjectured τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς to be a gloss appended by some one to mark the meaning of σου; a conjecture opposed to all evidence. There can be no doubt that τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς stood originally in the text, and that it means *chosen*, with reference to the divine ἐκλογή or choice.

(*c*) Others understand the phrase as our English version does, "To the Elect lady." But this would require τῇ κυρίᾳ τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ or τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ. Hence it is inadmissible, though adopted by such scholars as Ziegler, Wolf, Eichhorn, Beza, Mill, Le Clerc, Newcome, Wakefield, and Macknight.

(*d*) Others render, "to Kyria the elect or chosen." This is the opinion of Carpzov, Schleusner, Heumann, Bengel, Rosenmüller, Schott, Lücke, De Wette, Neander, Jachmann. And it appears to us the correct view. Kyria was a common name of christian females at the time.[k] The only objection to this, is that urged by Eichhorn[l] and Middleton,[m] viz. that the Greek article is absent before τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ, whereas the analogous examples in verse 13, 3 John 1; Romans xvi. 5, 8, 12, 13, have the article. But we must suppose the construction to betray some negligence. Since ἐκλεκτῇ is put first, the article is omitted before it; whereas had it stood after κυρίᾳ, as it ought strictly speaking to have done, the article must have been prefixed. There is a similar phrase in 1 Peter i. 1; ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις.

The conjecture of Knauer[n] that κυρία means Mary mother of Jesus, deserves no notice; nor that of Carpzov,[o] viz. that Κυρία means Martha, sister of Lazarus, because it is the translation of the Chaldee, מָרְתָּא.

[k] See Lücke, p. 351, note 2. [l] Einleit. vol. ii. p. 318.

[m] Doctrine of the Greek article, p. 454, Rose's edition.

[n] In the Studien und Kritiken for 1833, H. 2, p. 452, et seqq.

[o] Epist. Cathol. Septenarius, p. 185.

This Kyria was a christian matron. Perhaps she was a deaconess in the church to which she belonged.

The third epistle of John is addressed to Gaius; and several persons of that name are mentioned in the New Testament, such as Gaius of Macedonia (Acts xix. 29); Gaius of Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14, Romans xvi. 23); and Gaius of Derbe (Acts xx. 4). If he be identical with any of these, it is with the last. But it is impossible to tell. Mill and Whiston identified him with Caius bishop of Pergamos, on the authority of the Apostolical Constitutions. It is tolerably clear that he was a man of distinction and consequence in the church to which he belonged; since the writer commends certain brethren and strangers to his hospitality and assistance. He may have been an official person in the society of christians where he resided.

III. *Occasion and object.*

Of the *occasion* on which the second epistle was written, nothing is known except what can be gathered from itself. The writer evidently took a lively interest in the christian female and her children, of whom perhaps he had heard a favourable report shortly before, or with whose condition he had recently become acquainted. Though hoping to see her soon, he takes occasion to write a brief epistle to her, *the purport* of which is, to establish her in christian truth and love, and to warn her against the antichristian teachers spoken of in the first epistle. He wishes to keep her free from all contamination of false doctrine, that she and her children may walk in the pure faith apart from antichristian elements.

The *object* of the third epistle was to commend to Gaius certain brethren and strangers—travelling preachers who needed aid and hospitality. Hence Gaius was a disciple of note in the church to which he belonged. The author expected to see him shortly; and therefore he writes in brief terms. In the twelfth verse, *Demetrius* is named. It has been thought by some that he was one of the brethren or strangers referred to; the bearer perhaps of the letter, as Benson and Hänlein suppose. It is not likely that he held office in the church of which Gaius was a member, because in that case his character must have

been known to the latter too well to need commendation from the apostle.

In the ninth verse, one Diotrephes is spoken of, about whom many conjectures have been hazarded by such as desire to know what cannot be discovered. Some suppose that he was a heretic, or the founder of a new sect. But had he been so, the writer would have spoken more severely against him. Others believe, that he was a strict Gentile christian who would not receive Jewish christian brethren. But it is impossible to shew that the travelling christians were of Jewish descent. He was perhaps either a deacon in the church, as Heumann supposes; or an elder, which is more probable.[p] One thing is certain, that he had obtained or usurped great power, and lorded it over God's heritage. Because he was ambitious, he did not regard the instructions which John had given, but went so far even as to prate against him with malicious words. He would not himself receive the christian brethren who came to him expecting aid and hospitality; nor allow such members of the church as wished to do it to follow their desires, but excommunicated them from the church. Such was the disposition and such the power of this arrogant, obstinate presbyter.

It has been inferred from a word used by the apostle regarding Diotrephes, that he wrote an epistle to the church of which Gaius was a member, that has been lost. "*I wrote* to the church," ἔγραψα. But others refer this to the first epistle now extant; and others to the letter itself in which the expression occurs. Neither of these suppositions is probable; especially as the first epistle contains nothing pertinent to the matter, and the tense does not well suit the present letter. To evade the notion of a lost epistle, others translate *I would have written*, which is favoured by some MSS. inserting ἄν, and by the Vulgate, "scripsissem forsitan." Lachmann and Tischendorf, read ἔγραψά τι. It is possible indeed to render ἔγραψα *I would have written;* but it is not so natural as *I wrote*. Besides, on the supposition that *I would have written* is the true sense, it is difficult to believe that John would have refrained out of fear of Diotrephes, from writing to the church presided over by the ambitious presbyter. We must

[p] See Lardner, Works, vol. iii. p. 432.

therefore hold, that he *did* write, Diotrephes perhaps intercepting and suppressing the letter.[q]

Where Kyria and Gaius lived it is impossible to tell. They may have belonged to churches not far from Ephesus which the apostle personally superintended. It is probable that they were not attached to one and the same society.

IV. *Time and place.*

We know nothing of the time when these epistles were composed. It is probable that they *followed* the first epistle, since the fuller notices of the false teachers given in the latter are presupposed. (Comp. 2 John 7, with 1 John ii. 18, etc.) Eichhorn however, after Lange, imagines that the second preceded the first, because the language of it shews a more vigorous spirit. There are a precision and fulness in it which belong to the gospel, not to the first epistle. In a similar manner, he puts the composition of the third before the first, because it has fewer traces of the feebleness of age. John had also sufficient strength to propose undertaking a journey, 2 John 12; 3 John 14.[r] But these considerations are futile. Who shall say that there is an older tone and style in the first epistle than in the second and third; or that the intended journey was one requiring a certain degree of strength which could only be found at a certain age, and not after? We believe that both epistles followed the first, and that at a comparatively short interval. They were also written about the same time, the third perhaps *after* the second, as Lücke conjectures: since in the second the author says, "I trust to come unto you;" in the third, "I trust I shall *shortly* see thee." We may conjecture that the one journey is meant in both. The most probable time therefore for the date of these letters is about the close of the first century. To place them before the destruction of Jerusalem, as some do, such as Koehler who mentions A.D. 69 or 70, is wholly incorrect.

The place was probably Ephesus, John's usual abode. In the absence of all data, no other locality so likely suggests itself. That John was an exile in Patmos and wanted writing materials,

[q] See Wolf's Curae Philologicae, etc., vol. v. p. 334.

[r] Einleitung, vol. ii. pp. 320, 329.

cannot be inferred from 2 John 12, or 3 John 13, as Hug[s] strangely reasons. If he received friendly visits and was surrounded by friends, he could not have been in that desolate island.

V. *Contents.*

In the second epistle, after a salutation in which the apostle introduces a commendation of Kyria and her children, he expresses his joy in finding some of the latter walking in the true faith and practice of the gospel; exhorts her to christian love, and warns her against false teachers denying that Jesus Christ had appeared in humanity, who ought not to be received into the house or aided in any way. The letter ends with an expression of the writer's intention to visit her soon, and a salutation (1-13).

In the third epistle, after a salutation, accompanied by an introduction expressive of good wishes and commendation, the well-known hospitality of Gaius to travelling christians and preachers is brought into prominent view; and he is encouraged in the exercise of it towards certain persons who had just gone forth to the Gentiles, but wished to depend for support on their christian brethren. He then speaks reluctantly against one Diotrephes who opposed his authority and wishes, and recommends Demetrius to the christian attention of Gaius. In conclusion, he expresses his purpose to visit his friend soon, subjoining a salutation from the christian friends associated with him (1-14).

[s] Introduction by Fosdick, pp. 465, 6.

EPISTLE OF JUDE.

In examining Jude's epistle, we purpose to consider the following topics:—

I. Its Author.
II. Its Authenticity.
III. The Persons to whom it was Addressed; the Occasion and Object of it.
IV. Time and Place of Writing.
V. Its Contents.

I. *Its author.*

The author of this epistle styles himself "servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James." This language however does not furnish a *definite* mark for finding out the author.

Several persons named Judas or Jude are mentioned in the New Testament. But we have only to do with a few of them on the present occasion.

1. Jude, a brother of our Lord, is spoken of in Matthew xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3.

2. Another Jude is mentioned in Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13. According to our version, he is called *brother of* James. That *he* was an apostle is evident, because his name occurs in the list of the twelve. Critics are divided between these two; some attributing the epistle to one, and some to the other.

Much depends on the opinion entertained of *the identity* or *otherwise* of James the Lord's brother, and James the less, son of Alpheus; for most who hold the diversity of the two persons, regard Jude the Lord's brother, as the writer of our epistle; while such as maintain their identity, look upon Jude the apostle as its author.

It is generally admitted, that when Jude describes himself as *brother of James*, he points to a well-known James who held some high station. Hence the bare name of James is sufficient. The writer thought it unnecessary to particularise him whose brother he was, because the simple enunciation of the name would at once mark him out. He must therefore have been a prominent character in the church, occupying a conspicuous place. By this means we are at once led to the James often called bishop of Jerusalem, who, as we have already seen, was James son of Alpheus, an apostle, and writer of the epistle extant under the name of James.

If then Jude was the brother of James the less, he could not have been one of our Lord's brethren. James the less was not *ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου*. There was another James mentioned in Gal. i. 19, who bore that appellation. It is probable also, that if Jude had been our Lord's brother, he would not have distinguished himself after James, but after Christ. It has been alleged, indeed, that modesty prevented him from taking the more honourable title. But had it been so, why did not modesty prevent him from calling himself after James, in consequence of the latter's prominent station? And on the supposition that Jude was our Lord's brother, and took the title *brother of James*, his readers must have been embarrassed. "Brother of James" was fitted to perplex, more than to distinguish. Hence we cannot believe that Jude was our Lord's brother. He was brother of James the less, son of Alpheus.

Was he then the *Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου* of Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13, *i. e.*, Jude, *brother* of James surnamed Lebbeus or Thaddeus? If so, he was an apostle. That he was not this Jude, and therefore not an apostle, will appear from the following circumstances.

1. He does not call himself an apostle. He only styles himself the brother of one who was such. This consideration is a presumption at least in favour of our view. Why should an apostle, possessing independent authority and inspiration, call himself *brother* of an apostle? Why should he not make mention of his apostolic authority in an epistle directed throughout against ungodly men? It is of no avail to say with many, that Paul in several of his epistles omits the title of *apostle;* because the cases

are widely different. From many of *his* epistles, it was well known who and what he was; while Jude wrote no more than the one brief letter.[t]

2. In both cases where Jude the apostle is mentioned, the most natural interpretation is, Jude, *son* of James. With the old Syriac version, we supply *υἱός* rather than *ἀδελφός*. It is *possible* indeed that the latter term may be supplied, as there are two examples of such an ellipsis,[v] but it is not so probable. Luther, Herder, Dahl, Jessien, and Wieseler understand *son*.[w]

3. Either in the catalogue of apostles given in a gospel, or in some other place of it, when two brothers are apostles, the relation between them is definitely marked. We are given plainly to understand, that they *are brothers*. But it is not so with Jude the apostle. Neither in a list of apostles, nor elsewhere, is it stated that he was brother of James, son of Alpheus.

4. Had Jude the apostle been son of Alpheus, it is probable that he would have been specified by Mark in his gospel in xv. 40, where we read: "Mary the mother of James the less, and of Joses," etc. If Jude were an apostle, he must have been the son of this Mary. Why then is Joses, an unapostolic man, and of far less importance to the reader, named, while Jude an apostle is omitted? Surely we are led to suppose that Mary was mother of the one apostle only.

5. In the seventeenth and eighteenth verses of the epistle of Jude, the writer seems to distinguish himself from the apostles, according to the most natural interpretation: "But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; how that *they* told you there should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts."

We are thus led to believe, that Jude the apostle was son of a James of whom nothing is known; and that he is *not* identical with the writer of the epistle.[x]

[t] See Jessien, De Authentia epistolae Judae Commentatio critica, p. 2, et seqq.

[v] See Winer's Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms, p. 175, fourth edition.

[w] See Jessien, p. 18, et seqq.

[x] See Wieseler in the Studien und Kritiken for 1842, H. 1. p. 120, et seqq.

Who then was Jude the author of this epistle? If he was brother of James the less, is nothing known of his life and character? Has he disappeared entirely from the face of history? We fear these questions must be answered in the affirmative. Even of Jude the apostle little account is found in antiquity; and that little self-contradictory. The western tradition is, that he preached the gospel to the Persians, and suffered martyrdom among them; while Nicephorus[y] makes him die a natural death at Edessa, after preaching in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. The Syrian tradition speaks also of the apostle's abode at Edessa; but adds, that Jude went thence to Assyria, and was martyred in Phoenicia, on his way back. Of Jude *our Lord's brother*, mention is made by Eusebius, but it is exceedingly slight.[z] But the earliest fathers appear to have thought little of the present epistle. They were either unacquainted with it, or did not value it highly. Hence the author was neglected. No traces of him appear in history, *except* he be identified with the apostle, as some of the fathers believed; or with one of our Lord's brethren, as many recent critics suppose.

After this investigation respecting *the* Jude who wrote the letter, it is superfluous to allude at length to other opinions, such as that of Welcker,[a] who thought that Jude, surnamed Barsabas, who was a prophet, (Acts xv. 22, 32,) wrote the epistle. Improbable as this conjecture is, it is adopted by Schott,[b] who resolves the surname into *son of Sabas*, the latter being a contracted form of *Zebedee*. Thus Jude was brother to the apostles James and John. Grotius's[c] view is still farther from the appearance of truth, according to which Jude, the fifteenth bishop of Jerusalem, mentioned by Eusebius as living under the emperor Hadrian, wrote the present letter. It is obvious that he could not have been *brother of James;* and totally unwarrantable to assume the spuriousness of a clause which is in all MSS. Equally futile is Dahl's[d] conjecture about Jude being the presbyter of some church, who, happening to fall in with the second epistle of Peter,

[y] H. E. ii. 40. [z] H. E. iii. 20.

[a] Philol. exeget. Clavis, u. s. w., p. 157, et seqq.

[b] Isagoge; p. 431. [c] Prolegom. in ep. Judae.

[d] Commentatio de Ἀυθεντία epistolarum Petrinae posterioris et Judae, p. 85.

wrote the present one; for this implies *the interpolation* of the phrase *and brother of James*, in the first verse, a thing that cannot be admitted.

II. *Authenticity.*

Clement of Alexandria refers to our epistle in the following places: *Εἰδέναι γὰρ ὑμᾶς, φησὶν ὁ Ἰούδας, βούλομαι, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἅπαξ, κ. τ. λ.*:[e] "For I would have you know, says Jude, that God once," etc., etc.

In another place he writes: *Ἐπὶ τούτων οἶμαι καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αἱρέσεων προφητικῶς Ἰούδαν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εἰρηκέναι*:[f] "It was respecting these, I suppose, and similar heresies, that Jude in his epistle said prophetically," etc. Eusebius says of him: *ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑποτυπώσεσι πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκου γραφῆς ἐπιτετμημένας πεποίηται διηγήσεις μὴ δὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγομένας παρελθών· τὴν Ἰούδα λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς*:[g] "In his Institutions, Clement had made short explanations of all the canonical scriptures, not omitting those which are contradicted, I mean that of Jude, and the other catholic epistles."

The fragment on the canon published by Muratori speaks of the epistle thus: "Epistolae sane Judae et . . . . . in catholica habentur."

Tertullian was of opinion that the epistle was written by an apostle: "Enoch apud Judam *apostolum* testimonium possidet."[h] "Enoch possesses a testimony in Jude the apostle."

Origen writes: *Ἰούδας ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν ὀλιγόστιχον μὲν, πεπληρωμένην δὲ τῶν τῆς οὐρανίου χάριτος ἐῤῥωμένων λόγων*:[i] "Jude wrote a letter, of few lines indeed, but full of powerful words of the heavenly grace," etc.

In another place: *Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα πρόσοιτό τις ἐπιστολὴν, ὁράτο τί ἕπεται τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τό· ἀγγέλους τε, κ. τ. λ.*:[k] "But if any one receives also the epistle of Jude, let him consider what will follow from what is there said," etc.

Καὶ γέγονται πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ πρώτων ἔσχατοι,

[e] Paedagog. lib. iii. p. 239 (ed. Sylburg). [f] Stromata, iii. p. 431.
[g] H. E. vi. 14. [h] De habitu foeminar. c. 3.
[i] Comment. in Matt. vol. iii. p. 463. [k] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 814.

εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ἐν ζόφῳ τηρούμενοι:[l] "And many of the heavenly beings, even of the first, become the last, being kept in everlasting chains in darkness unto the judgment of the great day."

Καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰούδα ἐπιστολῇ, τοῖς ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἠγαπημένοις, καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τετηρημένοις κλητοῖς.[m] "And in the epistle of Jude: To them that are beloved in God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called."

In other parts of his works, in the Latin translation, we find Origen saying: "Quomodo etiam quod Judas *apostolus* in epistola catholica dicit, poterit explanari? Ait enim ita; 'Angelos quoque qui non servaverunt principatum suum, sed dereliquerunt proprium domicilium, Deus ad judicium magni diei aeternis vinculis in tartaro constrictos sub caligine reservavit:'"[n] "How too can that which Jude the apostle says in his catholic epistle be explained? For he speaks thus: 'The angels also who kept not their first estate, but left their abode, God,'" etc.

"Et primo quidem in Genesi serpens Evam seduxisse describitur: de quo in ascensione Moysi, cujus libelli meminit in epistola sua *apostolus* Judas, Michael archangelus," etc.:[o] "And first indeed, in Genesis, the serpent is said to have seduced Eve, of which in the Ascension of Moses, which book the apostle Jude quotes in his epistle, Michael the Archangel," etc.

"Et nisi hac lege tenerentur, nunquam de eis diceret scriptura divina, Angelos quoque, qui non servaverunt," etc.:[p] "And unless they were restrained by this law, divine scripture would never say of them," etc.

Eusebius puts the epistle among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, or *controverted* books, and says of it: τῶν δ' ἀντιλεγομένων, γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου φέρεται, καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα, κ. τ. λ.:[q] "Of the controverted, but yet well known to the many, are that called the epistle of James, that of Jude," etc.

Again: οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα, μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὔσης τῶν ἑπτὰ λεγο-

[l] Comment. in Matt. vol. iii. p. 693. [m] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 607.
[n] Comment. in epist. ad Rom. vol. iv. p. 549.
[o] De Princip. iii. 2. vol. 1, p. 138.
[p] Comment. in epist. ad Rom. vol. iv. p. 510. [q] H. E. iii. 25.

μένων καθολικῶν· ὅμως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δεδημοσιουμένας ἐκκλησίαις ;[r] "There are not many of the ancients who have made mention of it, as neither of that called Jude's, which likewise is one of the epistles called *catholic*. We know, however, that these also are publicly read in most churches, together with the rest."

Jerome says: "Judas frater Jacobi, parvam quidem, quae de septem catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apócryphus est, in ea assumit testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur: tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam et usu meruit, ut inter sacras Scripturas computetur:"[s] "Jude, the brother of James, left a small epistle indeed, which belongs to the seven catholic ones. And because in it he takes a testimony from the book of Enoch which is apocryphal, it is rejected by most. However it has already obtained such authority by antiquity and use, that it is reckoned among the sacred scriptures."

On the other hand the epistle is wanting in the Peshito. But Ephrem the Syrian, in the fourth century, departed from the church to which he belonged in recognising the *apostolic* origin of Jude's letter. Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, and Irenaeus, make no mention of it.

Let us now review the testimonies recited.

It is obvious that the early Syrian church did not look upon Jude as an apostle, and therefore the epistle is not in its canon. In like manner, the Apostolic Constitutions do not recognise his apostleship; though they falsely represent Jude as third bishop of Jerusalem.

Nothing certain or definite can be deduced from the words of the canon published by Muratori. As they stand at present, they have no intelligible meaning. To make sense, they must be altered by conjecture, as is manifest at first sight: "Epistola sane Judae et superscripti Johannis duas in catholica habentur, et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta," etc. Credner[t] understands the passage in such a sense as that the writer of the fragment wished to give the two epistles of John and the epistle of Jude a place in the canon on the same ground

[r] H. E. ii. 23. [s] Catalog. script. eccles. c. 4.

[t] Einleit. in das neue Testament, p. 691.

as the Wisdom of Solomon was admitted into the christian, though excluded from the Jewish canon. On the other hand, Wieseler[u] interprets it so as to make the writer say, that the epistle of Jude and others were received in the catholic church.

From the manner in which Clement of Alexandria cites passages from the epistle, we infer that he used it as an apostolic work; though he does not call Jude an apostle.

It is evident from Origen, that some doubted about the epistle's authenticity in his day. He himself speaks highly of it, attributing to it excellence and power; yet he does not lead us clearly to believe that he looked upon it as written by Jude the apostle. In consequence of the sixth verse he made considerable use of the epistle, assigning it an important position, because that verse favoured his views of the spirit-world. In the catalogue of apostolic epistles prefixed by Origen to tome fifth of his commentaries on John, Jude is *omitted.* Nor is it in his canon as given by Eusebius. Hence we are inclined to believe, with Credner and others, that *apostolus*, which is several times associated with *Judas* in the Latin translation of Origen's works, did not proceed from the father himself, but was *added to* his words.

We have no means of ascertaining Eusebius's opinion of our epistle. *Before* his age not many writers mentioned it; but *in* his day it was read publicly in most churches. Still he put it among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, and never quoted it himself.

Jerome says, that it was rejected *by most* (a plerisque); but he himself calls Jude an apostle.[w] During the fourth century, it was taken into the canon along with the other books which had been doubted of, and thenceforward continued to receive the same authority as epistles of unquestionably apostolic origin.

Setting aside the canon by Muratori as all but useless for our purpose, we have the most ancient and important witness, viz. the Peshito, against the apostolic authorship of the letter. Tertullian is not equal in weight on the other side. Then Clement of Alexandria is overbalanced by Origen; while the fact of Eusebius placing it among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, and of Jerome affirming that *most* rejected it, speaks on the same side with the Peshito

[u] In the Studien und Kritiken for 1847, H. 4. p. 842, et seqq.

[w] In epist. ad Tit. c. 1.

and Origen. Hence we do not look upon the evidence as proving that Jude *the apostle* wrote the epistle. On the contrary it goes to shew that the production did *not* proceed directly from an apostle. The balance inclines to the negative rather than the positive side.

Its reception as an apostolic production was owing in a great measure to the identification of the sons of Alpheus with our Lord's brethren. In modern times, the same mistake has been made in regard to our Lord's brethren; and another respecting *Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου*, has coöperated with it in contributing to uphold the opinion which became prevalent during the fourth century.

But while there is reason for doubting the *apostolic authenticity* of Jude, there is nothing against its *authenticity*. It was written by *an apostolic man*, Jude the brother of James the apostle; but not by *an apostle*.

The objections made to its authenticity are of little weight. Let us notice them.

1. An apocryphal book is quoted in it. This was an early stumbling-block in the way of its reception. Didymus of Alexandria, and Jerome, expressly allude to it as the cause why many rejected the epistle. Whether it was *the sole* cause, cannot now be ascertained. In the absence of proper data, it were rash to assert that the fourteenth verse was the *only* ground of objection among the ancients.

We have considered the time when the Book of Enoch was written, in another place.[x] The most probable view is, that it was composed by a Jew, a little while before the appearance of Christ, under Herod the Great. This is the opinion advocated by Laurence,[y] Gfrörer, Wieseler, and Gieseler,[z] though Credner[a] and Stuart[b] place it in the first century of the christian era. But Lücke, whom they followed, has changed his opinion, for he now believes that the part of it from which the quotation is taken was written at the commencement of the

[x] Kitto's Cyclop. of Biblical Literature, Art. Enoch.

[y] See his translation of the Book of Enoch, Preliminary Dissertation, p. 31, etc., third edition.

[z] See Compendium of ecclesiast. hist. vol. 1. English translation, p. 94, 2.

[a] Einleit. p. 712. [b] American Bib. Repository for 1840.

Maccabean struggle;[c] while a writer in the Christian Observer[d] attempts to prove that it was not earlier than the middle of the second century.

Believing, therefore, as we do, that the book was written so long prior to the time of Jude as to be no obstacle in the way of his quoting it, the question arises, Did he really quote it?[e]

Cave, Simon, Witsius, etc., believe, that Jude cited a traditional prophecy or saying of Enoch. This is certainly possible, We think it more probable, however, that Jude quoted from *a book*. It has been asserted indeed, that it is incredible how Jude should have "cited a book then extant, claiming to be the prophecies of Enoch; for had it been genuine, the divine Spirit would not surely have suffered his own word to be afterwards lost; and, had it been apocryphal, the inspired apostle would not have stamped it with his authority, and have declared it to have been the production of 'Enoch, the seventh from Adam.'"[f] But this reasoning is fallacious, for we know that epistles written by apostles have been lost, especially one written by Paul to the Corinthians. Besides, even though the book were apocryphal, Jude does not stamp it with his authority; nor does he declare it to have been the production of Enoch. He simply declares *that part of it which is quoted* to contain a prophecy by Enoch. The apostle Paul quotes several heathen poets; yet who ever supposed that by such references he sanctions the productions from which his citations are made, or renders them of greater value than they are intrinsically? All that can be reasonably inferred from the fact is, that if an inspired writer cites a particular sentiment with approbation, it must be regarded as just and right, irrespective of the remainder of the book in which it is found. The apostle's sanction extends no farther than the passage he alludes to. Other portions of the original document may exhibit the most absurd and superstitious notions. We know it has been said, that the case of Paul citing Aratus, Menander, and Epimenides is *different from* Jude citing Enoch. The former cited for *illustration;* the

[c] Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes, u. s. w., p. 121, et seqq., second edit.

[d] Volume xxx.

[e] See Jachmann's Commentar über die katholischen Briefe, p. 98, et seqq.

[f] Christian Observer, vol. xxix.

latter cites as of *authority*. But the difference is very slight. Jude does not quote Enoch by way of *proof*. It is merely for *illustration*; and when he introduces the terms *seventh from Adam*, they are meant to strengthen it.

It is certainly no impossible or improbable thing that an apocryphal work, like that of Enoch, contained *some* statements correct and true. Whatever may be thought of *an apostle* quoting an apocryphal work, we do not see how the fact of a writer belonging to the apostolic age citing it, militates against its authenticity.

Jude is also supposed to have cited an apocryphal book in the ninth verse, where he speaks of a dispute between Michael the archangel and the devil respecting the body of Moses. There is a Greek book called *Ἀνάληψις Μωσέως*, *the Ascension of Moses*, which in Origen's opinion was the source of the quotation. Herder again thought it was borrowed from the Zend-Avesta; while Lardner and others suppose the reference to be to Zechariah iii. 1, etc., where it is written: "And he shewed me Joshua the high-priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him. And the Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan," etc. It is easy however to perceive, that the cases are not identical. There is nothing in Zechariah about Moses's body, or Michael, or a dispute about the body of Moses; but the resistance of Satan to the angel concerns Joshua's consecration to the office of high-priest. Besides, it is not *an angel*, but *Jehovah himself* who rebukes Satan. There is good reason for supposing, that the relation to which Jude refers was only a Jewish tradition founded on Deuteronomy xxxiv. 6, and subsequently amplified. The apostle Paul adopted a similar course, speaking of angels taking part in the promulgation of the law (Gal. iii. 19); whereas they are not mentioned in the nineteenth chapter of Exodus. An analogous example is also contained in 2 Tim. iii. 8. As to the allegorical explanation of the dispute about Moses' body given by several of the older expositors, and adopted by Lardner, it is liable to grave objection.[g] It is unnatural to think that the *body of Moses* means the Jewish nation.

[g] See Michaelis's Introduction, by Marsh, vol. iv., p. 390, et seqq.

2. There is a similarity between the last two verses and Romans xvi. 25. The similarity here is slight, and such as is easily accounted for on independent grounds.

3. The manner of writing betrays a certain degree of familiarity with the Greek language. This objection has been already answered in the case of James. It is difficult, if not impossible to discover the end which any one could have had in writing the letter with a view to deceive the public. In that case he would have called himself an apostle. But the author has not done so. He pretends to nothing that he is not. The very obscurity of some parts; the difficulty, if not impossibility of understanding certain allusions; and the unusual subjects introduced, combine to support the authenticity.

III. *Persons to whom it was originally addressed; with the occasion and object which gave rise to it.*

Jude himself says of those to whom he writes: "sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called;" which is a description of christians in general, whether Jewish or Gentile. It is obvious, however, that he thought of a definite circle of readers, among whom certain persons of corrupt principles were active. And it is likely that they were for the most part Jewish christians, because Jewish ideas and doctrines are referred to, if not Jewish books. Traditional notions which belonged to a Jewish soil are noticed in the epistle. Where the christians whom Jude had chiefly in view, lived, it is impossible to determine. Credner[h] finds them in Palestine, because Hegesippus describes a condition of the churches there, about A.D. 80, which agrees, as he thinks, with the description in the epistle. But the fragment of Hegesippus obviously refers to *Gnosticism;* and of that the epistle before us does not speak. On the other hand, Schneckenburger[i] supposes, that Colosse and other parts of Asia Minor are more particularly pointed at, because our epistle is the counterpart of the Colossian one in condemning an excessive asceticism connected with the worship of angels. Others look for the readers in Alexandria, because Clement of Alexandria

[h] Einleitung, u. s. w., p. 616.

[i] Beiträge zur Einleitung, u. s. w., p. 225.

is the first who bears testimony to the authority of the epistle; because the book of Enoch quoted in the eighteenth verse was used there; and because it contains images and figures taken from natural objects which agree with the physical features of Egypt, such as "clouds without water," "raging waves of the sea," etc. There is, however, little weight in these considerations, as Schwegler has remarked.[k]

Prosperity and luxury prevailed among the persons to whom it was addressed. Riches and their accompanying vices appear to have had an injurious influence on the population. This suggests some important place of commerce, in Palestine, or Syria, or Asia Minor. Corinth would suit the description given; but Jude lived in Palestine, which country has the best claim to be considered the home of those to whom he writes.

The occasion and object of the epistle are apparent. Within the sphere of christianity, and in connexion with it, phenomena had appeared which were inconsistent with the doctrine taught by apostles. Jude, observing this, thought it necessary to write to the believers among whom such things existed, to warn them against the corrupt professors to whose pernicious influence they were exposed, to prevent them from being led astray, and to announce the punishment which should certainly overtake the deceivers in question. The object for which he wrote is given in the third verse: "it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." They were in danger of being seduced from that faith; and therefore they are exhorted to hold it fast, and vigorously to contend for it.

The description given of the men who had crept in among the readers unawares, is most unfavourable. They were ungodly, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ; filthy dreamers, despising dominion and speaking evil of dignities; murmurers, complainers, etc. The picture is dark and forbidding, pointing to libertines or practical unbelievers who mocked at things sacred, and threatened to introduce disorder into the churches by their luxury and wantonness, as well as their discontented opposition to existing

[k] See Das Nachapostolische Zeitalter, vol. i. p. 522.

institutions and partiality for particular persons. They wallowed in licentiousness and corruption. That they were false teachers, as is generally thought, does not appear from the epistle; nor is it probable in itself. They cannot be identified with Gnostics, or any other heretics within the pale of christianity. They were godless, immoral, licentious characters, against whom Jude warns his readers in energetic language. It is certainly strange, that christians, and christian churches, should have been in danger of seduction from such. But perhaps the persons so described did not appear in the essentially vicious light in which Jude places them. Perhaps they appeared in an aspect different from their real one. They were partially cloaked. In this manner the persons addressed would be the more easily led astray by their principles and example. But the writer tears off the mask, and paints them in all their deformity. When we consider too, that christianity did not penetrate deeply into the hearts of many professors in ancient times—that the leaven of their old Judaism or heathenism was apt to cling to them long after a profession of the new religion—we shall not be much surprised at the fact in question. Human nature, in its highest state, is not so fair or perfect, as to supersede solemn warnings, or to nullify the corrupting influence of voluptuous men.[1]

IV. *Time when it was written.*

Here all is uncertain; nor does the epistle itself throw any light on its date. Some, as Credner, followed by Reuss, place it after the destruction of Jerusalem. But the ground on which he dates it in A. D. 80, is insecure. Because Hegesippus relates that Jude, *our Lord's brother*, was dead in the time of Domitian, and that Simeon, son of Cleophas, bishop of Jerusalem, suffered martyrdom under Trajan, Credner infers that the letter was written about A. D. 80. But this proceeds on the assumption, which we hold to be untenable, that Jude the writer was one of our Lord's brethren. It is useless for the advocates of a late date to base it in any way on the use of the book of Enoch, till two questions be settled, viz. Did Jude quote that work? and, Is the date of the latter fixed? We need not repeat, that the time when the

[1] See De Wette, Exeg. Handbuch, iii. pp. 61, 62.

book of Enoch was written is variously determined by critics; and if it was written about 40 B. C., as we believe, the epistle may have been composed *before*, as well as *after* the destruction of Jerusalem. Schleiermacher[m] thinks, that the writer separates himself not merely from the apostles but also from their age, in the seventeenth verse, because he says the apostles had foretold that mockers should come *ἐν ἐσχάτῳ χρόνῳ*, *in the last time*, and in the commencement of the epistle he said that they had come already. But this argument, though ingenious and plausible, is not so strong as is supposed; for the phrase *in the last time* is quite indefinite, and the apostles may have readily foretold towards the commencement of their course, what should come to pass in their own day.[n]

Others date the epistle *before* the destruction of Jerusalem. For this purpose they refer to the fact that no mention is made of that catastrophe, which, had the epistle been produced subsequently, could hardly have been avoided at verses 5-7. We attach no importance to this argument *ex silentio*. It is plainly fallacious. The only certain point is, that it was written before the second epistle of Peter. If so, it must belong to the apostolic age, and have appeared before A. D. 70. Lardner[o] has given a number of conjectures in which various critics have indulged, respecting the date. His own opinion is, that it was written A. D. 64, 65, or 66, thus placing it contemporaneously with, or soon after, Peter's second epistle, which he fixes in 64. This however is inadmissible; because Jude preceded the second of Peter. Nor is there any reason for concluding that the great agreement in subject and design between both, affords an argument that they were written about the same time; unless it could be proved that they appeared independently of one another. If the one epistle was taken in a great measure from the other, as was probably the case, the argument loses all force.

The *place* where it was composed cannot be known. Probably the author had his abode in Palestine, and did not leave it.

V. *Contents.*

The epistle consists of two parts, to which are prefixed the

[m] Einleit. p. 415. [n] Jessien, pp. 10, 14. [o] Works, vol. iii. p. 446, 4to edit.

inscription, salutation, and a short introduction. The first consists of verses 5 - 19; the second of verses 20 - 23.

After the inscription and salutation in the first two verses, the writer introduces his subject in the third and fourth, telling his readers that he felt it necessary to address them because certain men had crept in among them who were described beforehand (in the book of Enoch?) as doomed to this condemnation, godless men, who turned the grace of God into lasciviousness, and denied their only master and Lord, Jesus Christ (verses 1 - 4). In relation to these dangerous persons Jude sets forth instances of punishment analogous to that prepared for *them;* after which he proceeds to describe their vices. They indulge in filthy dreams, reject the idea of angelic government, and speak evil of angelic dignities. How improperly they act in this respect is proved by the case of Michael the archangel, who, when disputing with Satan about the body of Moses, ventured to say no more than, "the Lord rebuke thee." In contrast with the conduct of Michael, these persons blaspheme angelic existences of whom they are ignorant, while they indulge in sensual gratifications immoderately and viciously.

The writer then threatens them with punishment according to other examples of divine vengeance in the Old Testament, Cain, Balaam, and Korah. They are further described as rocks in the love-feasts of the christians addressed, on which good morals were shipwrecked, because they feasted together without fear, taking care of themselves, but neglecting the poorer brethren. They are compared to waterless clouds, autumnal trees stripped of their fruits, twice dead, rooted up; wild waves of the sea foaming out their shameful lusts; comets. After quoting Enoch's prophecy respecting them, the description is continued. They are murmurers, discontented with their lot, walking after their own lusts, talking in extravagant strains, fawning upon others for selfish purposes. The apostles prophesied of them as mockers to arise in the latter days. The last traits by which they are characterised are, the desire to make divisions and parties in the churches, and the absence of the Holy Spirit (5 - 19).

Jude now addresses an admonition to his readers to the effect that they should be established in the holy doctrines of chris-

tianity, that they should pray in the Spirit, and keep themselves in the love of God, while waiting for the mercy of Christ unto eternal life. He also instructs them how they should act towards the persons led astray by the parties he has described. Some they should treat gently, viz. such as were doubting and hesitating; others they should pluck as it were out of the fire, hating everything by which they might be in the least degree corrupted (verses 20 - 23).

The epistle concludes with a doxology (verses 24, 25).

The diction is correctly described by Eichhorn[p] as round, full, lively. There is no good reason for assuming with Schmid and Bertholdt that Jude wrote in Aramaean, as if our present Greek were from the hand of a translator.

[p] Einleitung, vol. iii. p. 651.

THE REVELATION.

In treating of this book, we propose to discuss the following questions relating to it:—

I. The Designations of Time which occur so frequently in it and the Book of Daniel.
II. Its Authenticity as an Apostolic Production.
III. Its Canonical Authority.
IV. Time and Place of Writing.
V. Unity.
VI. The Purpose for which it was originally written.
VII. Schemes of Interpretation.
VIII. Its Contents.

I. *The designations of time which occur so frequently in it and the book of Daniel.*

We propose to speak of *the designations of time* which occur so frequently in the Apocalypse. The subject is yet unsettled. The question, whether designations of time are to be understood literally, or in the analogy of a day to a year, still receives different answers. On the one side, Maitland and Burgh are the most able; on the other, Faber, Elliott, and Birks. In America, the indefatigable Stuart has taken up the same ground as the former; and has met with a formidable antagonist in Bush. The ablest advocate of the year-day theory is Birks, who has entered fully into the whole subject in his "First Elements of Sacred Prophecy." We are not aware that this treatise has been formally or carefully examined by any independent inquirer; and therefore our series of remarks will have chief reference to it, as containing the best defence of the common theory. The question is surrounded with

difficulties of no common magnitude; and the full discussion of it would require a lengthened treatise. On this account it will not be expedient to repeat all the grounds that have been so well stated by Maitland and Stuart, except in so far as may be demanded by complete answers to Birks and Bush.

The plain obvious sense of a day in prophecy, or in any other kind of writing, is a *day*. This is what first suggests itself to an unprejudiced mind. A day means just a *day*, and a year a *year*. But many say that a day in prophecy signifies a *year;* and of course a *year* must mean three hundred and sixty times as much. Here is a wide distinction between interpreters of prophecy.

There is one prejudice against which those who contend for the literal acceptation of chronological dates in prophecy have to struggle, viz. the force of established tradition—the hereditary prejudice in favour of opinions invested with the garb of years. There is a strong bias in our nature towards everything on which time has stamped its features. We are reminded of the great and good men who have advocated certain sentiments—of the learning and piety by which they were characterised, and the improbability that so many could have fallen into the same error. The shades of venerable men are invoked. The Reformers are appealed to as resting on the year-day principle, and as animated in their contendings against the corruptions of Romanism by the belief that such corruptions are described and denounced in the Apocalypse. The fact is even broadly stated, that had the Reformers adopted the literal designations of time, and the views of unfulfilled prophecy necessarily connected with such literality, they would not have raised their voice against the papacy, or persevered in opposition to its monstrous abominations. "This," says Bush to Stuart, "is taking ground at once against the whole current of protestant commentary on the Apocalypse, and giving to the Romanists every advantage which they could desire. You help them in fact to plant themselves in a position from which it is impossible to dislodge them. This is a consequence of more serious moment than might at first blush appear; for, upon the principle of your interpretation, it is clear that the glorious Reformation could never have taken place. The most cursory glance of the prophecy

makes it evident that the mystic power denominated Babylon is denounced as antichristian and idolatrous, and the people of God are commanded to separate themselves from it.* Now nothing is better ascertained as a historical fact than that it was on the ground of these denunciations, which they did not hesitate to apply to the apostate Roman church, that the noble band of Reformers were upheld in their separation from the papacy. . . . . They were sustained in their heroic enterprise by this obvious construction of the prophetic oracles."[q] What is this but mere appeal to the feelings and prejudices, instead of fair, manly, honest argument? Such language serves to damage a cause with the undiscerning vulgar, not to advance the interests of truth. It is the resort of those who are either conscious of the weakness of their system, or anxious to bring the *odium theologicum* on their opponents. We know of no standard but the Bible—nothing that can serve to shew the truth of a religious tenet except the infallible word of God. Councils may change; fathers of the church may be mistaken; the Reformers were fallible; and shall we who enjoy the benefit resulting from the light and learning of past ages stand still where they stopped, or appeal to them as our guides, just because they attained to eminence at a time when surrounding circumstances were unfavourable to the progress of truth? We were not made to sleep over the Bible, or to stereotype those principles, civil and religious, which it is the glory of our forefathers to have transmitted to their posterity. While rendering due respect to the Reformers, and honouring the men of past times who defended the great truths lying at the foundation of christian hope, we regard it as nothing less than popery in principle—that very thing in essence which we profess to abhor—to call up the names of illustrious dead as the infallible expounders of the Bible, or to give our language the semblance of assuming, that to differ from current opinions is to disown Protestantism and to favour Romanism. When shall the various sections of the Protestant church learn fully, and act out with earnest honesty the lesson of heaven; "Call no man your Father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven"! In some instances the Reformers were wrong; in others they were but partially enlightened. They

[q] The Hierophant, by George Bush, pp. 270, 271.

wrote not a few things that cannot be received. Their reasoning is often inconsequential, sometimes absurd; and we should as readily believe in the inspiration of the apocryphal books of the Maccabees as adopt all their opinions with implicit faith. Verily *the principle* of Romanism is of far wider range and more extended influence than the church of Rome. The church of England with all her excellence has something of it. Nonconformists have much of it. Its leaven may be seen quietly impregnating the minds of stereotyped dissenters, in phases and forms innumerable.

The boldness with which Bush speaks of the Reformers is surprising. Does he not know that they had a very low opinion of the Apocalypse? If not, let him go to the writings of Luther and Zwingli, and see how they treated it. The statement that certain applications of the Apocalypse caused or promoted the Reformation is wholly incorrect. It is absolutely false. *A spiritual apprehension of the simple gospel*, accompanied with the power of the Spirit, led those illustrious men to separate from the Romish church. And then it should be remembered by those who write like Bush of the Reformers and the "Protestant" interpretation, that not one of the Reformers understood a *day* in prophecy to mean a *year*. Neither Luther, nor Melancthon, nor Zwingli, thought of such a theory. We doubt whether there be any Lutheran writer who has maintained it. Bengel wholly repudiated it. The most recent expositors in Germany, whether evangelical or Rationalist, have no idea of it. To talk of the Reformers therefore in connexion with this so called "Protestant" notion, is worse than trifling. It conveys a false impression.

It is admitted, that the chronological designations found in many prophecies are to be taken in their literal, obvious sense. Here is a presumption in favour of the rule's universal application. If most of the dates be literal, why should not all be literal? If such be the usual mode of designating time, why not adhere to it throughout the Scriptures? By what authority is it affirmed that a day denotes a year? Does it designate this longer period in *every* case of prediction where time is specified? or should the extended notation be appropriated to peculiar cases and kinds?

In reply to these questions we are informed that there is a distinction between *literal* and *symbolical* prophecies. The advo-

cates of the year-day theory insist largely on such distinction, and charge their opponents with leaving it out of view. The chronological periods attached to the former are said to be expressed literally; while those annexed to the latter are designated symbolically. We have no desire to conceal this line of demarcation. Let it be fairly held up in all prophetic inquiries, and a large class of texts usually adduced in favour of the literal designations of time in every part of Scripture must be subtracted from the usual amount of proof. In compliance with the demands of many, we are quite willing that such texts should be cut off as irrelevant. We proceed therefore to notice the direct arguments adduced by the advocates of the year-day theory—arguments which must be derived, in consistency with their own principle, from symbolical prophecies. The following considerations constitute the foundation on which the system rests, and must be examined with care.

1. The prophecy of the seventy weeks in Daniel ix. 24-27 is adduced in favour of the year-day theory. Here the Hebrew word שָׁבוּעַ, which denotes *seven days* in other places, signifies *seven years*. Hence it is inferred that words of time occurring in similar prophecies should be enlarged beyond their usual sense in the proportion of a *year* to a *day*.

In reply to this we will not say with Tyso, Govett, and Todd, that the prophecy in Daniel is still future, and remains to be accomplished in weeks of *days*. In common with most expositors, we believe that the prediction has been long ago fulfilled. But we ask, is the term שָׁבוּעַ appropriated by usage to a week of seven days? Mede, Faber, and others, reply in the affirmative. When it stands simply and without any explanatory appendage, they allege that it never bears grammatically any other sense than that of *a week*. What is its *primary* signification? According to its etymology it means a *hebdomad* or *heptad, a seven*, either of days or years. This is its true original signification; and it depends on the particular context where it occurs, whether it be applied to days or years. *In itself* it is indefinite and general, so as to justify its adaptation to the one or the other. The vicinity determines and fixes its sense.[r] The authorities of Gesenius and Hengstenberg are entirely in favour of what is now stated, for the former gives

[r] See Hävernick's Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 354.

hebdomas, ἑβδομάς, *septenarius numerus* 1 dierum, 2 annorum, *i.e.*, a hebdomad 1st of days, 2nd of years; or, *the number seven*, applied either to days or to years.[s] The latter writer, in like manner, explains the word "ein gesiebneter Zeitraum," *a septenary period.*[t] Besides occurring in the prophecy of the seventy weeks, it is found twice in the book of Genesis, viz. xxix. 27, 28; once in Leviticus in the dual number, xii. 5; and twice in the plural (שָׁבֻעִים) in Daniel x. 2, 3. In Genesis and Leviticus it is clear that it means a week of days, in consequence of the surrounding context. With regard to the plural in Daniel x. 2, 3, the words literally translated are, "three sevens *as to days*," the word יָמִים[v] being in the accusative, as Gesenius rightly takes it, but not being *pleonastic*, as he states. Here the term יָמִים *days* is added, as if on purpose to prevent misconception. Were שָׁבוּעַ appropriated to weeks of days, יָמִים had been quite superfluous; but the very circumstance that another word is subjoined, leads to the conclusion that the term שָׁבוּעַ is not definite of itself. The form of it is participial, and properly indicates, as Bush remarks, a *septimised* period.[w] Besides שָׁבוּעַ with its plural שָׁבֻעִים, the feminine plural שָׁבֻעוֹת is also found (Exodus xxxiv. 22; Deuteron. xvi. 9, 10, 16; 2 Chron. viii. 13; Jerem. v. 24; Ezek. xlv. 21; Num. xxviii. 26), uniformly denoting *weeks of days*. The singular form of it is the same. שָׁבוּעַ is the singular form of שָׁבֻעוֹת, the same noun having both a masculine and feminine form plural. There is a class of words in the Hebrew language which has a twofold gender, and therefore a twofold form in the plural. That שָׁבוּעַ is both masculine and feminine is evident from the fact that in Gen. xxix. it is twice construed with the feminine pronoun זֹאת.[x] As in other passages, so too in the prophecy of seventy weeks, the context determines the sense of the ambiguous term שָׁבוּעַ. "Daniel had been making diligent search respecting the seventy *years*; and in such a connexion, nothing but seventy *heptads* of years could be

[s] See Thesaurus, s. v.

[t] Christologie, Die Siebenzig Wochen Daniels, p. 408.

[v] See Gesenius's Lexicon, s. v.

[w] See Ewald's Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache, p. 293, fifth edition.

[x] See McCaul's Letter to the editor of the Morning Watch, p. 3.

reasonably supposed to be meant by the angel."[y] In addition to this it should be remembered, that the prophecy of the seventy weeks is not symbolical, and therefore on the very principle of the year-day advocates themselves, the term שָׁבוּעַ should not of itself denote 490 years.[z]

2. The sentence of Israel in the wilderness has also been regarded as a proof of the year-day theory. "And they returned from searching of the land after forty days . . . . . And your children shall wander in the wilderness forty years, and bear your whoredoms, until your carcases be wasted in the wilderness. After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, each day for a year, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know my breach of promise" (Numbers xiii. 25; xiv. 33, 34). "The twelve spies," says Birks, "chosen one from each tribe, represented in miniature the nation of Israel. And this explains, it may be added, why the whole congregation are said to have searched the land. That search, lasting through forty days, represented also in miniature the forty years of their wandering in the wilderness. Each day in the search represented a year of wandering; and the miniature period was a typical prophecy of the forty years' journeying which ensued."[a] Faber reasons in the same manner.[b]

We presume that the writer does not mean to assert, that the word *day* denotes a *year* in this paragraph, because it evidently signifies nothing else than a *day*. What he wishes to say is, that *day* prefigures *year* as a type. *As* an event occupied so many *days*, *so* a future event was to occupy so many *years*, the former *typifying* the latter. This implies that the type has an existence. "The lesser must absolutely exist, otherwise it could not be a type of something greater to follow."[c] *Wherever the type does not exist*, the argument derived from this passage in the Old Testament *fails*, i.e., it fails in most of the cases to which it is applied by a large class of prophetic expositors — the 1260 days, the ten days, etc.

[y] Stuart, Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy, p. 79.
[z] See Stuart's Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 264, et seqq.
[a] First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 338.
[b] Provincial Letters, vol. i. p. 124, second edition.
[c] Newton, First Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry, p. 179, second edit.

In Ezekiel, a real day (not the word day) *represents* a real year; whereas in the Apocalypse and Daniel the word day (not a real day) is *interpreted* to mean a year. There is thus a difference between Ezekiel and those cases to which it is applied as a key, or which are adduced as parallel. "The whole matter," says Maitland, "lies in this, that one is a case of *representing*, and the other of interpreting."[d] Again, here is an express declaration that a day *represents* a year. But the same statement is no where made in Daniel or John. The passages in Daniel and John to which the year-day principle is applied are *symbolical;* and Mr. Birks is anxious to shew that this passage in the book of Numbers contains in like manner a typical or symbolical prophecy. If then all the predictions bear the same character, why should not a similar intimation be found in them all? To this the reply is, that such a direct statement in Daniel and John would have defeated the very end for which the periods have been expressed in the peculiar form under consideration. Here then a distinction is drawn between prophecies whose chronological designations furnish a key to succeeding symbolical prophecies, and those in which no intimation is given. Hence by following out the principle tacitly implied in the answer, there arise two kinds of symbolical prophecies; one, in which the notations of time are expressly explained, or in which it is implied that a day is put for a year, no injury being done by the announcement; another in which the writer's purpose would be defeated by furnishing such a key to the notices of time. We ask then, by what authority is the explanation of time assigned in former passages, transferred to others confessedly distinguished from them in mysteriousness and obscurity? Why should the *plainly* symbolical, if we may be allowed the expression, dictate to the *obscurely* symbolical? When Birks and others draw a line of demarcation between *symbolical or typical predictions themselves*, are we not equally at liberty to draw a line of separation in regard to *the notations of time* belonging to the two classes so separated?

But Mr. Elliott tries to nullify the argument based by us on *the express explanation* of a day representing in Ezekiel's case a year, and *the absence* of a similar affirmation in Daniel and John. Strangely

[d] Reply to Cuninghame, p. 107.

enough does he represent the argument as being to the effect "that wherever a symbol in a figuration has been *once* explained, it is in all similar figurations, *unless explained again*, to be construed *literally:* for example, that the sun, moon, and stars having been explained in Joseph's dream, of the heads of a nation, but not so explained in Apoc. vi. 13; xii. 1; the stars falling on this earth in Apoc. vi. must mean *the literal stars* falling on it, though not so as to destroy it or its inhabitants."[e] This kind of reasoning is wholly aside from the point, because it quietly assumes that a day is "a symbol in a figuration;" whereas in reality it is neither *a symbol* nor *a type* of a year, or of any other period. The sun, moon, and stars are a part of the symbolic language of prophecy, but *days* should not be put at once in the same category.

Besides, the fact of the passage in the book of Numbers containing a typical prophecy is exceedingly questionable. The spies were not types of the whole nation. It is a simple historical prophecy, in which God ordained that, *as* the spies had wandered forty days, *so* the Israelites should wander forty years in the wilderness, because of their sins.

3. Ezekiel's typical siege is another pillar of the year-day theory. "Lie thou also on thy left side, and lay the iniquity of the house of Israel upon it; according to the number of the days that thou shalt lie upon it, thou shalt bear their iniquity. For I have laid upon thee the years of their iniquity, according to the number of the days, three hundred and ninety days; so shalt thou bear the iniquity of the house of Israel. And when thou hast accomplished them, lie again on thy right side, and thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days; I have appointed thee each day for a year" (Ezek. iv. 4-6).

The remarks made on the preceding argument will equally apply to this one. Day means day and nothing else. A year too means a year, even here. If however day *prefigures* year, *the existence* of the type is presupposed. But is the existence of the type implied in the case of the 1260 days and the ten days' persecution of the church of Smyrna? It is *not;* therefore the argument fails. The word day in the latter case is *interpreted* to mean a year; whereas in Ezekiel a real day *represents* a real year.

[e] Horae Apocalypticae, vol. iv. p. 521, third edition.

The one is a case of *representation*, in which a real thing represents a real thing; whereas the other is a case of interpretation, in which a *word* (the word *day*) is at once taken to mean a year. How Mr. Elliott can say that his reasoning is the same in explaining the prophecies of John and Daniel as in explaining Ezekiel's precedents, we are at a loss to perceive.

Again, it is *expressly stated* that God had appointed a day for a year; whereas in Daniel and John no such intimation is given. To suppose that the three passages, one in Numbers and two in Ezekiel, should regulate the designations of time in similar prophecies, is unauthorised. In every one of the three there can be no doubt of a day being the representative of a year, because it is so affirmed; but there is not the slightest hint in Daniel or John that the same principle is required. Had the former contained a key principle, it is not probable that we should have been left in the dark as to the fact that they were meant to furnish it. Hence this basis for the year-day theory cannot be regarded as demonstrable or plausible.

But is one period the proper symbol or hieroglyphic of another? When an animal is employed to represent an empire or kingdom the appropriateness of the symbol is apparent; but when a shorter space of time is used as the representative of a longer, there is no proper symbol or hieroglyphic. It is merely putting *a part for the whole*, or a shorter period of time for a longer. It is no answer to this to say with Elliott, that in the sixteenth chapter of Ezekiel *the woman's youth* depicts *Israel's youth*. For, though it be asserted by the expositor in question, that *the youthful period* of the nation is represented under the type of a woman's *youthful age* and time of growth to womanhood; which is explained as a period of some 400 years and more, from Isaac's birth to Israel's entering into covenant with God at Sinai—represented under that of some 15 or 20 years—yet the assertion involves an untenable assumption and a gratuitous explanation. The woman is not a type of the Jewish nation, but the nation is described under the figure of a woman, or is compared to a woman. Again, the *woman's youth* of short duration was not used to symbolise the *nation's youth* of long duration. The youthful periods of both are not at all brought into the contrast here implied; nor is *the duration*

of either hinted at by the prophet. In fact the space of time occupied by the youth is no element in the prophet's description. It is arbitrarily introduced into it by Mr. Elliott. To say therefore that a youthful period symbolises a youthful period of longer time is baseless, as far as Ezekiel's chapter is concerned, and expresses no more than that a shorter period is put for a longer, if it mean anything.[f] Hence it is not necessary to the congruity of symbolic predictions to understand smaller as the representatives of larger periods. To the prophet's mental vision an animal was presented as symbolising a kingdom, for in symbols as well as hieroglyphics *one thing was represented by another;* but to say that a day is the symbol of a year contradicts the true nature both of the tropical hieroglyphic and the tropical symbol.[g]

The truth of this observation will be more palpable if the possibility of presenting chronological numbers to the eye be considered. A reference to the dreams of Pharaoh's butler and baker, as well as to the king's own dreams, serves to demonstrate that three days were represented by three branches and three baskets; seven years by seven kine. Here the symbolisation of the pictures is carried out into the times; the latter being an essential element in the dreams. Why then have not chronological numbers been thus presented to the eye amid the symbols of Daniel and John, that the portraits might be congruous in all their proportions? In answer to this question, a reviewer in the 'Investigator' affirms, that large periods, such as 1260 or 2300, could not be visibly represented like small ones. What! Shall it be affirmed that He who called up a vision in which seven kine symbolised seven years, could not employ visible and equally intelligible representatives of 1260 years? This were to limit the power of the Almighty, by arrogantly assuming that though He presented a *few years* by outward pictures to the eye, He could not, with equal facility and like intelligibleness to men, have painted *a much larger number* by external emblems. We refer the writer in the Investigator to Rev. xiv. 1, and ask him how the apostle John knew there were exactly 144,000. On his principle, that large number could not have been presented to the

[f] Horae Apocalypticae, vol. iv. p. 521, and vol. iii. p. 224.

[g] See Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses; book iv. sect. 4.

eye. How then did he know that there were 144,000? It is hazardous to assert with Mede, that the 1260 days must be more than three years and a half because it is *impossible* that so many things and of such quality as were to be performed in this time should be done in three single years and a half; for what does short-sighted man know in relation to the Lord's will to justify this boldness of declaration? But it is far more daring to aver, that though a small chronological number *has been* represented to the eye, a large number *could not* be similarly pictured.

We conclude, therefore, that if designations of time had been essential to the symmetry, outward and visible symbols would have been employed for that purpose. Indeed the times are rather adjuncts of symbolical prophecies than essential parts of them. They are appendages to them, more than necessary features. They serve for explanation of the symbols, rather than for filling out the picture. They might have been absent without detriment to the congruity or completeness of the predictions. To illustrate this remark we may quote Revelation xii. 3-6, where the attentive reader will see, that the time is subjoined without its bearing any necessary relation to the symbolic description: "And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth; and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born. And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days." For confirmation of the same truth we refer to the circumstance, that designations of time are variously expressed even when denoting the same period. Thus we find 1260 days; a time, times, and half; a time, times, and the dividing of a time; all embracing the same space. Had chronological periods formed an essential element in the symbolical predictions, we should have expected them to be always designated in the same manner; but the variety of forms they assume is an indica-

tion that they do not constitute a necessary characteristic of the hieroglyphic representations with which they are associated. They are altered just because it is a matter of indifference whether or not they are presented in one invariable mode. The number 1260 days or three and a half years, says Hengstenberg, "has no historical significance whatever, but comes into consideration merely from its relation to the number seven."[h]

Besides, because one part of a paragraph should be tropically interpreted, it does not follow that the whole should be so taken. In like manner, it is not agreeable to the analogy of Scripture language, that every part and portion of a passage should be symbolical because the entire prophecy has that character. On particular occasions, God may expressly appoint a day for a year; but without His direct warrant, it should not be so taken in other places and at other times.

The argument founded on Ezekiel when he was commanded to lie so many days on one side that he might represent so many years to the Jewish nation, as if chronological proportion should be observed between the symbol and thing symbolised, is invalidated by the case of Isaiah: "The Lord spake by Isaiah, Go and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and put off thy shoe from thy foot. And he did so, walking naked and barefoot. And the Lord said, Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot *three years*, for a sign and wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia, so shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners" (Isaiah xx. 2, 3). Here it will be observed that three *years* correspond to three *years*, not three *days* to three years. We are quite aware of the difficulties connected with the interpretation of the third verse, but the most natural sense according to the position of the words is, that Isaiah went naked and barefoot for the space of three years, as a sign relating to Egypt and Ethiopia which were to be enslaved three years. It is arbitrary to suppose with Lowth that the original reading was *three days*, or to supply *three days*, with Vitringa. The text must stand as it is.

But it is affirmed by Faber and Bush, that in hieroglyphic representation things *are exhibited in miniature*, and therefore

[h] Die Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes für solche, u. s. w., vol. i. p. 610.

symbolical propriety requires that the associated chronological periods should also be exhibited in miniature. Here the essence of hieroglyphic writing is misstated. Exhibition *in miniature* is no necessary part of it. A thing may be either presented in miniature or in an enlarged form. It is *incidental* to the characteristic features whether miniature or enlarged representation be exhibited in any given instance. This is confirmed by Daniel iv. 20-22, where the fair and high tree which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream is explained: "The tree that thou sawest, it is thou, O king."

4. The phrase *time, times,* and *dividing of a time* contains many distinct proofs to refute the shorter reckoning, and to confirm the year-day exposition.

(*a*) *Its peculiar form;* because if the short reckoning were true, no reason can be given why the times should not be expressed in the most usual form.

Two circumstances may be alleged in explanation of such phraseology: the air of ambiguity and mystery purposely belonging to a passage, and that variety of expression in which every writer indulges to a greater or less extent. Agreeably to the former, the time is stated *indefinitely* to correspond with the mysterious character of the entire passage. In the words of Hengstenberg, there is an "effort after *concealed* definiteness. This could not be realised in respect to what was concealed, if the prophet used the ordinary mode of reckoning."[1] When *a time* is mentioned, every one naturally thinks of *a year*, unless there be in the context something to forbid it. The word is indefinite of itself, being applicable to periods of various lengths; yet although it is vague, *a year* suggests itself to the mind as *the period* which it is intended to embrace. In this way there is both definiteness and partial obscurity. According to the second consideration, we must not expect the same formal phrases in the same writer to express the same thing. The inspired penmen must not be bound down to set phraseology. They exhibit the variety of diction common to others. It is unreasonable to expect that they will always use the same words to denote the same ideas. Hence even in symbolic prophecies, the number

[1] Christologie des alten Testaments, Die Siebenzig Wochen Daniels, p. 411.

of days is sometimes stated literally and plainly, shewing that the effort after concealed definiteness in regard to the notations of time was not an essential circumstance, and is not therefore invariably required.

(*b*) It is agreed that the different terms used to denote the same period prove that it cannot signify three natural years and a half. "The same interval occurs seven times over. Twice it is mentioned as a time, times, and a dividing of a time; once as a time, times, and a half; twice as forty-two months; and twice as twelve hundred and sixty days. The expression is varied in this remarkable manner; and in all these variations, is never once expressed by the natural and literal phrase. How can we explain this remarkable feature, but by supposing it to indicate a mysterious and hidden sense?"[k]

The answer has been already given. The expressions in question are somewhat ambiguous, though at the same time tolerably definite. They have an air of obscurity which Birks and others require for the designations of time belonging to symbolical prophecies; while they are sufficiently precise to be understood immediately before the termination of the periods signified. Still however they do not come up to the standard of mysteriousness proposed by the year-day theory. They are merely adduced as negative proof that three natural years and a half are not meant. It is *a certain kind* of mystical obscurity that is sought for, viz. that which resides in the symbol of a *day* for a *year*. We may also refer, in answer to the argument, to the principle of variety. Symbolical prophecies have not only an air of mystery thrown around them for the most part, even in their notations of time, but they assume the same range of expression as other portions of Scripture. Hence arise different ways of conveying the same meaning in regard to periods. And here we might retort upon this Millennarian writer and ask, if a day be the symbol of a year, and one year of 360 years, why should not 1260 days be exclusively employed, instead of time, times, and half a time, etc., etc.? If a day be the appropriate symbol of a year, and a year of 360 years, why vary the language so much? To these questions he would probably reply, in order to unite obscurity

[k] First Elements of Prophecy, etc., p. 352.

with variety the sacred seers employ so many designations for the same period—the very reply we now give to the argument advanced against the literal interpretation.

5. Another argument is founded on Luke xiii. 31-33. "The same day there came certain of the Pharisees, saying unto him, Get thee out and depart hence, for Herod will kill thee. And he said unto them, Go ye, and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the day following; for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem." "The incident," says Birks, "occurred in the last journey of our Lord, but several weeks before his sufferings and resurrection. They cannot therefore admit a definite sense with a literal interpretation. On the other hand our Lord's ministry, commencing with a passover, closed at the passover, after an exact interval of three years. The words of this passage would therefore exactly describe the continuance of that ministry: the three days importing the three years. 'The completion of the third was to be marked by the death of our Saviour at Jerusalem, and his resurrection the time when he was perfected.'"[1] Long ago Fleming adduced the same argument.

In reply it may be said, that the explanation just given takes for granted that our Lord's public ministry continued for the exact space of three years; a position which has been much disputed. It is more usual to assume that it lasted for three years and six months. Others following the most ancient opinion limit it to twelve or fifteen months. The matter is involved in great uncertainty; and it is little short of presumption to assume quietly and without proof, that it lasted precisely three years. There are formidable objections to that view, as intelligent students of the New Testament are aware.[m]

Again; this is not a *symbolic* but a *historical* prophecy, and therefore it should not be cited as proof that a day is the representative of a year. The line of distinction between the two classes of predictions has been forgotten in this instance, though the line is deemed to be of great importance. No probability therefore attaches to this argument. It is uncertain and irrele-

[1] First Elements, etc., pp. 349, 350.

[m] See Newton's First Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry, p. 138, 2nd edit.

vant. It assumes a fact, which, so far from being demonstrable, is liable to extreme doubt.

6. Nebuchadnezzar's dream is also adduced as an argument for the year-day theory. The monarch was driven forth from human society, and *seven times* passed over him, till at length his understanding returned to him, and he acknowledged the true God. The *seven times* are universally explained *seven years*. "Here," says Maitland, "it is admitted on all hands that *time* means a *year*, and therefore we might naturally expect that the three times and a half in chap. vii. should mean three years and a half. Yet (without the slightest hint of any change of style in the author) we are to suppose Daniel using the same word in chap. iv. to signify *one year*, and in chap. vii. to signify three hundred and sixty years, and this *merely* because in one case he speaks of an *individual*, and in the other of a *community*."[n] In answer to this Birks argues, that it is not from the grammatical force of the term *time* that the length of Nebuchadnezzar's madness is determined to be *seven years*, but from the context, and the outlines of the monarch's history. It is certainly most natural to suppose that *time* means *year*, unless there be something in the context to disprove that signification. Accordingly Birks tries to find such limitation in the context, wherever he assumes that *time* means 360 years, as in the seventh chapter of Daniel. He proceeds however in the way of types, mysticalness, and gratuitous hypothesis. We deny that the great image prefigured the whole course of the Gentile dominion, from the time of the prophet till the Messiah's glorious reign. We deny that Nebuchadnezzar is the natural representative of this Gentile power. He was the representative of the Babylonian empire and of nothing else—an empire that continued for about 700 years.

7. The vision of the *evening and morning* is also adduced to confirm the year-day theory: "How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, Unto *two thousand and three hundred days;* then shall the sanctuary be cleansed. And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told, is true: where-

[n] First Enquiry, etc., p. 12, second edition.

fore shut thou up the vision; for it shall be for many days", (Daniel viii. 13, 14, 26).

The literal rendering is, *unto evenings and mornings two thousand three hundred.*

(*a*) It is alleged that there is something unusual in the chronological expression here employed; that Scripture affords no precedent for describing periods longer than one year in so unusual phraseology; and that no reason can be given why the simple, usual, and literal form of three years and so many months or days should not have been employed.[o] The observation of Mede will furnish a partial answer to this, viz. "when the angel means *days* in Daniel, he expresseth it therefore not by *days* (for so it were doubtful) but by *evenings* and *mornings*, (viii. 14,) where he speaks of the time of the persecution of Antiochus."[p] We have already protested against the unreasonableness of expecting stereotyped phrases. Should it be impossible for the expositor to assign a reason for unusual phraseology, it does not therefore follow that it involves an unusual sense. In the case before us, besides the circumstance mentioned by Mede, and the desire of variety in diction, there is also the consideration that the time specified occurs in the explanation of the vision given by one saint to another, *i.e.*, by one angel to another. The prosperity of Antiochus is stated *definitely*, lest the faithful should be dispirited during his mad career against them.

(*b*) It is further stated that "the words *evening* and *morning* are in the singular number, and precede the numerals. Now in the Hebrew idiom, when the noun follows mixed numerals, it may be in the singular, but when it precedes them, it is always in the plural number. By mixed numerals are meant those of unlike dimensions, where tens are joined with units, or thousands with hundreds. To this rule I believe not one exception occurs in the Hebrew Scriptures. The words in question, it would thus appear, are not plural but singular, or denote some one period, called an evening and morning, and which must either refer to the whole course of the vision, or to the time of its close. . . . . Hence we may infer with high probability, that the evening-morning, like the coming of the Messiah the Prince (Daniel ix. 25) describes

[o] See Birks, p. 357. [p] Works, p. 599.

the limit or closing term of the vision, when the sanctuary shall be cleansed. The numeral 2300 will therefore stand alone, and require a word of time to be supplied. And in this case the laws of common usage forbid us to supply the word *days* with so high a number, and require us to interpret the unit as a number, and the whole period as 2300 years." [q]

The expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר is a compound noun, formed on purpose to express a natural day or space of twenty-four hours, corresponding to the Greek *νυχθήμερον*. It is simply a collective; and the position of the numerals is exactly the same as in Gen. xlvi. 22; 2 Chron. xv. 11; 1 Samuel xxv. 2. In all these the collective noun is employed in the singular form, with a plural signification.[r] That the period in question consisting of 2300 natural days refers to the *duration* of the vision, there can be little doubt. The question asked was, "How long shall be the vision?" and it is evident that an explanation is subjoined in these words, "The vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot" (Daniel viii. 13).

(*c*) It has been said again, that specific designations of time tend to paralyse all watchfulness on the church's part for the Lord's coming, and therefore in order to strengthen faith and hope under the long delay of 2000 years between the first and second advent, a large part of the whole interval was prophetically announced, but only in such a manner that its true length might not be understood, till its own close seemed to be drawing near.

We are quite at a loss to perceive in what manner an exact statement of times militates against the earnest expectation of our Lord's coming, which the church is required to cherish. Such specific dates do certainly reveal the duration of a series of events; but the point of time at which they begin, and consequently that at which they close, are not determinately stated in the prophecies, at least not in such a manner as to preclude anxious inquiry, or to dissipate all doubt. Hence a veil of obscurity still attaches to the predictions of ancient seers; and the people of God are kept looking and waiting for the mighty events that shall usher in

[q] Birks, pp. 358, 9.

[r] See Nordheimer's Hebrew Grammar, vol. ii. sect. 936, 2.

their Lord's coming. "Blessed is he that readeth, and they who hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein," is a declaration as applicable to such as understand the periods literally, as to the advocates of the year-day theory. Necessity is laid upon both to search diligently into the unveilings of future events; and when they have so inquired, they will still feel that the Almighty has wisely enveloped his own declarations in regard to the future in partial mystery, that his people may be kept humble, patient, and prayerful, amid their anticipations of the approaching footsteps of Deity. By specific notations of time nothing is revealed, the knowledge of which would be injurious; no attitude of the church favourable to piety is hindered. She must continue even then to scan the signs of the times. Sufficient obscurity will rest on the symbolic representations notwithstanding.

Mr. Birks affirms, that a large part of the entire interval between the first and second advent was prophetically announced in such a manner that its true length might not be understood till near the close. Many however are disposed to question and to deny the position. At all events it cannot be assumed by any one who undertakes to prove the truth of the year-day theory, because it rests on the correctness of the very principle with which it is thus associated. It is only when a day is taken for a year, that a large part of the entire interval between the first and second advent can be said to have been prophetically announced.

8. The 1290 and 1335 days in Daniel (chap. xii. 11, 12) have also been pressed into the service of the year-day theory. It might have been expected that they should be exempted from its operation, and interpreted as literal days instead of years, because they are mentioned in the *explanation*, not the *midst* of symbols. But reference is made to "the double notice that they have a hidden meaning;" viz. "the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end." "None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand." Here it is *virtually* declared to be unimportant, whether periods occur imbedded in the symbols, or in the explanation of them. The phrase "the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end" simply implies, that God did not choose to gratify the prophet's desire by revealing to him

exactly the termination of the period. The *duration* of the period is stated as a time, times, and half, which was probably obscure to the seer, because neither its commencement nor its termination is clearly unfolded. As to the wicked not understanding, that arises from the blindness of their hearts, and their consequent inability to discern the signs of the times in relation to the church. It may be said of the greater part of Scripture, even of the *unprophetical* portions, that the wise alone can understand them. It must be observed however that these notices belong rather to the 1290 and 1335 days than to the time, times, and half time mentioned in the preceding context. Yet the *terminus a quo* of both is the same, viz. the abolition of the daily sacrifice; and the three must be explained by the aid of Maccabean history. Because the entire prophecy is obscure, it does not follow that the announcement of definite days is incongruous with such obscurity, except the commencement be unequivocally stated. In the explanation given by the angel, part of the obscurity is removed from the description of its duration; for instead of time, times, and half a time, days are substituted. The entire period was evidently characterised by oppression and trial to the people of the most High; and He does not see fit to gratify curiosity by giving a very plain description of it.[s]

Other arguments have been adduced in favour of the year-day theory to which we need not now advert, because they are intimately connected with certain interpretations of the prophecies. They are so mixed up with or dependent on the latter, that in answering them we should be drawn away to refute directly or indirectly a peculiar system of prophetic exposition. It has been our object to preserve the discussion of the year-day principle free from the entanglement of particular aspects of prophecy; to hold up to view the entire subject apart from disputed explanations of the passages in which designations of time occur. Birks insinuates a peculiar mode of interpretation into most of his arguments; so that it would require more space than he himself has taken effectually to answer such reasoning after his own fashion. The expositions he has given are certainly pervaded by a sufficient love of mystical meanings. Not content with the obvious sense, he

[s] See Stuart's Commentary on Daniel, p. 369, et seqq.

is generally disposed to find something typical or mysterious. Hence he advocates the typical character of the seven epistles to the seven churches described in the Apocalypse; and adduces an argument from the ten days' tribulation in Smyrna in favour of the larger reckoning. All this is gratuitous assumption.

9. Elliott appeals to a passage in the epistle to the Hebrews (vii. 27,) in favour of the same theory: "Who needeth not daily (*καθ' ἡμέραν*) to offer up sacrifice first for his own sins, and then for the people's." Here it is argued, on the authority of Macknight, that the phrase *καθ' ἡμέραν* is equivalent to *κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν* (x. 1), *from day to day* equivalent to *from year to year*, because the high-priest offered sacrifice only one day in the year, viz. the tenth of the seventh month.[t]

This argument, or presumption, or whatever else Elliott may choose to call it, is founded on mistake. "The notion," says Mr. Newton, "that the high-priest of Israel only ministered at the altar once in the year, is entirely mistaken, and arises from confounding between the ministration *in white linen garments* (which was special and peculiar to the day of atonement) and the ministration which devolved on him daily in his *proper priestly garments*, which are fully described in Exodus xxviii. 'And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats, and thou shalt make for them girdles, and bonnets shalt thou make for them, for glory and for beauty. And thou shalt put them *upon Aaron thy brother*, and his sons with him; and shalt anoint them, and consecrate them, and sanctify them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office . . . . . And they shall be upon Aaron and upon his sons, when they come in unto the tabernacle of the congregation, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place; that they bear not iniquity and die. It shall be a statute for ever unto him, and his seed after him.' Aaron could never have approached the altar in *these his proper priestly garments* at all, if his ministration had been confined to that of the white linen garments of the day of atonement, which was annual; nor could he ever have offered the necessary sin-offerings for himself according to the ordinance in the fourth of Leviticus; and therefore his priesthood must have been defiled, for the fourth of

[t] Horae Apocalypticae, vol. iii. p. 226, note 2.

Leviticus enacted that for every sin which the anointed priest committed in ignorance, he should as soon as it came to his knowledge immediately offer a sin-offering; otherwise he would bear his iniquity. This *might* be necessary *many* times every day; so untrue is it that he only offered annually. Accordingly the epistle to the Hebrews contrasts, not only the annual ministration of the high-priest on the day of atonement, but also the *daily* ministrations of *all* priests, with the one offering now once and for ever made, and never repeated. The *daily* as well as yearly sacrifices are contrasted with the one offering—consequently, the word means emphatically *daily* in the two passages quoted."[v]

The grounds on which the theory rests, and the most potent arguments adduced in its favour, have now been examined. The indirect, collateral considerations of Birks have been avoided as much as possible, because involving explanations and principles which we are far from allowing. An advocate of what are termed Millennarian views, and indulging in spiritualising expositions, he finds arguments where none but those who take similar views of unfulfilled prophecy can discern them. On this account his other reasonings may be passed over. If the foundation has been subverted, little importance will attach to the remote outworks.

The following direct arguments against the mystical interpretation of days have been adduced by Maitland, and to us they appear unanswerable.

1. There is no passage in the Scriptures, or in any other writing, where the word *day* is figuratively put for *year*.

2. When those who maintain the doctrine of the 1260 years have assumed that there is such a period, they cannot agree among themselves. They differ as to what kind of years are meant—as to the time when the period began, even by whole centuries, and therefore they disagree as to the facts by which the prophecies supposed to have been fulfilled during the period, have been accomplished.

3. The want of conviction which exists in the christian church, and the little real belief which any system of interpreting the supposed period of 1260 years has obtained.

[v] First Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry, pp. 177, 178, second edition.

4. The absence of appeal to the supposed fulfilments of prophecy during the 1260 years, in controversy with infidels.

5. The difficulties that must be got over with respect to historical facts, in order to maintain the system of 1260 years, are insuperable. Thus it is held, that the little horn described in Daniel and the supposed parallel passages in the Apocalypse have been fulfilled by the Pope or by the Papacy.[w]

6. The theory in question was unknown to the early age of the church. The early Jews, if we may judge from Josephus and Abenezra, were ignorant of it. The former speaking of Antiochus says, that he despoiled the temple and caused the daily sacrifice to cease for *three years and six months*. This shews that he took the 1260 days of Daniel literally. The latter referring to Saadias says, "Now Saadias expounds correctly and well; know also that in Holy Scripture days are always days, and never years. Yet it is possible that the word day may mean an entire year, since the repetition of the days produces a return of the year; as when it is said (Exodus xiii. 10), 'from days to days,' that is, from year to year; days meaning a complete year. But when the number is stated as *two days*, *three days*, it cannot mean years, but must be *days* as it stands."[x]

In answer to this, Elliott after Faber says, that even in the second century the year-day principle was applied by Jewish Rabbis, though not to the 1260 days. He then refers to a Cabbala on Micah's famous prophecy of Messiah, in which it was asserted that as a woman's time of travailing is nine months of days, so the nation's time of travailing was to be nine months of years. But we observe, that the words of the Rabbis themselves are not given by Elliott, stating that as the one period was to be nine months of days, so the other was to be nine months of years. Let the precise words of the Rabbis to this effect be produced, and not *inferences from them* by those who are straining every nerve to uphold a favourite system. Further, does Mr. Elliott not know that the Jewish Cabbala is full of fancies? And is it anything but a fancy to which he refers for the purpose of shewing that the

[w] See Maitland's Second Enquiry, p. 76, et seqq., and Reply to the Morning Watch, pp. 15, 16.

[x] Maitland's Second Enquiry, pp. 45, 46.

year-day *principle* was applied by Rabbins? In fact this Faber-Elliott proof is no proof at all of the early Jews' acquaintance with the year-day theory. All that it amounts to is, that among innumerable other fanciful analogies and interpretations, some conjectured, that one period was to be nine months of years *as* another period was nine months of days. We suspect however the truth of the statement itself said to be made by the Rabbis. We suspect that they have been made to affirm something which they did not.[y]

Not till the sixth century do we find the theory unequivocally applied to the three days and a half by Primasius. It is asserted indeed by Elliott that Cyprian recognised the principle of a day for a year in prophecy, but no proof of the assertion is given from that father's writings, nor indeed can any be produced. In like manner his biographer Pontius is quoted as advocating or acquainted with the same; but the passage cited from his life of Cyprian is as far as possible from shewing that in Scripture or in prophecy *a day* signified *a year*.

We are also referred to Tichonius and Prosper in the fifth century as recognising the same theory. But the work attributed to the former, from which Elliott quotes a passage, is spurious. Hence Tichonius must be left out of account. Prosper (whom Elliott erroneously represents as "notary of Pope Leo the great, and afterwards bishop of Rhegium,"[z] as if *Rhegiensis* sometimes applied to him meant *Rhegium*, a town in Italy, whereas it means *Riez* in Provence) says that the three days and a half of the slain witnesses *answer* to the three years and a half of Antichrist (tribus annis et sex mensibus *respondent*). "What is this," says Maitland, "but making the days, days, and the years, years? What can Mr. Elliott mean by referring to such a passage? When face answers to face in a glass, does it prove that a man and a mirror are the same thing?" Ambrosius Ansbertus is also adduced by Elliott. But the passage extracted from his writings speaks very differently from the language of those who hold the year-day theory. The writer expressly avoids the recognition of the precise year-day principle, or of anything like an usage of so interpreting either symbolical prophecies or prophecies of any kind; by telling

[y] Horae Apocalypticae, vol. iii. p. 240, note. [z] Ibid. p. 237, note 1.

us that the shorter period was put for the longer, according to the mode of speaking used in Scripture, as they sometimes put the part for a whole, frequently the whole for a part.

Berengaud, author of a commentary on the Apocalypse (whose name is found at the end of an Oxford MS., but is known only by his being mentioned by a writer of the fifteenth century),[a] also testifies against Mr. Elliott, for he recognises nothing of the year-day theory. All that he says is, *We may understand (possumus* intelligere) three years and a half by the three days and a half.

Bruno Astensis is next quoted as explaining the three days and a half to mean years; and in like manner Albertus Magnus. Joachim Abbas, however, is reluctantly pressed into the service, since all that he affirms is, that *perhaps* (forte) the five months mean 150 years.

In this manner we reduce the paraded list of witnesses who, in Elliott's view, sanction one particular application of the year-day theory. They resolve themselves into Primasius, Bruno Astensis, and Albertus Magnus. But we are not anxious about them. We should gladly make him a present of the *entire* list. Let him keep them all. Observe however the "complacent way in which he takes possession of them and their testimony, for the sole use and behoof of his system." "What more proper," he inquires, "than to apply the year-day principle to the 1260 days?" If he had said, "what more *natural?*" one could have understood and sympathised. What more natural than for a disputant pressed with the testimony of Christ's church for more than a thousand years to seize on anything that looks like an exception, or gives colour to a fancy? But when Mr. Elliott says, "What more proper?" his unfortunate company of authorities will answer at once, "Oh! it is more *proper*—to let it alone—that is what *we* did." Mr. Elliott however will tell them, "If fit in the one case, it was evidently fit in the other." They will answer that it did not appear so to them; and whether he will suppose it to be dishonesty or stupidity which led these writers to do the very contrary of what was "evidently fit," it is impossible to tell. Perhaps it is rather too much for Mr. Elliott to say

[a] See Maitland's Reply to a Review in the Morning Watch, pp. 19, 20, note.

"evidently," because it certainly was not seen by those who were best qualified and most likely to have seen it. And it is somewhat strange that Mr. E. should not have perceived that these writers whom he has quoted are, so far as they are authorities at all, the very strongest that could be produced against him. For what he wants is, not to shew that the three days and a half are three years and a half, but that the 1260 days are 1260 years; and there all his authorities fail. They as fully maintain that the 1260 days are days, as that the three days and a half are years; and if quoted as authorities for the one, they must be quoted for the other. But Mr. Elliott wants authority for making 1260 *days* into *years;* and to have that denied even by those who did not scruple to tamper with the three days and a half, was altogether unfortunate. For this is *really* what he wants; and he well knows that it is of no service to his cause to turn the three days and a half into years, unless he could do the same with the 1260.

He has certainly deluded himself by speaking of a *principle,* when in fact he is only in search of a *precedent.* Such a *principle* as he mentions would ruin his cause. It is manifest that the writers to whom he appeals did not dream of a *principle,* else they would more readily and naturally have applied it in the case of the 1260 days—the greater and more important period. That they did not so apply it proves, that they made an *hypothesis.* Because three days and a half *seemed* too short a period for certain events to happen in, they thought that it might or must mean three years and a half.

Notwithstanding, therefore, all that Elliott has written, Maitland's statement that "the spiritual common-sense of the church of God in every age from the days of Daniel to those of Wickliffe is set in array against the year-day theory, for it considered the days as literal days,"[b] is substantially correct. Quotations demonstrating this might be given from Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Bede, and others, who all looked upon Antichrist's reign as about to occupy three years and six months. In accordance with this, Mede himself admits, that till the twelfth century all expected an Antichrist who would last for three years

[b] Reply to Cuninghame, p. 57.

and six months. We cannot accept Elliott's statement that "from Cyprian's time, near the middle of the third century, even to the times of the Waldenses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was kept up by a succession of expositors in the church a recognition of the precise year-day principle of interpretation"[c] as a correct one; for there is no evidence in Cyprian's writings that he dreamed of such a principle; and the very few names already given, who appear to have taken a day for a year in one connexion, are worthless against the long line of *eminent* fathers who never thought of taking a day for a year in prophetic writings. Not one of the fathers belonging to the first four centuries conceived of it, as Elliott himself is obliged to confess, in relation to the 1260 days.

But in order to neutralise the fact, he strangely avows that it happened only according to the Lord's declared intention. Thus the disciples, not knowing the times and the seasons, would be kept watching for the advent of Christ, even while it was distant. The ignorance of christians during the first four centuries formed part of the arrangements of divine Providence! Strange indeed that they were debarred from knowing this theory, while *we* are so highly favoured! But in so far as the divine revelations are concerned, they were placed in the same circumstances with ourselves. They had the same words and disclosures as are now granted to us. It is true that they had not the benefit of the light thrown on the times and seasons by many preceding expositors, nor the comparison of historical events for eighteen hundred years; but these are independent of the letter of revelation, and however valuable as auxiliaries, are by no means necessary to the right understanding of such periods. If it was intended that unfulfilled prophecy should be partially or wholly understood, the notations of time were intended to be apprehended in like proportion at *every* period antecedent to their fulfilment. The blessing promised to him that readeth and understandeth, is not a blessing designed exclusively for later christians. It is the privilege of all to whom the present prophecy has come. What is the fact at the present day? *We* are the persons who, according to Birks, Elliott, and other expositors of the same school, should

[c] Horae Apocalypticae, vol. iii. p. 239.

know the proper theory of the times, because we are supposed to live at the close of their duration. And are we all agreed in regard to them? Tyso has enumerated not less than forty-one dates for the 1260 years, the imagined period of papal domination. Verily the year-day theory has been of no greater use to the christian world than the ancient, literal, theory. Not even probability has been attained by its aid. The failures and discrepancies of expositors are as numerous now as they ever were. The church is kept in the same watching attitude as she was centuries ago; and though Millennarians profess that the second advent is at hand, yet very many look for a long series of occurrences to precede that solemn event.

In dismissing the subject there are two questions bearing on its elucidation, which may be stated for the consideration of those who desire to prosecute it.

Have symbolical prophecies a double sense or reference? This has been much overlooked. The majority of expositors admit that *historical* predictions bear such an aspect and require such an interpretation, as to look to two events closely connected with one another; how then are *symbolical* predictions separated from *historical*, beyond the reach of such a principle? If both do not fall under one hermeneutical rule, what is the cause?

Has not the Apocalypse been drawn into closer juxtaposition with the book of Daniel than a careful examination of both will justify? The fact that the language of the one is imitated from that of the other does not warrant the conclusion that the same events and periods are described. Similarity of diction does not prove that the same historical events are portrayed.

These questions are intimately connected with the present subject, and demand impartial investigation. They involve principles which must be educed before a comprehensive, satisfactory conclusion be drawn in relation to the year-day theory. Hitherto the controversy has been conducted without looking at such interesting and momentous topics in the light of their united influence. Nor is it likely that it will be settled on a firmer basis until some comprehensive intellect, endowed with the power of consummate analysis, apply a superior science and skill to its elucidation. Meanwhile the dark folds of unfulfilled prophecy hang around

the theological world, and most teachers of the people sleep on, heedless of the blessing assuredly promised to him who discerns the shadows of coming events. We honour the few who have faith and patience to investigate these mysterious realities—realities whose legitimate tendency is not to blunt but sharpen the religious sensibilities—not to destroy the practical tendencies of the christian mind, but to carry forward such tendencies into the age of conflict which is to usher in the glory of the church in the peaceful prosperity of her latter days.

II. *Its authenticity as an apostolic production.*

In the work entitled *The Shepherd of Hermas*, there are various allusions to the Apocalypse, whence it would appear that the writer was familiar with the work and incorporated its language into his 'Visions.' The parallels may be found in Lardner and Kirchhofer.

Ignatius's testimony has also been quoted, not indeed by Lardner and Kirchhofer, but by such writers as Woodhouse and Elliott. The passages in which Ignatius is supposed to have borrowed language from the Apocalypse are in the ep. ad. Roman. where four words are found agreeing with words in Apoc. i. 9; in ep. ad Ephes. section 9, where Apocalyp. xxi. 2-19, is thought to have been used; to which Mr. Knight[d] has added a third in ep. ad Philadelph. section 6, where Apocalyp. iii. 12 is deemed the original. But though the epistles to the Romans and Ephesians be in the authentic *Ignatian* collection, yet it is of no avail to adduce the passages in question from them as suggested by Apocalyptic parallels, because the resemblance is so slight as to shew nothing; while it should be remembered that even the shorter Greek text has been interpolated. The epistle to the Philadelphians attributed to Ignatius is one of the four which are most probably supposititious, as Cureton's researches go to shew. Mr. Elliott, however, does not scruple to affirm, that the martyr wrote seven epistles, the same substantially that are extant.[e] In this, his courage is more conspicuous than his judgment. The

[d] Two new arguments in vindication of the genuineness and authenticity of the Revelation of St. John.

[e] Horae Apocalypticae, vol. i. p. 13, third edition.

same commentator has discovered two references to the Apocalypse in the epistle to the Trallians;[f] but it will be time enough to look at them when it has been shewn that the present epistle to the Trallians was written by Ignatius, a thing against which all the probabilities are arrayed.

It is useless to refer to the narrative of Polycarp's martyrdom written by the Smyrnean church as equivalent to Polycarp's own testimony, because the two allusions drawn from it are more than doubtful. Yet they are brought forward by Woodhouse and Elliott.

The earliest witness for it is Papias, as we learn from Andreas (of the fifth century) and Arethas (probably of the sixth) both of Cappadocia, in their Commentaries on the Apocalypse. According to these writers, Papias regarded it as *an inspired* book. It is true that Lücke[g] has endeavoured to weaken their testimony; but since Cramer published an old scholion relating to the words of Andreas, it is indubitable that Papias's language refers to the present Apocalypse of John.[h] When Bleek asserts[i] that Papias might have used the expression *τὸ θεόπνευστον τῆς βίβλου*, *the inspiration of the book*, whether it was written by the apostle John, or the presbyter John, we cannot agree with the arbitrary statement.

Melito bishop of Sardis, one of the seven Apocalyptic churches, wrote a work exclusively on this book. Eusebius speaks thus of his production: *καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου*:[k] "And the treatises on the devil, and the Revelation of John." From these words Semler endeavours to shew, that the books concerning the devil and the Apocalypse were one and the same, a conclusion which tends to weaken the value of the testimony. But Melito calls it the Apocalypse of John, implying that he regarded it as such; for had he suspected its authenticity, Eusebius would scarcely have omitted the circumstance. Jerome, in his Catalogue of illustrious writers, explicitly distinguishes

[f] Horae Apocalypticae, vol. i. p. 17, third edition.

[g] Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung, u. s. w., p. 264 et seqq.

[h] See Havernick's Lucubrationes, No. 1.

[i] Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik, p. 196, note.

[k] H. E. iv. 26.

two works; one respecting the devil, the other respecting the Apocalypse.

Justin Martyr is the earliest writer who expressly attributes the book to John the apostle: *καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσειν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσε, κ. τ. λ.*:[1]

"And a man among us named John, one of Christ's apostles, in the revelation made to him prophesied that the believers in our Christ shall live a thousand years in Jerusalem," etc.

Rettig[m] endeavours to impugn the genuineness of this passage, as if the clause *εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ* were a later interpolation; but he has been well answered by Lücke and by Guerike.

When Jerome writes: "Scripsit (Joannes) Apocalypsin, quam interpretantur Justinus Martyr et Irenaeus,"[n] he must have been mistaken, if his meaning be, that Justin and Irenaeus wrote commentaries on the Revelation.

The fragment on the canon published by Muratori attributes the Apocalypse to John the apostle. In it we find the words: "Et Joannes enim in Apocalypsi, licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit:" "John in the Apocalypse, though writing to the seven churches, speaks to all." The preceding context leaves no doubt that John *the apostle* is meant.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, in his book against Hermogenes, drew many proofs and arguments from the Revelation, as we are informed by Eusebius.[o] In like manner, Apollonius of Ephesus, according to the same ecclesiastical historian,[p] used it against the Montanists.

The testimony of Irenaeus in the second century is most important, because in early life he was acquainted with Polycarp, who was John's disciple, and because he resided in Asia Minor, where John himself abode during the latter part of his life. He writes: "Sed et Joannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi sacerdotalem et gloriosum regni videns adventum," etc.:[q] "But John

[1] Dial. c. Tryph. p. 308, ed. Colon.

[m] Ueber das erweislich älteste Zeugniss für die Aechtheit der Apokalypse, u. s. w.

[n] De vir. illustr. c. 9.

[o] H. E. iv. 24. [p] Ibid. v. 18. [q] Advers. Haeres. iv. c. 20, sect. 11.

also, the disciple of the Lord in the Apocalypse, seeing the priestly and glorious advent of the kingdom," etc.

In another place he has: "Significavit Joannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi, edisserens," etc.[r] When speaking elsewhere of the different readings in Apoc. xiii. 18, he affirms that the number 666 (not 616) was in all old copies, and also *attested by those who had seen John face to face.* Bleek's attempt to weaken the force of this statement is mere special pleading; and it is nothing but arbitrary conjecture in Schleiermacher to represent Irenaeus as believing that John the apostle was not the writer, because most of his work exists now in an old Latin translation which he assumes to differ materially from the original Greek.[s]

The letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons has one allusion at least to the book, shewing that in the churches of Asia Minor and Gaul it was extensively recognised. Thus we find: *ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἔστι γνήσιος Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς, ἀκολουθῶν τῷ ἀρνίῳ, ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγῃ:* "He was indeed a genuine disciple of Christ, following the Lamb whithersoever he would go."

Another passage appears still more direct: *ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ, ὁ ἄνομος ἀνομησάτο ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι:*[t] "That the Scripture might be fulfilled, Let the wicked be wicked still, and the righteous be righteous still." But here it has been questioned whether the allusion be to Apoc. xxii. 11, or to Daniel xii. 11. Valesius and Lardner assume the latter. Yet it is far more likely that the New Testament should be quoted in the epistle, than the Old. If, as is probable, the Apocalypse be quoted, it is characterised by the term *Scripture.*

Hippolytus, a disciple of Irenaeus, wrote an apology for the Revelation, probably against the Montanists. This is inferred from the statement of Ebedjesu respecting him: "Sanctus Hippolytus martyr et episcopus composuit librum de dispensatione ..... et apologiam pro Apocalypsi et evangelio Joannis apostoli et evangelistae:"[v] "St. Hippolytus, martyr and bishop, composed a

[r] Advers. Haeres. v. c. 26, sect. 1.

[s] Einleitung ins Neue Testament, p. 468.

[t] Ap. Euseb. H. E. v. 1.

[v] See Assemani in Bibliotheque Oriental, vol. iii. P. 1, p. 15.

work concerning the dispensation .... and an apology for the Apocalypse and gospel of John the apostle and evangelist."

Tertullian writes: "Nam et apostolus Joannes in apocalypsi ensem describit ex ore Dei prodeuntem, bis acutum," etc.:[w] "For the apostle John in the Apocalypse describes a sword proceeding out of the mouth of God, two-edged," etc.

Again: "Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsin ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit auctorem:"[x] "We have churches disciples of John. For though Marcion rejects his Revelation, the succession of bishops traced to the original will assure us that John is the author."

Clement of Alexandria also attributes the book to John the apostle, for he says: *ἐν τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρσι καθεδρεῖται θρόνοις, τὸν λαὸν κρίνων, ὡς φησὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει Ἰωάννης*:[y] "He will sit on twenty-four thrones judging the people, as John says in the Apocalypse."

In another work: *καὶ τὰς δώδεκα τῆς οὐρανοπόλεως πύλας, τιμίοις ἀπεικασμένας λίθοις, τὸ περίοπτον τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς φωνῆς αἰνίττεσθαι χάριτος ἐκδεχόμεθα*:[z] "And the twelve gates of the heavenly city, formed from precious stones, we allow to signify the conspicuous grace of the apostle's voice."

In like manner, Origen assigns the Revelation to John: *Τί δεῖ περὶ τοῦ ἀναπεσόντος λέγειν ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Ἰωάννου;* ..... *Ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν, κελευσθεὶς σιωπῆσαι καὶ μὴ γράψαι τὰς τῶν ἑπτὰ βροντῶν φωνὰς*:[a] "But what must I say of him who leaned on the bosom of Jesus, John? ..... He wrote also the Revelation, in which he is commanded to be silent, and not to write the voices of the seven thunders."

Again: *φησὶν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου Ἰωάννης· καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον πετόμενον ἐν μεσουρανήματι, κ. τ. λ.*:[b] "Therefore John the son of Zebedee says in the Revelation, I saw an angel fly in the midst of heaven," etc.

Jerome's testimony is to the same effect. He writes: "Joannes apostolus in Patmos insulam relegatus scripsit Apocalypsin quam

[w] Contra Marcion. iii. 14. [x] Ibid. iv. 5. [y] Stromata, lib. vi. p. 667.
[z] Stromata, lib. ii. p. 207. [a] Ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 25.
[b] Comment. in Joann. (Opp. vol. iv. p. 17).

interpretatur," etc. :[c] "The apostle John having been banished to the island of Patmos, wrote the Apocalypse," etc.

Agreeably to this statement and others which might be quoted he makes use of the book as an authentic canonical production of John's. Perhaps some may be inclined to suppose from the testimony of Jerome in another place, that he himself and the Latin church did not admit the full canonical authority of the book. In his annotations on the 149th Psalm he writes: "Neque enim inter apocryphas scripturas habetur, sed inter ecclesiasticas:" "The Apocalypse, which is read and received in the churches, is not numbered among *the apocryphal* books, but *the ecclesiastical.*" "In the strict sense of the term," says Hug, "an *ecclesiastica scriptura* is a book only of secondary rank. It is well known that a contemporary of Jerome divides the books of the Old and New Testament, together with those which make any pretensions to be such, into *canonici*, *ecclesiastici*, and *apocryphi*. Now if Jerome affixed the same meaning as this writer to the expression *liber ecclesiasticus*, we have here a very singular fact. The Latins then placed this book in the second class, among the disputed books. Thus it will have been assigned to each of the three classes; and, taking into account the opinion of the Alogians, to a fourth even, viz. writings forged by heretics! Strange fortune for this book! But Jerome does not attach to this word the strict signification which it bears with his contemporary; for, in his epistle to Dardanus, he says: 'If the Latins do not receive the epistle to the Hebrews among the canonical Scriptures, so, with equal freedom, the Greek churches do not receive John's Apocalypse. I however acknowledge both, for I do not follow the custom of the times, but the authority of older writers, who draw arguments from both as being *canonical and ecclesiastical writings*, and not merely as apocryphal books are sometimes used.' Here Jerome has so expressed himself that we must believe he made no difference between *canonical* and *ecclesiastical*, and affixed no stronger signification to one than to the other."[d]

In addition to these testimonies may be mentioned as favourable to the canonical authority and Johannean origin of the

[c] Catal. vir. illustr. c. 9.

[d] Introduction translated by Fosdick, pp. 661, 662.

Apocalypse, Nepos, Cyprian, Commodian, Victorinus of Pettaw, Methodius of Tyre, Lactantius, Arnobius, Athanasius, Firmicus Maternus, Hilary of Poictou, Epiphanius, Ephrem the Syrian, Basil the Great, Didymus, Gregory of Nyssa, Pacian, Ambrose, Tichonius, the Synod of Hippo 393 .canon 36, Augustine, Rufinus, the third council of Carthage 397 Sulpicius Severus, Innocent of Rome, Prudentius, Cyril of Alexandria, Isidore of Pelusium, Nilus, Dionysius the Areopagite, Gennadius, Andreas, Arethas, Isidore of Spain, the Synod of Toledo 633, John of Damascus, and Oecumenius. The book was also received by Novatus and his followers, the Donatists, and the Arians.

On the other side, in opposition to John the Apostle's authorship may be mentioned the Alogi or Antimontanists, a sect belonging to the second century. They ascribed all John's writings to Cerinthus. It is obvious, however, that they had no critical grounds for their decision. They appealed to no historical testimony. They relied on doctrinal reasons alone; and these were of the weakest nature. We see from the account Epiphanius gives of them, that their denial of the apostolical origin of these writings was most arbitrary.

Caius of Rome, from opposition to Montanism, ventured to make the same assertion, as we learn from Eusebius: *Ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήρινθος ὁ δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ἀπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας ψευδόμενος, ἐπεισάγει, κ. τ. λ.*:[e]

"And Caius, whom we quoted before, in his Disputation, writes thus of him (Cerinthus). And Cerinthus, also, who by his revelations, as if written by a great apostle, imposes upon us monstrous relations of things of his own invention, as shewn him by an angel, says," etc.

This passage has given rise to much discussion, some affirming that the revelations spoken of do not mean the present Apocalypse of John, but *invented revelations* bearing some resemblance to it. We agree with Mill, Grabe, Weyers, Lücke, and De Wette in their view of the meaning, in opposition to Twells, Jones, Paulus, Hartwig, and Hug. The former rightly refer it to our present book.

In the third century, Dionysius of Alexandria denied that

[e] H. E. iii. 28.

it was written by John the apostle. His grounds are critical in part, but they proceeded also from a doctrinal bias; for he opposed the millennarianism of Nepos. We shall adduce his testimony hereafter.

Eusebius expresses himself in an undecided way respecting the Apocalypse, for which it is difficult to account. In one place he writes thus: *τῆς δ' ἀποκαλύψεως ἐφ' ἑκάτερον ἔτι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς περιέλκεται ἡ δόξα· ὅμως γε μέν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίας ἐν οἰκείῳ καιρῷ τὴν ἐπίκρισιν δέξεται καὶ αὐτή*:[f]

"Concerning the Apocalypse there are to this very day very different opinions among the many; nevertheless this controversy likewise will be decided in a proper time, by the testimony of the ancients."

Soon after he writes: *ἐπὶ τούτοις τακτέον, εἴγε φανείῃ, τὴν ἀποκαλύψιν Ἰωάννου περὶ ἧς τὰ δόξαντα κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκθησόμεθα . . . . . καὶ πρὸς τούτοις (τοῖς ἀντιλεγομένοις) . . . . . ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλιψις, εἰ φανείῃ, ἤν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις*:[g]

"After these (the books universally admitted) is to be placed, if it be thought fit, the Revelation of John, about which we shall set forth the different opinions at a proper season . . . . . And besides these (the controverted books) the Revelation of John, if it seem fit, as I said; which some reject, others reckon among the books universally received."

In another place, after quoting Papias, Eusebius subjoins: *ὡς καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀκοδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀληθῆ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁμωνυμία, κεχρῆσθαι εἰρηκότων, δύο τε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γένεσθαι μνήματα, καὶ ἑκάτερον Ἰωάννου ἔτι νῦν λέγεσθαι· οἷς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. Εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, εἰ μή τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακέναι*:[h]

"Thus it is proved that the statement of those is true, who assert there were two of the same name in Asia, that there were also two tombs in Ephesus, and that both are called John's even to this day; to which it is necessary to attend. For it is probable that the second, if it be not allowed that it was the first, saw the revelation ascribed to John."

[f] H. E. iii. 24. [g] Ibid. iii. 25. [h] Ibid. iii. 39.

What induced Eusebius to speak thus hesitatingly respecting the authorship of the Apocalypse, it is difficult to determine. Perhaps the criticism of Dionysius made an impression upon his mind, though it did not fully convince him. It is likely that internal rather than external causes operated in inducing him to withhold any decided expression of opinion. He first puts it among the writings *universally received*, and afterwards among those whose apostolic origin was denied. In the passage last quoted, he appears disposed to assign it to John the presbyter. He seldom adduces citations from it; though he frequently quotes the other New Testament writings. Perhaps his aversion to millennarianism gave him this bias. Whatever may have been his real opinion, or whether he had made up his mind respecting it, one thing is apparent, that the majority of writers in his day received it as the apostle John's. Had the catholic church entertained extensive doubts of its authenticity, he would not have put it even once among the *Homologoumena*. We cannot believe with Lücke that the reason of his hesitation lay in the want of sure historical grounds; it was mainly founded on *doctrinal* views.

It has been thought that the ancient Syrian church excluded it from their canon, because it is omitted in the old Syriac version. But Hug, and after him Kolthoff, endeavour to shew that the Apocalypse was originally included in it, and gradually disappeared from it in the fourth century. For this purpose they appeal to Ephrem the Syrian, who in his works refers frequently to the book, and assigns it to John the apostle. Ephrem could not have done so, had not a Syriac version of it existed; for he was unacquainted with Greek. But this is quite improbable. It is gratuitous to assume that it was gradually dropped from the Peshito. More likely is it, that in the time of Ephrem there was another Syriac version which he used. The words of Assemani in relation to one of the passages where Ephrem attributes the Revelation to John are striking: "In hoc sermone citat s. doctor Apocalypsin Johannis tanquam canonicam scripturam—quod ideo notavi, ut constaret Syrorum antiquissimorum de illius libri auctoritate judicium:"[1] "In this paragraph the sacred doctor

[1] Bibliotheque Orient. vol. i. p. 141.

cites the Apocalypse of John as canonical scripture—which I have noted for the purpose of shewing the judgment of the most ancient Syrian authors about the authority of that book." If therefore the Syrian church did not admit the book when the Peshito was made, it received it not long after, for in the time of Ephrem and before, it was current; and the inscription of the later Syriac version assigns it to John the evangelist.

Cyril of Jerusalem excluded it from the list of canonical books, and never mentions it. Even when speaking of Antichrist he quotes Daniel, Matthew, and the second epistle to the Thessalonians, but not the Apocalypse. Yet in his catechism he speaks of "another head of the dragon," which appears to refer to the Apocalypse. Gregory of Nazianzum did the same, as is inferred from his metrical catalogue of the genuine books of the New Testament. But in his other writings he uses it; and in one passage expressly attributes the Apocalypse to John, which agrees with the statement of Andreas and Arethas respecting his reception of the book. To obviate the contradiction Lücke conjectures,[k] that Gregory unhesitatingly used the book himself, while in his catalogue he speaks of the public treatment of it in the district to which he belonged. It was not publicly read in the churches because of the difficulty of understanding it. The attempt of Woodhouse to find a reference to John as the Apocalyptic writer, in the verse relative to John the evangelist, is futile. And yet Elliott gives the same explanation, apparently as his own. So also the sixtieth canon of the Laodicean Synod (A. D. 363 ?) omits all mention of the Apocalypse. As to Spittler's attempt to shew that the canon containing this catalogue is a forgery, its feebleness has been long ago demonstrated by Bickell.

Jerome in his epistle to Dardanus writes: "Quod si eam (ep. ad Hebraeos) Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas, nec Graecorum quidem ecclesiae Apocalypsin Joannis eadem libertate suscipiunt:"

"If the Latins did not commonly receive the epistle to the Hebrews among the canonical scriptures, neither do the churches

[k] Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis, u. s. w., p. 336.

of the Greeks admit the Apocalypse of John, using the same freedom as the Latins."

From this language it is evident, that *some* Greek churches, *how many* it is impossible to tell, rejected the Revelation of John.

The 85th of the "Apostolic Canons," which are supposed to belong to the fourth century, does not mention the Apocalypse among the apostolic writings. In the "Apostolic Constitutions" also, which probably originated in Syria and the adjacent regions, there is no notice of the Apocalypse. Probably the writer did not receive it because many Greeks at that time rejected it.

It has also been thought that the theologians of the Antiochenian school, among whom are Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, omitted it from the catalogue of canonical writings. But the first, if we may rely on the testimony of Suidas, received it as divine. This is candidly admitted by Lücke. As to Theodoret, there is no good reason for assuming that he rejected it; although nothing decisive can be affirmed in relation to his opinion. Probably Theodore of Mopsuestia did not acknowledge it as divine. It seems also to have been rejected by the theological school at Nisibis, which may be regarded as a continuation of the Antiochenian.

Junilius does not mention it in his list of the prophetic writings.

Amphilochius of Iconium says, that some regarded it as a divine production, others rejected it.

Euthalius, when dividing parts of the New Testament stichometrically, says nothing of the book; and Cosmas Indicopleustes excludes it from the canonical list. In like manner Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century, appears to have placed it among the controverted books.

In considering the tenor of all external testimony, we see that it is decidedly favourable to the Johannean origin of the book before us. This is particularly the case in regard to the Latin church. If Papias be not an unequivocal witness in its favour, because *late* writers only speak of him, Justin Martyr at least is unexceptionable and clear. If Melito and Theophilus be objected to by the hypercritical, as though the accounts extant respecting them were unsatisfactory, Apollonius must be regarded as a most important voucher, because the Montanists, against whom he

drew proofs from it, rejected it. And surely Irenaeus's testimony is weighty. The epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons shews that the writing was current in Gaul and Asia Minor. In like manner, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, unhesitatingly attribute it to the apostle John. We regard the last two as the strongest witnesses, not only because of their ability, but because they were *opponents of millennarianism.* Thus the early reception of the book by those residing in Asia, Africa, and Europe, testifies to its apostolic origin. The counter evidence is comparatively insignificant. It is notorious, for example, that the Alogi were not influenced by early tradition or by critical reasons to reject the Apocalypse, but by *doctrinal prejudices.* Caius's opposition also resolves itself into his opposition to Montanism. Dionysius of Alexandria seems to have been largely affected by his dislike of the millennarianism of Nepos; though it must be acknowledged that he argued critically against it. It is worthy of remark, that no historical tradition of an early kind against its composition by John is ever appealed to. Why the Peshito wanted it, it is impossible to discover. But since the Syrian church in the fourth century received it, its exclusion from their ancient version must have been considered as consistent with its canonical authority. Eusebius's hesitating mode of speaking about it must be traced in a great degree to his dislike of millennarianism. Probably this was the chief reason of the doubts felt regarding its divine origin. But the historical tradition on which its divine origin rests must have been considered secure, when Origen received it without hesitation.

At the period of the Reformation in Germany, the controversy respecting the Apocalypse was revived. Luther is vehement and decided in opposition to it. "There are many reasons," says he, "why I regard this book as neither apostolical nor prophetic. First and principally, the apostles do not make use of visions, but prophecy in clear and plain language, as do Peter, Paul, and Christ also in the gospel; for it is suitable to the apostolic office to speak clearly and without figure or vision respecting Christ and his acts. There is also no prophet in the Old Testament, not to mention the New, who treats of visions throughout, so that the fourth book of Esdras is almost

equal to it in my estimation, and certainly I cannot perceive that it proceeded from the Holy Spirit. Besides, it seems to me too much for him to enjoin it rigorously on his readers to regard his own work as of more importance than any other sacred book, and to threaten that if any one shall take aught away from it, God will take away from him his part in the book of life. Again, even if they are to be blessed who hold to what is contained in it, no man knows what that is, much less what *holding to it* means. The case is all the same as though we had it not; and many more valuable books exist for us to hold to. Many of the fathers too rejected it long ago; and though St. Jerome employs big words, and says that it is above all praise, and contains as many mysteries as words, yet he cannot prove that; and in several places his praise is moderate. Finally, let every man think of it as his spirit prompts him. My spirit cannot adapt itself to the book; and it is reason enough for me why I should not esteem it very highly that Christ is neither taught in it nor acknowledged, which above all things an apostle is bound to do; for He says, Acts i., *Ye shall be my witnesses.* I abide therefore by the books which give Christ to me clearly and purely." This style of criticism is so bold, and the reasoning so inconsequential, that animadversion is unnecessary. In the preface to the edition of the Apocalypse printed in 1534, he used less strong and milder expressions. "On account of these uncertain interpretations and hidden senses, we have hitherto left it to itself, especially since some of the ancient fathers believed that it was not written by the apostle, as is related in Lib. iii., Hist. Eccles. In this uncertainty we for our part still let it remain; but do not prevent others from taking it to be the work of St. John the apostle, if they choose." This tone was less calculated to give offence, but he seems not to have departed from his first opinion. When Elliott states that Luther "afterwards received and referred to the Apocalypse as an inspired though obscure prophecy,"[1] he states what is entirely without foundation. Let a passage be produced from any of his works which justifies the assertion. Michaelis truly says, "Whatever alterations Luther thought proper to make in his original preface, he deviated only so far from it,

[1] Horae Apocalypticae, vol. ii. p. 132, note.

that he left the matter in doubt: nor do I know of any passage, in any of his works, in which he has given it as his opinion, that the Apocalypse was canonical."[m]

Zwingli asserts, in like manner, that the Apocalypse *is not a biblical book.*

Carlstadt also expresses himself in a way which shewed an inclination to deny its apostolic authorship.

Erasmus expressed himself freely in regard to the doubtfulness of the dominant opinion, and drew on himself the censures of the Sorbonne.

The names of Haffenreffer, Heerbrand and John Schröder are now obscure, but they are ranged against the book.

In the eighteenth century, critical doubts respecting it were revived. In England, Mace, editor of the New Testament in Greek and English, and Firmin Abauzit, were unfavourable to it. In Germany Oeder and Semler, with the latter of whom a new opposition to it began. This distinguished critic was unfavourable to its Johannean origin. He was followed by Stroth, Merkel, Corrodi, Cludius, Michaelis, Heinrichs, Bretschneider, Bleek, Ewald, Schott, Lücke, Credner, Neudecker, Reuss, Schleiermacher, Hitzig, Tinius, De Wette, who differing among themselves in their views of the author, agreed in saying that the apostle John was not the author.

There are internal evidences in favour of John the apostle as the author.

1. We find linguistic similarities between John's Gospel and the Apocalypse, such as *ἀληθινός* applied to God, Gospel vii. 28; xvii. 3; 1 ep. v. 20; Apocal. iii. 7, 14; vi. 10; xix. 11. It is only used in this manner by Paul, 1 Thess. i. 9.

ἀπάρτι, Gospel i. 52; xiii. 19; xiv. 7; Apocal. xiv. 13. Matthew alone has this expression besides.

βροντή occurs frequently in the Apocalypse; and in John's Gospel it appears in like manner, xii. 29. The only other writer who has it is Mark, who in one place calls James and John *sons βροντῆς, of thunder.*

δείκνυμι and *δεικνύω* are very frequently used by John. Gospel ii. 18; xiv. 8; xx. 20, etc.; Apocal. i. 1; xxi. 9, 10; xxii. 8.

[m] Introduction to the New Testament, by Marsh, vol. iv. p. 500.

δύναμαι in a moral sense, Gospel v. 44; viii. 43; xiv. 17; 1 ep. iii. 9; iv. 20; Apocal. ii. 2.

ἑβραϊστί, Gospel v. 2; xix. 13, 17, 20; Apocal. ix. 11; xvi. 16. This term is found no where else in the New Testament. It is unknown to any other sacred writer.

ἐκκεντέω, Gospel xix. 37; Apocal. i. 7.

κοπιάω, to be weary, Gospel iv. 6; Apocalypse ii. 3. The verb does not occur elsewhere in this sense, except in Matt. xi. 28.

λαλεῖν μετά τινος, Gospel iv. 27; ix. 37; xiv. 30; Apocal. i. 12; iv. 1; x. 8; xvii. 1; xxi. 9, 15. It occurs only once besides, Mark vi. 50.

Christ is called *ὁ λόγος*, Gospel i. 1, 14; 1 ep. i. 1; Apocal. xix. 13.

μαρτυρία and *μαρτυρέω*, Gospel i. 7, 8, 15, 19, 32, 34; ii. 25; iii. 11, 26, 28, 32, 33; iv. 3, 9, 44; v. 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39; 1 ep. i. 2; iv. 14; v. 6-11; Apocal. i. 2, 9; vi. 9; xi. 7; xii. 11, 17; xix. 10; xx. 4.

Lücke remarks,[n] for the purpose of divesting this example of all weight, that *μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and the connexion of this phrase with *λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, are peculiar to the Apocalypse. But Christ speaking of himself says in the Gospel, *τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἡμῶν* and *ἡ μαρτυρία μου*: *ἡ μαρτυρία σου* also occurs when he is addressed in the second person; and when spoken of in the third *ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ*. In every case *μαρτυρία* has the same signification.

μάννα, Gospel vi. 31, 49, 58; Apoc. ii. 17. It is found only in the epistle to the Hebrews besides.

μέρος ἔχειν, Gospel xiii. 8; Apocal. xx. 6. Lücke[o] directs attention to the fact that the evangelist construes it with *μετά τινος*, the Apocalyptist with *ἐν τινι*. Perhaps this would have some weight if the phrase in both were connected with a person. But the difference is sufficiently explained by observing that the clause is applied to a thing where the preposition *ἐν* is used, and to a person with *μετά*. The prepositions are dependent on the circumstance of *a thing* or *a person* being intended.

μετὰ ταῦτα, Gospel iii. 22; v. 1, 14; vi. 1; vii. 1; xix. 38;

[n] Einleitung, p. 370.

[o] Ibid. p. 370.

xxi. 1; Apocal. i. 19; iv. 1; vii. 1, 9; ix. 12; xv. 5; xviii. 1; xix. 1; xx. 3.

ὁ νικῶν, Gospel xvi. 33; 1 ep. ii. 13, 14; iv. 4; v. 4, 5; Apocal. ii. 7, 11, 17, 26; iii. 5, 12, 21; xv. 2; xxi. 7.

According to Lücke[p] there is an important difference between the ὁ νικῶν of the Apocalypse, and the ὁ νικῶν τὸν κόσμον and τὸν πονηρόν of John. In the latter, the phrase, it is alleged, appears in its original form, but in the former, abbreviated and imitated. The contrary seems to us the fact. The shorter form was the original, and was subsequently enlarged. This supposition is more conformable to analogy.

νύμφη, Gospel iii. 29; Apocal. xviii. 23; xxi. 2; xxii. 17.

οὐρανός in the Gospel and Apocalypse has always the article with the exception of Gospel i. 32; but in other parts of the New Testament this adherence to the one method is not observed.

ὄψις, Gospel vii. 24; xi. 44; Apocal. i. 16.

περιπατεῖν μετά, Gospel vi. 66; Apocal. iii. 4.

πιάζω, Gospel vii. 30, 32, 44; viii. 20; x. 39; xi. 57; xxi. 3, 10; Apocal. xix. 20. This word generally has a different sense in both, owing to the nature of the subjects it is applied to.

ποιεῖν ἵνα, Gospel xi. 37; Apocal. iii. 9; xiii. 12, 15, 16.

πορφύρεος, Gospel xix. 2, 5; Apocal. xvii. 4; xviii. 6. Only in both.

προσκυνεῖν is construed with the dative and accusative in the Gospel and the Apocalypse, Gospel iv. 23; Apocal. xx. 4. In Matthew (with one exception), Mark, and Paul, it is joined with the dative alone.

σκηνόω, Gospel i. 14; Apocal. vii. 15; xii. 12; xiii. 6; xxi. 3. Lücke remarks[q] that there is an important difference in the use made of this verb in either work. The evangelist, says he, applies it only to the λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the divine shekinah*, while the author of the Apocalypse also employs it to denote *dwelling*. We cannot admit the importance of the difference. The word has the same *signification* in the Gospel and Apocalypse, but a different *sense*. In the former it is applied to the λογός; in the latter to heavenly inhabitants or to God himself. As applied to the Deity in the Apocalypse, there is an obvious reference to the

[p] Einleitung, p. 371. [q] Ibid. p. 370.

Shekinah; and even when heavenly beings are the subjects, the allusion to the same phenomenon is not wholly laid aside. Dwelling as they do in heaven, they dwell within the circle of the divine glory. The new Jerusalem is illuminated by the splendour of the Lamb, and the spirits of the just made perfect possess an intimate connexion with their exalted Head, while angels too circle the throne whence His glorious effulgence specially emanates. Thus the idea of the Shekinah is never entirely lost sight of.

σφάττω, 1 ep. iii. 12; Apocal. v. 6, 9, 12; vi. 4, 9; xiii. 3, 8; xviii. 24. No where else.

τηρεῖν τὸν λόγον, τὰς ἐντολάς or the like, Gospel viii. 51, 55; xiv. 15; 1 ep. ii. 3; ii. 5; iii. 22, 24; v. 2; Apoc. iii. 8, 10; xii. 17; xiv. 12; xxii. 7, 9.

τηρεῖν ἐκ τινος, Gospel xvii. 15; Apocal. iii. 10.

φοίνιξ, Gospel xii. 13; Apoc. vii. 9.

ὑδὼρ ζωῆς, Gospel vii. 38 (*ὑδὼρ ζῶν*); Apocal. xxi. 6; xxii. 1, 17.

σφραγίζω is a very common word in the Apocalypse. It is also in the Gospel, iii. 33; vi. 27. The few other instances of its occurrence appear in Paul's epistles, with one exception. Perhaps some may think with Lücke that it is employed in a different way in the Apocalypse and Gospel, and therefore that the use of the word in both proves nothing to our present purpose. But the signification is substantially the same in both. It is used metaphorically for *attesting, confirming;* and when due allowance is made for the different objects or persons to which it is applied, the circumstances in which the act denoted by it took place, and for the person or being performing that act, we shall always find one idea involved.

In the Apocalypse Christ is called *ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*, which certainly reminds the reader of John's distinctive phraseology at the commencement of his Gospel. It is objected however by Lücke,[r] that in the Gospel the historic Christ is never called *λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ* nor *θεὸς λόγος*. Yet in the first epistle of John Christ is designated *ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς*, which is nearly synonymous with *ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*. The objection appears to us of no force;

[r] Einleitung, p. 372.

because it is unreasonable to expect the very same adjuncts to λόγος in different writings designed originally to subserve different purposes, and occupied with different subjects, or at least different aspects of the same subject. In the Gospel Christ is usually spoken of in his earthly state; in the Apocalypse in his state of exaltation. So far from the Apocalyptic appellation being formed in imitation of the Gospel appellation ὁ λόγος, the reverse appears to us more probable. The shorter has a better claim to originality.

The phrases *γίνου πιστός, καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ οὐράνοῦ, ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, κύριε σὺ οἶδας, ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ, κ. τ. λ., ὕδατα πολλὰ, ἀπεκρίθη λέγων*, are found in both the Gospel and the Apocalypse.

In both also it is usual to explain Hebrew by Greek words.

μου and *σου* are commonly put before the substantive, as they are in Paul and Luke's writings.

καὶ αὐτὸς or *αὐτοὶ* is a very frequent expression in John's writings, including the Apocalypse; but *ὁ αὐτὸς, ἡ αὐτὴ, τὸ αὐτὸ*, which occurs in Matthew, Luke, Paul, Peter, James, is absent (except 1 ep. ii. 27).

εἰ δὲ μή occurs in Gospel xiv. 2, 11, and in Apocal. ii. 5, 16. Of the other New Testament writers, Mark alone has it in one place.

ἀλλ' ἵνα, Gospel xviii. 28; Apocal. ix. 5.

The expulsion of Satan from heaven is thus expressed in the Apocalypse xii. 9, *ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν*. It is said of him in the Gospel, *νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐκβληθήσεται ἔξω*, xii. 31.

Compare also the joining together of the present and future tenses in Gospel xiv. 3; Apocal. ii. 5.

The assertion of the same thing positively and negatively may be seen in Gospel i. 3, 6, 7, 20, 48; iii. 15, 17, 20; iv. 42; v. 19, 24; viii. 35, 45; x. 28; xv. 5-7; 1 ep. ii. 27; Apocal. ii. 2, 6, 8, 13; iii. 8, 17, 21.

Some conjunctions do not occur in the commonly received writings of John, such as *διό, διότι, ἕως ἄν*, though other New Testament authors employ them.

Several modes too of connecting prepositions with the verb *γίνομαι*, as, *ἐν τῷ γενέσθαι, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι, πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι, μετὰ*

τὸ γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι, are not found in the Gospel, Epistles, or Apocalypse, though they occur elsewhere in the New Testament.

Besides, many words not uncommon in other writers are absent from John's Gospel, Epistles and the Apocalypse, such as θησαυρός, θησαυρίζω, μετάνοια, γέεννα, compounds of δυς, etc.

Nor can it escape the notice of the student that certain tropical phrases and symbolic forms of speech indicate a likeness of thought which points to one author.

The images in the Apocalypse are generally like those of the Gospel; with this difference, that they are differently set forth and adorned. Thus many figurative expressions in the Gospel are taken from light, as the words φῶς, φωτίζω, δόξα, λύχνος, φαίνω, all which are applied symbolically in the Apocalypse.

Christ is called in the Gospel νυμφίος, ὁ ἔχων τὴν νύμφην; in like manner in the Apocalypse, Jerusalem descends from heaven ὡς νύμφη κεκοσμημένη τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς, and is ἡ νύμφη, τοῦ ἀρνίου ἡ γυνή. In the Apocalypse Christ says, ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου (Gospel τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἐμὰ τῆς φωνῆς μου ἀκούει) καὶ ἀνοίξῃ τὴν θύραν (Gospel ὁ εἰσερχόμενος διὰ τῆς θύρας) εἰσελεύσομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν (Gospel ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πάτηρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιήσομεν).

In the Apocalypse, we find ὁ διψῶν ἐλθέτο, ὁ θέλων λαμβανέτω ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν. So in the Gospel, ἐάν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. In like manner the Gospel has ἔδωκεν ἄν σοι ὕδωρ ζῶν: the Apocalypse similarly, ἐγὼ τῷ διψῶντι δώσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν. Compare also in the Apocalypse, ὁδηγήσει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγάς ὑδάτων with πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον in the Gospel, which again is equivalent to ποταμὸς ὕδατος ζῶντος. In conformity with these metaphorical expressions, it is affirmed in the Apocalypse, οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι, οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν ἔτι, like the statement in the Gospel, ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρός με, οὐ μὴ πεινάσῃ καὶ ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ διψήσῃ πώποτε.

The words of the Apocalypse, δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα τοῦ κεκρυμμένου, and πεινάω, may be compared with πεινάω, μάννα, ὁ ἄρτος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἀληθινός, ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς in the Gospel.

Θερισμός in the Apocalypse is also found in the Gospel, in both instances being used metaphorically. So also *ἄμπελος*.

In the Gospel Christ is called *ὁ ποιμήν* who leads *τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖ*. In like manner in the Apocalypse it is he who *ποιμανεῖ καὶ ὁδηγήσει* christians.

In several places in the Apocalypse Christ is called *the Lamb*. So also in the Gospel *ὁ ἀμνός*. It is true that he is so styled in the discourse of John the Baptist alone, and that two different words are employed. The expression *Lamb of God* is put into the mouth of John the Baptist, who used it with reference to the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. It seems to have been a favourite phrase of his, if we may judge from the fact of his using it twice as recorded in the first chapter of John's Gospel, and also of those writers having it who stood in an intimate relation to the Baptist, viz. John and Peter. But *τὸ ἀρνίον* in the Apocalypse is chosen as a term descriptive of Messiah not only with reference to his sacrificial death, an idea common to it and *ἀμνός*, but chiefly because the *τὸ ἀρνίον* of the Apocalypse is put in antithesis to *θηρίον*.

In John viii. 58 we read, *πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμι*: and in like manner in the Apocalypse, i. 18, *ἐγενόμην νεκρὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν εἰμι*.

In both, the present and future tenses are connected in several cases by the conjunction *καὶ*, as in Apoc. ii. 5, Gospel xiv. 3, even when the same person is meant. The present and future are joined in the same manner in John viii. 21, where they relate to different persons.

The plural occurs in both instead of the dual, Gospel xx. 3, 4; Apoc. xix. 20; xx. 14.

The vocative appears in them sometimes properly, Apoc. vii. 14; Gospel xxi. 16; at other times like a nominative with the article, after the manner of the Attics, Gospel xx. 28.

Ewald has directed attention to the peculiarity of repeating the preposition when two or more genitives are dependent upon it—a thing common in the Apocalypse; the same is found in the first Epistle, i. 3.

The synonymous parallelism in which the same idea is expressed affirmatively and negatively appears in the Apocalypse equally

with the Gospel, ii. 13; iii. 8, 17. So also frequent antitheses. Such tautological and antithetical expressions are found in the epistles to the seven churches, with a very few exceptions, inasmuch as they do not suit the lively, energetic, prophetic style of the Apocalypse.

In one notable passage quoted from Zechariah, both in the Gospel and Apocalypse, there is a remarkable agreement. The writer of the latter departs from the Septuagint, which it is his usual practice to follow, and gives the same version of the original Hebrew nearly in the same terms as is given by John in his Gospel. Compare Apoc. i. 7 with Gospel xix. 37 and Zech. xii. 10.

In the quotations of the Apocalypse, the Septuagint version is generally followed. The use of it has accordingly imparted a peculiar complexion to the language. But the writer has not always adopted its very words. He departs from it or changes it after the manner of John in the Gospel, and the other New Testament writers.[8]

2. The author calls himself John, i. 1, 4, 9; xxii. 8. This John is not specified as an apostle, but *the servant of Jesus Christ.* The Old Testament prophets were accustomed to prefix their names to the visions and prophecies they recorded, and John follows their example. In styling himself *the servant* of Messiah, and *John*, he steps forth as the Ezekiel of his time; and with a consciousness of the position to which he had been raised by his divine Master, assumes the same tone as the prophets of old. Apostolic humility is associated with a strong sense of the inherent dignity of office. But he does not take the title *apostle*, because carrying with itself an idea of official authority and dignity, it was foreign to his natural modesty. Neither in his Gospel nor any of his epistles does he call himself by that high appellation. He does not even take the name John in them, but reveals himself in other ways as their author. And that the title *servant of Jesus Christ* is more appropriate here than *apostle*, is obvious from the nature of the communications. In the Gospel he speaks of himself as *the disciple whom Jesus loved*, for then he stood in an intimate relation to Christ as the *Son of man* appearing in the form of a servant; but in the present book, Christ is

[8] See Kolthoff, Apocalypsis Joanni apostolo vindicata, p. 71, et seqq.

announced as the glorified Redeemer who should come quickly to judgment, and John is his *servant* intrusted with the secrets of his house. Well therefore did it become the writer to forget all the honour of his office, and be abased before the Lord of glory. The resplendent vision of the Saviour had such an effect upon the seer that he fell at the Saviour's feet as dead; and it was therefore natural for him to be clothed with humility, and to designate himself *the servant of Jesus Christ*, the *brother and companion of the faithful in tribulation.*

Still however, De Wette and Lücke reckon it a part of John's idiosyncrasy not to announce his name, because he does not adopt that course in his epistles. And if he refrains from naming himself in the epistles, where it is almost necessary to append the name in accordance with the epistolary style, much less, it is argued, should he affix it to the Apocalypse. But the epistle to the Hebrews has not the writer's name, so that a prophetic book demands the insertion more imperatively than a letter.

Again, in chap. i. 1-3 the writer addresses the seven churches of Asia Minor in a manner which implies mutual acquaintance between himself and them. Historic tradition represents the apostle as residing in that district, and superintending the principal churches in it. Accordingly he addresses them with an air of authority and confidence, such as his knowledge of their real state and his own apostolic character could alone justify. No other John could have ventured to say "I John," etc., especially as he must have been comparatively unknown to some. Nor is it consistent with New Testament analogy, or our notions of the divine procedure in selecting writers, that another than the apostle should have been commissioned to write the heavenly visions. In chapter xxii. 9, an angel calls himself *the fellow-servant* of John, and the prophets John's *brethren.* Surely this language points to an apostle in preference to any other. He also states that he was an *eye-witness* of the things he writes about, which is characteristic of John *the apostle*, as may be seen from 1 Ep. iv. 14; Gospel i. 14; xix. 35. A writer personating the apostle would have taken care to make the apostleship unmistakeably plain to the readers; or another John writing with a good purpose would have distinguished himself very plainly from John the apostle.

But this is not done. The author betrays no anxiety to make himself prominent; nor does the idea of any other person being taken for him seem to have crossed his mind. He contents himself with the same kind of personal notice as appears in his other writings.

On the other hand, internal arguments are advanced against assigning the authorship to John the apostle.

1. The Apocalyptic writer calls himself John, while the evangelist never does so. Dionysius of Alexandria, as Eusebius relates, adduced this circumstance, and De Wette repeats it as deserving at least of attention.

2. Ewald, Credner, Hitzig, and others allege, that the writer expressly excludes himself from the number of the apostles, in xviii. 20; xxi. 14.

3. The language of the book is wholly different from that of the fourth Gospel and three Epistles of John. It is characterised by Hebraising ruggedness, by negligence of expression, and grammatical inaccuracies. It exhibits the want of pure Greek words; terms and peculiarities which shew the apostle John are absent; and his favourite expressions are not found.

4. The entire style and manner are unlike the Gospel and Epistles. In the latter, there is calm, deep feeling; in the former, a lively creative power of fancy. Besides, the mode of representing objects and images partakes of Jewish learning and artificiality; whereas John was *illiterate* in the Jewish sense of that epithet (Acts iv. 13), making little if any use of the Old Testament, or of Hebrew erudition.

5. The doctrinal aspect of the Apocalypse is different from the apostle John's acknowledged writings.

It is true that in the Gospel and Epistles we meet with particulars to which the usual eschatology may be attached, or which presuppose it; but the spiritual view predominates. Here, on the contrary, are lively, sensuous representations and expectations of Messiah (i. 7; ii. 27; iii. 12; v. 5; xix. 11, etc.; xx. 1, etc., 7, etc.; xxi. 1, etc.). There, we have an internal development of the cause of Christ—an inward glorification of Him in his people;—here, the victory of Christ by external occurrences—by the powerful operations of God. The Apocalypse is related to the

Gospel as Matthew xxiv. is to John xiv. 18, etc. Besides, it burns with a Messianic spirit of revenge (vi. 10-16; viii. 6, etc.; xiv. 20; xvi. 4, etc.; xix. 13, 15, 17, etc.) inconsistent with John iii. 16, etc.; xii. 47. In the authentic writings of John are not found such views of spirits, demons, and angels, as here in i. 4; iii. 1; v. 6; xvi. 13; xii. 7-9.

Such are the arguments advanced by De Wette, based, for the most part, on the investigations of Ewald and Lücke. Credner, who speaks with the same confidence of the book's non-apostolic origin, has repeated, amplified, and strengthened them.

But perhaps they do not possess all the weight attached to them. Let us subject them to a process of examination.

1. The remarks already made will serve as a reply to the argument here adduced.

2. In chapter xviii. 20, the holy apostles and prophets, it is said, are represented as already in heaven in their glorified condition; and therefore the writer could not have been one of their number. But the passage does not affirm or imply that the apostles and prophets were at that time in heaven. They are apostrophised without reference to the idea of place, as appears from iv. 1, where John sees the visions of the Apocalypse *in heaven*. The allusion is to *state*, not to *place*. Neither is it stated that *all* the apostles had been already glorified. Chapter xxi. 14 is also inconsistent, say the same critics, with John's modesty and humility. This however is a questionable assertion. The official character belonging to an apostle was surely compatible with profound humility. It was so with Paul; and we may safely draw the same conclusion respecting John. In describing the heavenly Jerusalem, it was necessary to introduce the twelve apostles. The writer could not exclude himself.

3. This objection wears a formidable aspect as developed by Ewald, Lücke, Credner, and De Wette. It is based on a large number of examples industriously collected. In proof of a Hebraising harshness and negligence, we find these particulars adduced:

(*a*) *Cases of false appositions*, such as chap. i. 5; ii. 20; iii. 12; iv. 2-4, 8; vi. 1; vii. 9; viii. 9; ix. 14; xiii. 1-3; xiv. 7, 12; xv. 2; xvii. 4, 8; xix. 6; xxi. 12.

(*b*) *Anomalies in regard to gender and number*, such as chap. ii. 27; iii. 4, 5; iv. 1, 3, 8; vi. 9, 10; viii. 11; ix. 13, 14; xi. 15, 18; xiv. 1, 3, 19; xv. 4; xvii. 12, 15, 16; xviii. 14; xix. 14.

(*c*) *A peculiar use of the tenses, altogether Hebraic*, such as chap. iv. 9; x. 7; viii. 11; xii. 2-4; xvi. 15, 21; xvii. 13, 14; xviii. 11-15; xxii. 7, 12: *of the participle*, i. 16; iv. 1, 5, 8; vi. 2-5; vii. 9; ix. 11; x. 2, 8; xiv. 1, 14; xix. 12, 13: *of the infinitive*, xii. 7.

(*d*) *Awkwardness of position*, in regard to the genitive case appended after the manner of the construct state, and the linking together of several genitives, *ex. gr.* chap. xiv. 8, 10, 19; xvi. 19; xviii. 3, 14; xix. 15; xxi. 6; xxii. 18, 19; and in the use of the Greek cases which are often paraphrased by prepositions, *ex. gr.* ii. 10; iii. 9; vi. 1, 8; viii. 7; ix. 19; xi. 6, 9; xii. 5; xiv. 2, 7.

(*e*) *The peculiar construction in which an αὐτός is put after the relative pronoun*, as vii. 2, 9; xiii. 12; xx. 8, 9.

(*f*) In proof of the deficiency of pure Greek words and turns of expression characteristic of John, the absence of *πάντοτε*, *πώποτε*, *οὐδέποτε*, is adduced: the use of compound verbs, such as *ἀναγγέλλειν*, *παραλαμβάνειν*, *ἐπιβάλλειν*: the double negation; genitives absolute; the attraction of the pronoun relative; and the regular construction of the neuter plural with the verb singular.

(*g*) Favourite expressions of the Gospel and catholic Epistles are either wanting, or very rare; such as *θεάομαι*, *θεωρέω*, *ἐργάζομαι*, *ῥήματα*, *πάλιν*, *φωνεῖν*, *μένειν*, *καθὼς*, *ὡς* (as an adverb of time), *οὖν*, *μέν*, *μέντοι*, *κόσμος*, *φῶς*, *σκοτία*, *δοξάζεσθαι*, *ὑψοῦσθαι*, *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, *ἀπόλλυσθαι*, *οὗτος* (*τοῦτο*) *ἵνα*: the historic present.

(*h*) There are also favourite expressions of the Apocalypse wanting in the Gospel, such as *οἰκουμένη*, *ὑπομονὴ*, *κρατεῖν τὸ ὄνομα*, *τὴν διδαχήν*: *παντοκράτωρ*, which occurs nine times; *θεὸς καὶ πατήρ*, *δύναμις*, *κράτος*, *ἰσχὺς*, *τιμή*, *πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν*, *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ*, *ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς*, *ὧδε* in the beginning of a sentence; the frequent joining of a substantive with *μέγας*, as *φωνὴ μεγάλη*, *θλῖψις μεγάλη*, *φόβος μέγας*, *σεισμὸς μέγας*, etc., *ἰσχυρός*.

(*i*) The following discrepancies between the language of the Gospel and that of the Apocalypse have also been noticed: *ἀλη-*

θινός is used of God in both, but in different senses. So also κύριος and ἐργάζομαι: instead of ἴδε the Apocalypse has only ἰδού: instead of Ἱεροσόλυμα only Ἱερουσαλήμ: instead of ἐάν τις, as in the Gospel, εἴ τις: περὶ, so often used by John, occurs but once in the Apocalypse, and that too in relation to place; the comparative μείζων so frequently in the Gospel is not found in the Apocalypse; ἀμήν is always used singly, and not repeated as in the Gospel; ὄχλος is used in the plural.

(*j*) Words referring to the sense of sight are differently employed in the Gospel and Apocalypse; thus for the *present*, we find in the latter βλέπειν, θεωρεῖν, ὁρᾶν: for the aorist active εἶδον, βλέπειν, θεωρεῖν: for the future ὄπτεσθαι, and for the aorist passive also ὄπτεσθαι.

(*k*) Μένειν has a different meaning from that which it bears in the Gospel.

(*l*) Instead of ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου and ὁ πονηρός we find ὁ σατανᾶς, ὁ διάβολος, ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας.

This objection to identity of authorship in relation to the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel, has been mainly relied on since the time when Ewald published his commentary on the former. It is the stronghold of such as refuse to ascribe the composition of the work before us to the son of Zebedee, and its character is reckoned impregnable.

Some have sought an explanation of the Hebraisms in the fact, that the book was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaean. It is clear however beyond all doubt that the original language is the present Greek in which it exists. The force of the objection accordingly cannot be turned aside by such an assumption. We shall endeavour to furnish a reply to the various particulars of which the argument consists. But before proceeding to the direct discussion of the topic we may remark, that its nature is such as to give rise to opposite opinions regarding it. In questions of this kind much depends on the subjective views of the inquirer. His mental temperament, the point of cultivation it has received, and perhaps vague notions as to what a book proceeding from the apostle John *ought* to be, will largely influence the conclusion to which he may come. It is exceedingly difficult to be impartial—to take into consideration all the circumstances of the case, and to

deduce from them a just estimate of the whole. Hence men of learning and acuteness have entertained contrary sentiments respecting the authorship of the Apocalypse. Schulze, Donker-Curtius, Seyfarth, Kolthoff, and Dannemann, attribute the book to the apostle on the ground of its remarkable agreement with his authentic writings, in ideas, expression, and manner; while Ewald, Lücke, Credner, and De Wette, believe the diversity to be so great as to justify a denial of John's authorship.

(*a*) The anacolutha exhibited by this class of examples must not be resolved into a Hebrew basis generally, as if John, who elsewhere manifests a minute and accurate acquaintance with the rules of Greek syntax, were ignorant of the fact that the Hebrew language has no cases. He who can attribute to the writer such dullness, shuts his eyes against all evidence to the contrary. The anomalies owe their origin to *the rhetorical* character of the Apocalypse, or they exhibit a mixed construction not uncommon in good classical writers. Authors of fervent and impetuous genius, who in the rapidity of their conceptions manifest little anxiety about accuracy, will specially exhibit sudden changes of construction—abrupt transitions in abrupt discourse—one part of a sentence standing absolutely, independent in a great degree of the preceding terms.

Thus in chap. i. 5, the anomalous nominatives *ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς, ὁ πρωτότοκος* and *ὁ ἄρχων*, must be regarded as absolute. Externally separated from the preceding *καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, they form propositions of themselves. An analogous example may be found in John's gospel, i. 14. In the sixth verse, two terms dissimilar in their nature are placed in apposition the one with the other; the principal one being a concrete, and that which stands in apposition with it an abstract. A like example is adduced from Aeschines by Winer; and in Caesar a parallel may also be found.[t]

ii. 20.—*τὴν γυναῖκα σοῦ Ἰεζάβελ ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφῆτιν καὶ διδάσκει, κ. τ. λ.* Here there is little anomaly. The proper translation is: "thy wife Jezebel, who, while she calls herself a prophetess, both teaches and deceives," etc.

iii. 12.—*τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*

[t] See his Grammatik, sect. 64, p. 505, fourth edition.

ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, κ. τ. λ. Here ἡ καταβαίνουσα, κ. τ. λ., is put in a sort of parenthesis, for αὐτή ἐστιν ἡ καταβ.

iv. 2-4.—ἰδοὺ, θρόνος ἔκειτο . . . . . καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἦν . . . . . καὶ ἶρις κυκλόθεν . . . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους . . . . . πρεσβυτέρους καθημένους. In this passage the writer goes back in thought to εἶδον in the first verse, and accordingly introduces the accusative πρεσβυτέρους, just as if εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ had immediately preceded; for the words of xiv. 14 and vii. 9 shew, that both the nominative and accusative follow εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ, John beginning correctly with the nominative case, but immediately annexing the accusative which depends upon εἶδον.

vi. 1.—ἤκουσα ἑνὸς . . . . . λέγοντος ὡς φωνῇ βροντῆς. Here φωνῇ is the dative case.

viii. 9.—ἀπέθανε τὸ τρίτον τῶν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχὰς, κ. τ. λ. In this passage two constructions are blended together, viz. τὸ τρίτον . . . . . τῶν ἐχόντων ψυχάς and, ἀπέθανε τὰ κτίσματα τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχὰς (κατὰ) τὸ τρίτον.

ix. 14.—λέγουσαν τῷ ἕκτῳ ἀγγέλῳ ὁ ἔχων, κ. τ. λ. Here there is an abrupt change of construction, ὁ ἔχων, etc., being put in the nominative absolutely.

xiii. 1-3.—καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον . . . . . καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἶδον . . . . . καὶ μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν, κ. τ. λ. In this place εἶδον is readily supplied from the preceding, before καὶ μίαν, etc.

xiv. 6, 7.—καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον πετόμενον . . . . . λέγων, κ. τ. λ. Here the accusative and nominative are both introduced after εἶδον. The writer commences with the accusative, and then subjoins the nominative, as if ἰδού were to be supplied before it. This example forms a counterpart to chap. iv. 2-4, where the nominative and accusative both follow ἰδού.

xiv. 12.—ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστὶν, οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς, κ. τ. λ. Here there is a sudden transition to a new clause, and accordingly the nominative is put absolutely.

xv. 2.—τοὺς νικῶντας . . . . . ἑστῶτας . . . . . ἔχοντες κιθάρας, κ. τ. λ. Here again the construction is suddenly changed, and the nominative is put absolutely.

xvii. 4.—ἔχουσα ποτήριον χρυσοῦν . . . . . γέμον βδελυγμάτων καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς. Here there is a variation of construction. Instead of τῶν ἀκαθάρτων the writer has τὰ

ἀκάθαρτα. Both are equally good, and there is no necessity which requires the one in preference to the other, for τὰ ἀκάθαρτα is governed by ἔχουσα.

xvii. 8.—καὶ θαυμάσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες . . . . . βλεπόντων, κ. τ. λ. In this passage, βλεπόντων is put absolutely.

xix. 6.—φωνὴν βροντῶν ἰσχυρῶν λέγοντες. The nominative is put absolutely, and agreeably to what is called *constructio ad sensum* in the masculine gender. Tregelles however has the common reading λεγόντων.

xxi. 11, 12.—τὴν ἁγίαν Ἰερουσαλὴμ καταβαίνουσαν . . . . . ἔχουσαν . . . . ἔχουσα, κ. τ. λ. Here the construction is changed from the accusative to the nominative absolute.

(*b*) In regard to the anomalies pertaining to gender and number, most of them may be accounted for by the *constructio ad sensum*; and the reason why this peculiarity appears so frequently is to be found in the highly poetical nature of the book, in which beings designated by nouns terminating in a neuter form have masculine adjectives or participles annexed to them. It is superfluous to say that the *constructio ad sensum* is common to classical and New Testament writers.

ii. 27.—τῶν ἐθνῶν . . . . αὐτούς, κ. τ. λ.

iii. 4, 5.—ὀλίγα ὀνόματα . . . . ἄξιοί εἰσιν. Both examples belong to the constructio ad sensum. The same remark applies to the next passage.

iv. 1.—ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη . . . . . λέγων.

iv. 3.—Ἶρις κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου ὅμοιος, κ. τ. λ. The adjective ὅμοιος is of two terminations in this place. Many adjectives of three terminations have only two in Attic writers. Another example of the same kind may be found in 1 Tim. ii. 8: ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας,[v]

iv. 8.—καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα . . . . λέγοντες. The constructio ad sensum. The same remark applies to the next example.

vi. 9, 10.—εἶδον τὰς ψυχὰς . . . . καὶ ἔκραξαν λέγοντες, κ. τ. λ.

viii. 11.—ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ὅτι ἐπικράνθησαν. Here the plural neuter is joined with a plural verb, even although the nominative refer to inanimate things. This however occurs in good classical writers.

ix. 13, 14.—φωνὴν μίαν, κ. τ. λ. According to Griesbach's

[v] See Winer's Exeget. Studien, p. 152.

reading there is no anomaly here. Instead however of λέγουσαν some copies read λέγοντα, others λέγοντος. Tregelles agrees with Griesbach.

xi. 18.—*τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν.* Here a neuter plural referring to things animate is joined with a neuter verb. This also occurs in classical Greek writers.

xiv. 1.—*τὸ ἀρνίον ἑστὼς . . . . καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ.* The constructio ad sensum.

xiv. 3.—*χιλιάδες, οἱ ἠγορασμένοι.* The constructio ad sensum.

xiv. 19.—*τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μέγαν.* Here the reading is doubtful. It is true that ληνὸς is sometimes masculine; but Griesbach's reading makes a twofold gender belong to the noun in the same place. Lücke thinks that the reading of one MS. is preferable, viz. *τοῦ μεγάλου*, or else that there is a constructio ad sensum, and that the writer had in his mind *θύμος τοῦ θεοῦ* alone when he wrote *τὸν μέγαν.* There is something harsh in the construction.

xv. 4.—*τὰ ἔθνη ἥξουσι καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν . . . . δικαιώματα ἐφανερώθησαν.* Here neuters plural are joined with verbs plural, which is not unusual. So also in

xvii. 12.—*κέρατα εἰσίν, κ. τ. λ.* And

xvii. 15.—*τὰ ὕδατα . . . . εἰσίν, κ. τ. λ.* And

xvii. 16.—*δέκα κέρατα καὶ τὸ θηρίον, οὗτοι, κ. τ. λ.* This is another instance of the constructio ad sensum.

xix. 14.—*τὰ στρατεύματα . . . . . ἐνδεδυμένοι, κ. τ. λ.* The constructio ad sensum.

(*c*) The Hebraic use of the tenses which Ewald insists on will be found, on examination, in accordance with the practice of the best Greek writers.

Thus, i. 7.—*ἔρχεται . . . . καὶ ὄψεται, κ. τ. λ.* In this passage the present is not for the future; but the coming of the Son is spoken of as unalterably determined and just impending. Examples of a similar union of the present and future are found in John's Gospel, and other parts of the New Testament. The same remark is applicable to

ii. 5.—*ἔρχομαι σοι ταχὺ καὶ κινήσω, κ. τ. λ.*: and to ii. 16.

ii. 22.—*ἰδοὺ βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς, κ. τ. λ.* Here the present is not put for the future, but stands appropriately to express the cer-

tainty of the event, and the very near approach of it. The same applies to

ii. 27.—*ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται*, and to

iii. 9.—Where *δίδωμι* the present stands.

iv. 9.—*ὅταν δώσουσι τὰ ζῶα δόξαν . . . . τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου . . . . πεσοῦνται, κ. τ. λ.* Here the future does not stand for the preterite, but on the contrary is perfectly correct. "When the living creatures *shall give* honour," etc.

x. 7.—*ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν καὶ ἐτελέσθη, κ. τ. λ.* In this passage the aorist does not stand for the future, but is quite correct.

viii. 11.—*λέγεται . . . . ἐγένετο . . . . καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανον.* The aorist is rhetorically just, though grammatically anomalous. The same remark applies to the next example.

xii. 2-4.—*ἡ οὐρὰ αὐτοῦ σύρει . . . . καὶ ἔβαλεν, κ. τ. λ.*

xvi. 15.—*ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι.* The present tense is agreeable to the genius of the Greek and other languages.

xvi. 21.—*χάλαζα καταβαίνει . . . . καὶ ἐβλασφήμησαν.* Here the aorist is not put for the present, but is rhetorically correct, though grammatically anomalous.

xvii. 13, 14.—*οὗτοι ἔχουσι γνώμην . . . . διδόασιν. οὗτοι πολεμήσουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρνίον νικήσει, κ. τ. λ.* Here it would not express the writer's idea to have all the verbs in the present tense. As they stand they are perfectly correct.

xviii. 11-15.—*οἱ ἔμποροι τῆς γῆς κλαίουσι καὶ πενθοῦσιν, κ. τ. λ.* In the preceding context there are futures.

οἱ ἔμποροι οἱ πλουτήσαντες στήσονται . . . . κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες. The tenses are right in these examples. The thing is depicted as already present, after the manner of prophecy.

xxii. 7-12.—*ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ.* The present tense is correct. It expresses the certainty and immediateness of his coming.

Examples of a peculiar use of *the participle* are alleged, and resolved into Hebraisms or Aramaeisms. But they are generally to be accounted for by the rhetorical tone and character of the composition, in which the abrupt predominates. Hence the participle often stands absolutely instead of a finite verb. In this manner we explain i. 16; iv. 1, 5, 6; vi. 2-5; vii. 9; ix. 11 (but according to Griesbach's reading there is no participle here); x. 2. In x. 8, *λαλοῦσα* and *λέγουσα* are the participles imperfect

with which the substantive verb ἦν may be supplied. In xiv. 1, none of the participles presents the least anomaly.

xiv. 14.—Here ἔχων stands absolutely. The same remark applies to the same participle in xix. 12, and the substantive verb is understood to περιβεβλημένος at the beginning of the thirteenth verse.

One instance of the peculiar use of *the infinitive* is alleged, viz. xii. 7.—καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι μετὰ, κ. τ. λ. This genitive of the infinitive mood is difficult of explanation. Lücke would supply ἐγένοντο from ἔγενετο; but this is harsh. Ewald resolves it into a later Hebraism, and translates *pugnare debebant*. Winer acknowledges himself at a loss to explain it satisfactorily.

(*d*) The next particular adduced is said to be awkwardness of position in regard to the genitive case appended after the manner of the construct state, and the linking together of several genitives. Lücke rightly remarks, that there is no necessity to have recourse with Ewald to the poverty of the Hebrew language in adjectives, as explanatory of the present peculiarity. The Apocalypse abounds in the use of adjectives conformed to the genius of the Greek tongue; and hence there is little probability that in the passages adduced under this head John was confined to the genitive case. The characteristic in question belongs also to classical Greek writers; and it is especially frequent in Paul's writings.

The Greek cases are often paraphrased by prepositions, which is also resolved into Hebraism. It is true that the genitive is seldom governed by a verb, but by a preposition intervening. In this the influence of the Hebrew is perceptible; but no greater influence than is to be found in other parts of the New Testament. Although however the finer use of the Greek genitive be wanting, there are passages in which the genitive is employed without a preposition agreeably to the nature of classical Greek, such as, ii. 17; xvii. 4; xvi. 17. Besides, this peculiarity may be equally derived from the early simplicity of the Greek tongue. Hence it occurs in Homer and the older poets very frequently. Nor is it confined to the older poets; it belongs to later and prose writers, such as Lucian. In other parts of the

New Testament it is met with, as in Acts xiii. 22; Romans viii. 33.

(*e*) The peculiar construction in which an *αὐτός* is put after a relative pronoun. This is certainly a Hebraism; but it is common to all the New Testament writers. Instances may be found in Mark vii. 25; i. 7; etc.

In concluding this part of the argument, it is sufficient to state, that there are few *real* solecisms in the Apocalypse. Almost all that are adduced may be paralleled in Greek writers, or in those of the New Testament. The words of Winer, a master in this department, are worthy of attention: "The solecisms that appear in the Apocalypse give to the diction the impress of great harshness, but they are capable of explanation, partly from anacoluthon and the mingling of two constructions, partly in another manner. Such explanation should have been always adopted instead of ascribing these irregularities to the ignorance of the author, who, in other constructions of a much more difficult nature in this very book, shews that he was exceedingly well acquainted with the rules of grammar. For most of these anomalies too, analogous examples in the Greek writers may be found; with this only difference, that they do not succeed one another so frequently as in the Apocalypse."[w] Whoever is not satisfied with this brief statement is referred to an essay by the same writer, where he enters into detail with his wonted ability and skill.[x]

The strongly Hebraised diction of the book may be accounted for on the ground that the writer was a Jew, and as such expressed Jewish conceptions in Greek. Besides, he imitated the manner of Ezekiel and Daniel. The New Testament prophet conforms to the diction and symbolic features of former seers. Hence the language has an oriental character. The figures are in the highest style of imagery peculiar to the East. If the Apocalypse be the only prophetic writing in the New Testament canon, what more natural than that it should approach the Old Testament, if not in subject, at least in colouring and linguistic features?

[w] Grammatik, fifth edition, pp. 273, 274.

[x] Exeget. Studien, i. p. 144, et seqq.

(*f*) The absence of the particles *πάντοτε*, *πώποτε*, *οὐδέποτε*, *οὐδέπω*, is not surprising. In describing visions where the diction must often be abrupt, consisting of clauses not joined together in the manner of a continued narrative, the omission of the participles is to be naturally expected. Besides, *πώποτε* occurs but once in John's Epistles (1 Ep. iv. 12), and *οὐδέποτε* but once in the Gospel, never in the Epistles. With regard to *οὐδέπω*, it occurs very seldom in the fourth Gospel. *Πάντοτε* is not a pure classical Greek particle. None of the four is characteristic of John. They are all employed by other New Testament writers.

With regard to the use of compound verbs, it is stated by Ewald to be much more frequent in the Gospel and Epistles than in the Apocalypse; but this is questionable. In some chapters of the latter there are more such verbs than in various chapters of the Gospel. Dannemann requests the reader to compare the ninth chapter of the Gospel with the sixteenth of the Apocalypse. One thing is certain, that there is no lack of compound verbs in the work before us.

The double negation occurs in xviii. 7-21 and in xviii. 14. It does not occur in John's *Epistles;* so that by this argument *they* belong to a different writer from the author of the fourth Gospel.

The genitive absolute occurs very frequently in the historic style of the New Testament, but is seldom found in the didactic style. Perhaps there is one example in Apoc. ix. 9. The construction is wanting in the first Epistle. It is not unusual to find other cases absolute, as in iii. 12, 21.

The attraction of the relative pronoun occurs once at least in the Apocalypse, i. 20.

The usual construction of a neuter plural with a singular verb appears in the Apocalypse. It is connected with a plural verb where living things are spoken of in xi. 18; xv. 4; xvii. 12-15; xviii. 23; xix. 21; xxi. 24. Both these features are in strict accordance with the genius of the Greek language. But there are cases in which a plural neuter is joined to a plural verb where living things are not spoken of, as in i. 19; viii. 11; xv. 4; xx. 12; xxi. 4. This construction however is found in the Gospel xix. 31, and in Luke xxiv. 11. Winer also affirms, that

it takes place in Greek prose writers oftener than is generally believed.

(*g*) In proof of the statement that favourite expressions of the Gospel and catholic Epistles are either wanting or rare in the Apocalypse, *θεάομαι* is adduced. It is unreasonable, however, to require the very same term in different writings of the same person. Surely he should be allowed some freedom in the choice of terms, without being confined to the use precisely of one and the same. The cognate terms *βλέπω*, *ὁράω* and *εἶδον*, which John employs elsewhere, are common in the Apocalypse, instead of *θεάομαι* and *θεωρέω*, which latter however occurs twice (Apoc. xi. 11, 12). As the Apocalypse is chiefly occupied with *visions*, it would seem that *ὁράω*, including the tenses it borrows from *ὄπτομαι* and *εἴδω*, was most appropriate; while *θεάομαι* was unsuited to the subject. It is true that the perfect *ἑώρακα*, which occurs in the Gospel, is not found in the Apocalypse; but the *present-perfect* tense, denoting an action which has been and still continues, is not adapted to visions which soon pass away. If the Revelation be denied to the apostle because the Gospel has *θεάομαι* while *it* wants the same verb, for the very same reason it might be denied that the first Epistle of John did not proceed from the same author as the Gospel, because it wants *βλέπω*, a verb which often appears in the fourth Gospel.

Ἐργάζομαι, which appears in the Gospel, is only used once in the Revelation, and in a peculiar sense also (xviii. 17). But it does not occur often in the Gospel; *intransitively*, but once; while in the first Epistle it is entirely wanting. *Ἐργάζομαι τὴν θάλασσαν* is indeed a peculiar phrase, but so is *ἐργάζομαι τὴν βρῶσιν* in the Gospel (vi. 27). *Ἔργον* is often found in the Apocalypse.

ῥήματα. This term is not peculiar to John, nor characteristic of him. Although in some editions it is found in Apoc. xvii. 17, yet the preferable reading is *οἱ λόγοι*. In the Gospel occur *ῥήματα*, *λόγος*, *λόγοι*, terms cognate or synonymous. The three appear to be used interchangeably. In some instances, however, *λόγος* is specifically applied to prophecy—*a prophetic* discourse. Accordingly *λόγοι* occurs regularly in the plural number, denoting prophecies or prophetic discourses—a series of such prophetic discourses. The singular number *λόγος* is most common in

the Gospel, because the idea generally intended is a single prophetic discourse. Hence *ῥήματα* which is never used in such a sense in the Gospel, is absent from the Revelation where prophecies prevail. It should also be remarked, that it is wanting in the first Epistle of John.

πάλιν is not peculiar to John, but is found in the other evangelists. It occurs twice in the Apocalypse, and only once in the Epistles, 1 John ii. 8. Hence nothing can be built on it.

φωνεῖν occurs but once in the Apocalypse, often in the Gospel. But it does not appear in the Epistles of John. The noun *φωνή* however, occurs both in the Gospel and Epistles. The verb does not appear to have been suited to the kind of voices or noises chiefly adverted to in the book. In place of it the writer uses *κράζω*, which is applied to louder and stronger sounds, and which is used both in the Gospel and Apocalypse.

μένειν. This verb occurs but once in the Apocalypse. On the contrary, it is frequently found in the fourth Gospel. But the reason of its frequent occurrence in the latter is discerned in the doctrinal use to which it is applied. In the Gospel and Epistles John had occasion to write concerning the union between Christ and his disciples, and the necessity that lies upon them to *abide* in such fellowship; whereas that topic in which the present verb was so appropriate, not to say indispensable, is foreign to the nature of the Apocalyptic visions.

καθώς. This conjunction is very frequent in the Gospel and Epistles, but it is not found in the book before us. Instead of it *ὡς* is used. This is owing to the conciseness of the diction. *ὡς*, *as a particle of time*, is also wanting in the Apocalypse, owing to the abrupt, concise nature of the language. The sentences are not rounded in fulness, or closely connected with one another by such particles as are used to mark sequence of thought, associated ideas, or the relation of events, but they are somewhat loosely put together so as to dispense with several conjunctions which would be required in other circumstances. This will also account for the absence of *οὖν*.

μέν and *μέντοι*, it is admitted by Lücke himself, might have been wanting even if John wrote the Apocalypse, in consequence of the anomalous character of the syntax belonging to the book.

κόσμος. This word is not only very frequently used by John in the Gospel and Epistles, but in a special signification, viz. the present order of men and things as corrupt, degenerate, and evil, alienated from Christ and the spiritual kingdom which he is establishing in the earth. On the contrary, it is found no more than three times in the Apocalypse, and that as applied to the world itself, the abode of man, xi. 15; xiii. 8; xvii. 8. It is not denied that it is also used in the latter mode in the Gospel and Epistles; but the circumstance urged by Ewald and others is, that it occurs so seldom in the book before us (whereas from the fourth Gospel we should expect its frequent appearance), and never in that sense which John seems to prefer. In reply to this argument it should be noticed, that the special sense already mentioned is common to Paul and John. It is not therefore characteristic of the latter. Besides, in xi. 15 it appears to us incorrect to affirm that the idea of apostasy from God is excluded. This evil, corrupt world, in which sin has inverted the order and changed the purity of primitive arrangements in relation both to inhabitants and events, has become in its various kingdoms the scene of spirituality, where Messiah reigns in the remarkable manifestations of his gracious presence. Dannemann explains the want of *κόσμος* in its special doctrinal sense, by the predominant Hebrew element pervading the Apocalyptic language, since the Hebrew language has no term corresponding to *κόσμος*.[y] This explanation, however, scarcely meets the peculiarity of the case. The nature of the subjects, the limited sphere to which the visions generally refer, the symbolic and highly figurative character of the diction, will probably serve to account for the absence of *κόσμος*. The terms *ἡ γῆ* and *ἡ οἰκουμένη* appear far more suitable to the requirements of the prophet in delineating the sublime visions he saw — visions ordinarily relating to the Roman empire. Hence the latter are employed instead of *κόσμος*.

φῶς, σκοτία. These terms are very frequent in the Gospel and first Epistle, denoting moral knowledge and ignorance; whereas that sense is not attached to them by the Apocalyptic writer. The former indeed occurs but three times in the book before us,

[y] Wer ist der verfasser der Offenbarung Johannis? p. 12.

in two of which it is applied to physical light. σκοτία does not appear in the Apocalypse any more than the cognate σκότος. The subject matter of the book must be the chief reason why these terms are not ethically employed. When John writes on doctrinal subjects, and necessarily exhibits a style suited to them, he uses these words because they are appropriate; but in treating of another subject not doctrinal or ethical, we should not expect them. Sometimes, however, there is an approximation to the tropical use of these and cognate words, producing a parallelism between various passages in the fourth Gospel, the first Epistle, and the Apocalypse, as in John i. 5, 9; v. 35; first Epistle i. 5; ii. 8; and Apoc. xxi. 10, 11, 23, 24; xxii. 5. And though σκοτία does not occur, yet σκοτίζω and σκοτόω are found, Apoc. viii. 12; ix. 2; xvi. 10. Besides, the tropical use of these words is not peculiar to John, as Paul's writings demonstrate.

ὑψοῦσθαι, δοξαζέσθαι. The first of these terms is not found in the Apocalypse. This however is not remarkable, because it is used in the Gospel in reference to Christ, and is only found in his discourses. The period in which the Apocalyptic scenes are laid presupposes the exaltation of Christ as already past. In consequence of the connexion of ὑψοῦσθαι with the future death and ascension of the Redeemer, it is not found in various portions either of the Gospel or the Apocalypse.

δοξάζω occurs in Apoc. xv. 4, xviii. 7, in a sense akin to that which it bears in the Gospel. It is entirely wanting in the Epistles of John. A main reason of its rare occurrence is to be sought in the fact, that it often alludes to the ascension and glorification of Christ, which in the Gospel are spoken of as things future. A comparison of Apoc. xi. 13; xiv. 7; xvi. 9; xix. 7, with John ix. 24, may serve to shew that the idea of the verb is familiar to the writer of the work before us.

ζωὴ αἰώνιος. The noun ζωὴ by itself is common to the Gospel and Apocalypse, although with the epithet αἰώνιος it is not found in the latter. The phrase ζωὴ αἰώνιος is not peculiar to John, as may be seen from Matt. xix. 16, 17; Luke x. 25, 28; 1 Tim. i. 16. Besides, ζωὴ and ζωὴ αἰώνιος appear to be used interchangeably by John in the Gospel and Epistles (see v. 24, 29, 40; vi. 35, 51,

53, 63; 1 John, iii. 14; v. 12; 1 John i. 1, 2). In several cases, the writer of the Apocalypse uses instead of *αἰώνιος* what is more poetical, viz. *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*

ἀπόλλυσθαι. This verb has a peculiar doctrinal signification, presenting the opposite idea to *ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν*—spiritual death as contrasted with eternal life. But this meaning is not peculiar to John. Represented by the verb *ἀπόλλυμαι* it is found in Matthew's Gospel, in that of Luke, and in several of Paul's epistles. Besides, it is wanting in the epistles of John; so that we might infer for the same reason that these epistles did not proceed from John the writer of the Gospel. Should it be denied that the verb has the same meaning in Apoc. xviii. 4 as it bears in the Gospel vi. 12, 27, it may be argued that there are traces of the same doctrinal sense in both productions, inasmuch as the nouns *ἀπώλεια* and *ἀπολλύων* are used in a way embracing the special idea of spiritual destruction. (Compare Apoc. xii. 8-11 with the Gospel xvii. 12.) We see therefore no reason why John might not have employed *ἀπόλλυμαι* in the same ethical signification in the Apocalypse as he has done in the Gospel, except that he did not wish to confine himself to the use of the same term, but rather to vary the phraseology. Hence *ἀποθνήσκω* is employed as synonymous with it, a verb common to the Gospel and the Apocalypse.

The construction *οὗτος* or *τοῦτο . . . . ἵνα* so frequent in John's acknowledged writings is wanting in the Apocalypse, except in one passage xi. 6, where *οὗτοι . . . . ἵνα* appears. The cause of this is to be sought in the pictorial representations of the book, requiring a looser and less consequential diction than didactic writings. The sentences, as has been already remarked, are not connected by means of those particles that form the bands and ligaments of written discourse. Hence such constructions as the present could be easily dispensed with.

(*h*) The *historic* present is said to be entirely unknown to the book before us, although much used in the fourth Gospel. This assertion has been hastily made by Ewald, and repeated by Lücke. Examples are seen in viii. 11; ix. 10, 11, 17; xi. 9, 10; xii. 3, 4; xiii. 12-16; xiv. 3; xv. 3; xvi. 14; xviii. 11; xix. 9, 10; xxi. 5, 22-24; xxii. 9, 10, 17. In most of these passages, vision assumes

the narrative form; and in some, the present is employed along with the aorist in order to present scenes and events more vividly to the eye. When the delineation of objects seen in vision takes the character of narrative, the historic present appears for the purpose of leaving a more distinct impression on the reader's mind. The formula λέγει μοι in particular often occurs (see ch. x. 9-11), which is also used in the Gospel, i. 21, 29.

(*i*) A large class of favourite expressions belonging to the Apocalyptic writer has been accumulated to prove diversity of authorship in the fourth Gospel and the book before us, inasmuch as they are commonly absent from the former. One of these is

οἰκουμένη. This term appears to supply the place of *κόσμος* in the Gospel. It is somewhat remarkable indeed that it is found neither in John's Gospel nor in his Epistles. But it is seldom used in the New Testament, and only three times in the entire circle of the Pauline writings. Denoting, as it appears to do, the Roman empire, in the Apocalypse, it was not suited to the topics discussed in John's acknowledged writings. It occurs in the Septuagint as the representation of תֵּבֵל, and in consequence of the peculiarly Hebraistic character of the Apocalyptic diction and the writer's imitation of the Old Testament, it is found in the book before us.

ὑπομονή. This word is not found in the Gospel or Epistles of John. It isn ot surprising to see it in the Apocalypse, because the leading object of the writer was to inculcate patient endurance of afflictions and persecutions, and to comfort his readers with the hope of release. Hence arises the frequent occurrence of *ὑπομονή*. The word is also used by Paul. The Gospel and Epistles of John are occupied with topics which did not require or admit the term.

κρατεῖν τὴν διδαχήν or *τὸ ὄνομα Χριστοῦ*. This phrase occurs only in one passage of the Apocalypse, viz. ii. 13-15. The separate words of which it is composed are found in the Gospel and Epistles, although the entire phrase is in neither. The subjects treated in the Gospel and Epistles did not lead John to use it.

παντοκράτωρ. This epithet of Deity is always found in connexion with *κύριος ὁ θεός*, except in two instances in which *ὁ θεός* alone is used. The only example of its occurrence beyond the

Apocalypse is in the second epistle to the Corinthians, where it is joined to *κύριος* alone. The employment of an epithet so exalted is owing to imitation of the Old Testament. *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* is found in the Septuagint as the representative of צְבָאוֹת and שַׁדַּי, and appears very frequently in the prophets. It is quite natural, therefore, that it should be employed in the prophetic book before us, especially as it portrays God in the highest glory of his majesty.

θεὸς καὶ πατήρ. Lücke[z] has directed attention to the circumstance that the Apocalyptist puts together *θεὸς* and *πατήρ* by means of an intervening *καὶ* in the manner of Paul, while John has *θεὸς πατήρ*, 2 Ep. John, verse 3. But the reason why *θεὸς καὶ πατήρ* appears in Apoc. i. 6 is, because the pronoun *αὐτοῦ* is joined to it, *θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ*, viz. *Χριστοῦ*. Hence the want of parallelism in the two cases is readily explained. The apostle Paul too uses *θεὸς πατήρ* much oftener than *θεὸς καὶ πατήρ*. Besides, that can hardly be called a favourite expression in the Apocalyptist which occurs but once.

In consequence of the songs of praise and doxologies that are introduced into the Apocalypse, we find the terms *ἰσχὺς*, *κράτος*, *τιμὴ*, *δύναμις*, which are descriptive of the divine attributes, or of the homage due to Deity.

πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν. This epithet is attributed to Christ in chap. i. 5, and in that passage alone. The apostle Paul has *πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν* in the epistle to the Colossians; and *πρωτότοκος* itself, as applied to the Son, in various epistles. It occurs also in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The phrase implies, that he was the first to rise from the dead by his own power, and so to become the prince and leader of all who shall arise by virtue of connexion with him as their spiritual Head. The phrase is certainly wanting in the acknowledged writings of John; but it is in perfect harmony with the exalted notions expressed by that apostle respecting the Son's divine dignity and power.

ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ. This phrase closely resembles the diction of Paul, and occurs but once in the Apocalypse. It is quite consistent with the nature of the Son as depicted by John in the Gospel and first Epistle.

[z] Einleitung, u. s. w, p. 368.

ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς. The same remark which has just been made on the preceding phrase will apply to the present. The two passages in which these three descriptive clauses occur are evidently modelled after the Old Testament. Various places might be quoted to shew that some parts of the Septuagint version contain the same ideas substantially, and in terms not very dissimilar. There is besides an artificiality apparent in their form, which is altogether consonant with the texture of the Apocalypse. They can scarcely be called characteristic of John's style, inasmuch as they occur but once; and even as to Paul's writings, their counterparts appear in a single epistle. If it be objected, that the language of John and Paul is dissimilar on all other occasions, we reply that this is by no means the case, for there is frequently a great likeness between the diction of both, as has been ably and copiously demonstrated by Kolthoff.

ὧδε in the beginning of a sentence. This adverb commences a sentence on several occasions, while it never does so in the fourth Gospel. The reason of the difference in the use of the term appears to consist in the pictorial exhibition of the visions which the writer of the Apocalypse was prompted to give. When a thing just described or touched upon is of special importance, it was natural for him to refer to it at the commencement of a cognate topic, in order to deepen and perpetuate the impression which the circumstance just treated may have made. It was intended to keep alive and magnify the effect upon the reader's mind, of the preceding description, or to concentrate the attention on some particular part of the representation which the writer was taught to regard as specially important. The word appears to be very appropriate to a dramatic individualising representation placed at the commencement of a sentence. Thus in chap. xiii. 10, after the power and fierceness of the beast have been depicted, and the certain punishment that should befall him, the writer subjoins, *here* is the patience and faith of the saints.

μέγας is frequently joined to nouns; so also ἰσχυρὸς, which is allied to μέγας in signification. This peculiarity must be explained by the nature of the Apocalypse itself, in which great events are depicted, and especially the remarkable event of Christ's coming. It was natural to designate marvellous occurrences by epithets of

suitable power and emphasis. In one case, μέγας is predicated of the river Euphrates, because it is so named in the Old Testament. In other instances, when objects are pointed out, not named, the same adjective is employed: thus, *the great city*. Wonderful events and forcible description require the use of emphatic epithets.

(*k*) Lücke[a] has noticed the circumstance, that ἀληθινός, as used of Deity, means in the Gospel *real, unfeigned*, in opposition to idols; whereas in the Apocalypse it denotes *truth-loving, veracious*, synonymous with πιστός or δίκαιος. In the Gospel also it is always applied to God—in the Apocalypse to Christ as well as the Father. But surely an author must be permitted to employ the same word in a more or less comprehensive sense, according to the nature of his subject, and the circumstances in which he writes. The coming of Christ as the fulfilment of predictions and discourses already uttered, is the great event set forth in the Apocalypse; and lest the hearts of the persecuted should fail before that time should arrive, they are directed to the truth-loving, faithful God, as an unfailing ground of confidence. Hence the term ἀληθινός has the sense of *veracious, promise-keeping, word-fulfilling*. It is the nature of the subject treated in the Apocalypse which requires and causes the more limited sense of ἀληθινός. *The signification* remains the same; it is only *the sense* that varies. There is nothing remarkable in the fact that the epithet is applied to Christ as well as the Father in the Apocalypse, since it is the doctrine of the apostle John that the Father and Son are one. Besides, ἀληθινός as applied to things, bears exactly the same meaning in the Gospel and in our present book, chap. iv. 37 and Apoc. xix. 9. The epithet is not used of God elsewhere in the New Testament, except in 1 Thess. i. 9.

κύριος, according to Credner,[b] is applied to Christ in a much more exalted sense than it is in the Gospel. Even if this assertion were correct, it is easily explained by the fact that the Apocalypse speaks of Christ after his exaltation; whereas the Gospel refers to his appearance and discourses on earth. The term however is applied to him in its highest sense in the Gospel, chap. xx. 28.

We have already alluded to ἐργάζομαι, which has different

[a] Einleitung, p. 369. [b] Einleitung, p. 729.

objects associated with it in the Gospel and Apocalypse. Who shall affirm that the appearance of this in two distinct works argues distinct authorship?

It is further asserted, that the Apocalypse has only ἰδού, while the Gospel has also ἴδε. Nothing can be weaker than this as proving diversity of authorship. The word occurs but five times in the Gospel, in three of which ἰδού is found. In the remaining two the reading is disputed, but Griesbach has ἰδού in both.

It is not at all surprising that the writer of the Apocalypse should use the Hebrew form Ἱερουσαλήμ rather than the Greek Ἱεροσόλυμα. It is always applied to the new or heavenly Jerusalem, while in the Gospel, reference is invariably made to the earthly city. It occurs no more than three times in the Apocalypse; and in the indeclinable form is better suited to poetry, because an adjective in the feminine gender can be connected with it, such as καινὴ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, or ἡ πόλις ἡ ἁγία Ἱερουσαλήμ. The new Jerusalem is personified as the Lamb's wife, and therefore the singular feminine, not the plural form of the impersonal neuter is appropriate.

εἴ τις, not ἐάν τις as in the Gospel. Ἐάν τις occurs three times in the Apocalypse, so that the writer seems to have felt himself at liberty to employ εἴ τις or ἐάν τις according to pleasure. The particle ἄν, which is a genuine Greek vocable, is used very seldom in the book before us, for there is nothing in Hebrew corresponding to it.

It is quite true that the preposition περὶ occurs very often in the Gospel, and but once in the Apocalypse. No reason can be assigned for the difference, except that the writer uses other prepositions to perform the same service.

The absence of μείζων in the Apocalypse may be accounted for by the strong Hebrew element which predominates in the book. There is in Hebrew no definite form of the comparative degree in an adjective.

It is true that the formula of asseveration ἀμήν ἀμήν occurs very often in the fourth Gospel, while it is wanting in the Apocalypse and the Epistles. The expression is used by Christ alone in the Gospels, and is generally prefixed to the announcement of some weighty truth. But in the Apocalypse and Epistles of

John, Christ is not introduced inculcating important doctrinal or moral lessons. There is something too familiar in the phrase to justify the putting of it into the mouth of the Redeemer, described as he is, in the Apocalypse, in his exalted kingly character.

In regard to ὄχλος, the remark of Credner is nugatory.[c] It is true that the Apocalyptic writer employs the plural as well as the singular, but so also does John in his Gospel. The plural number of the noun is found once in both writings, Apoc. xvii. 15, and Gospel vii. 12.

(*l*) In regard to verbs of seeing, we are unable to perceive that marked difference to which Credner has particularly directed the attention of the reader.[d] Thus for present time the Gospel and Apoc. both have βλέπω, ix. 7; xv. 20; Apoc. i. 2; iii. 18; and θεωρέω (almost always for the present in the Gospel) Apoc. xi. 11. In both εἶδον and θεωρεῖν are used for the aorist, Gospel i. 33, 40; vii. 3; viii. 51; Apoc. i. 2, 12; xi. 12. The future of ὄπτομαι is used in both, Gospel i. 51; Apoc. i. 7. In both εἶδον occurs without an object associated with it, Gospel xx. 9; Apoc. iv. 1. The true points of difference are, that the aorist of βλέπω occurs once in the Apocalypse, whereas it does not appear in the Gospel; that the imperfect ἔβλεπον is found once in the Gospel, but never in the Apocalypse; that the first aorist passive ὤφθην occurs in two passages in the Apocalypse, but not in the Gospel; that the imperative of the present active ὅρα appears twice in the Apocalypse but not in the Gospel; and that θεᾶσθαι and ἑώρακα which appear very often in the Gospel are entirely wanting in the Apocalypse. It would appear, therefore, that the Gospel exhibits greater variety in the use of this class of verbs. The only new verb which it has is θεᾶσθαι, a verb unknown to the book before us. And in relation to the precise tenses and forms of verbs, is it not most unreasonable to expect the same from one writer in different compositions? Why should he be tied down to the exact tenses and no other? Why should he not be allowed variety? Ought we not to expect greater or less fulness in proportion to the range of subject before him?

μένειν. Credner[e] affirms that this verb bears a different mean-

[c] Einleit. p. 729. [d] Ibid. p. 730. [e] Ibid. p. 730.

ing from that which it has in the Gospel. It occurs but once in the Apocalypse, and in a sense which it certainly bears in the Gospel. The usual doctrinal sense so prominent in the Gospel is one that did not comport with the object of the Apocalyptist, because he was led to exhibit events, not to treat of peculiar doctrines.

(*m*) In consequence of the poetic character of the Apocalypse, and the Old Testament element by which it is pervaded, we find, *ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος*, rather than the unpoetical *ὁ πονηρός* and *ὁ κατήγορος τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν*, a phrase modelled after the Old Testament. *ὁ σατανᾶς* used by John in the Gospel is frequently found in the Apocalypse, being of Hebrew origin. *διάβολος* we find both in the Gospel and the first Epistle. It is true that *ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου* is wanting, but the Epistles also are destitute of it; and since *κόσμος* is rare, the compound phrase from which it is constituted must be rare itself.[f]

We have thus gone over the various minute particulars of which the entire argument is made up, endeavouring to shew the weakness and inconsequence generally attaching to them. They arise out of a very narrow basis of reasoning, and will appear one-sided to the eye of an impartial critic. In order to judge correctly of evidence, *all* circumstances that tend to modify it should be taken into account. It is apparent, however, that this has not been done by the impugners of the apostolic authorship of the book before us. They have proceeded on principles which, if fairly applied and carried out, would divest John of the authorship of the epistles generally acknowledged as his; and would equally denude the apostle Paul of some epistles which *he* confessedly wrote.

4. The Gospel and Epistles are pervaded by calm, deep feeling; but here there is a lively, creative power of imagination. We attach some weight to difference in the kind of writing, which *contributes* to a satisfactory explanation of this diversity. The same writer does not give reins to his imagination in a didactic or epistolary as in a poetic work, and especially in a poem where outward

[f] See Dannemann's Wer ist der Verfasser der Offenbarung Johannis? p. 8, et seqq., and Kolthoff's Apocalypsis Joanni apostolo vindicata, etc., p. 79, et seqq.

symbols are commonly employed to depict future events. The facts and occurrences intended to be portrayed must materially regulate the mode of presentation.

The fact that the writer frequently inserts Hebrew words is not peculiar to the author of the Apocalypse. The writer of the fourth Gospel does the same as in i. 39, 42, 43; xi. 16; xix. 13, 17. That he was acquainted with the Hebrew text of the Old Testament cannot be denied. But he generally quotes or alludes to passages from the ancient Scriptures after the Septuagint version. Do the epithets then which are applied to him in Acts iv. 13, exclude an acquaintance with the Old Testament? If they do, it is clear that the apostle John could not have written the fourth Gospel, because the author of it employs Hebrew terms, subjoining an explanation of them in Greek, and occasionally quoting from the Hebrew rather than the Seventy. But the epithets *ἀγράμματοι* and *ἰδιῶται* in Acts iv. 13, mean *unlearned* and *private* persons, *i.e.* men unskilled in the learning of the Jews at that period—men whose education was not above an ordinary one; and such as had not filled any public office. An acquaintance with the Old Testament Scriptures is by no means excluded. Doubtless John was illiterate as compared with Paul who was brought up under Gamaliel; yet he was capable of reading the Old Testament books. Besides the writer of the Apocalypse was *ἐν πνεύματι*, *in the Spirit*, presupposing an unusual excitement and elevation of the mental powers, in which new ideas, such as would never have occurred to the mind in its ordinary moods, were directly suggested.

The differences of style, diction, and manner, observable in the fourth Gospel and Apocalypse, may be chiefly resolved into the following causes.

First, the subject-matter. The topics treated in the Apocalypse and Gospel are exceedingly diverse. The former specially relates to the coming of Christ to destroy paganism, and set up his own kingdom on the ruins of all opposing powers, so that it shall be finally and universally triumphant; the latter relates to the person and doctrinal discourses of Christ in the days of his flesh. The historic circumstances out of which they arose were different. They were written with different objects. The Gospel

and Epistles are in part *apologetic*, having certain errors in view. Certain religious phenomena had appeared to which they have reference. In regard to the Apocalypse it took its origin from the suffering and persecuted state of the christians at that time. Thus the circumstances out of which the two books arose, the primary object for which they were written, and consequently the materials employed, are of a different nature. The range of the Gospel and Epistles is wider than that of the Apocalypse. The ideas included in the former are more numerous. In consequence of this diversity, it is quite natural to look for phrases and words differing in many respects from one another. Whether the writer represents the kingdom of Christ victorious over all opposition, or whether he brings out into prominent view certain facts and truths connected with the life of Christ, the ideas most appropiate for each must be selected. It is not possible for them to be the same in extent. In the Gospel and Epistles there is more fulness of expression in consequence of the more enlarged nature of the topics.

Secondly, the form into which that subject-matter was designed to be cast. This should be suited to the materials. The nature of the ideas to be presented must regulate the manner of presentation. In consequence of the greater fulness of subject, there is in the Gospel and Epistles a greater range of terms. The Apocalypse is a *prophetic* book, and as such stands by itself in the New Testament. It contains moreover a *prophetic poem*. The diction, in addition to its being the diction of poetry, belongs to prophecy. In accordance with this we find symbols, figures, allegories, personifications. The poetic form in which the book is cast requires such features. A series of visions is pictured forth by symbols. These symbols are partly borrowed from the Old Testament, and partly new. The old prophets are imitated, especially Daniel, Ezekiel, Zechariah. The imagery however of the Apocalyptic writer bears a more connected and artificial aspect than that of the ancient prophets. In consequence of the theocratic ideas and Jewish form of the work, its language is strongly *Hebraised*. Old Testament conceptions transplanted into the New Testament field, must necessarily partake of the complexion belonging to the former dispensation. The poetry is of the sublimest character, in

harmony with the loftiness of the theme. It is pictorial. Things future, and objects of a spiritual nature, are presented by outward symbols, and the glory of Messiah's reign *seems* sensuous because of the dramatic scenery employed to set it forth. But in the Gospel and Epistles the materials assume a historic and didactic form. They are presented in a prosaic dress adapted to their distinctive character. The language is more Grecian, not only because John wrote in Ephesus, but because an historical work naturally required a freer tone, more allied to the genius of the wisdom-seeking people for whom it was primarily intended. In consequence of the very different shapes in which the subjects are moulded, we expect different peculiarities of the writer to be more or less prominent. Each work presents one aspect chiefly of John's intellectual and spiritual temperament; and it is only by putting together the individual traits manifested in all, that a full portraiture of the apostle is obtained.

Thus it is easy to see why the language of the Apocalypse should be so different from that of the Gospel and Epistles. The historic style presents a contrast to the style of *a poem*, particularly *a prophetic poem*. Doctrinal topics demand a peculiar phraseology unlike that of impassioned poetry.

Thirdly, the state of mind into which the writer had been thrown by the divine influence exerted on it. As Guerike[g] has well expressed it, the Gospel was conceived and written ἐν τῷ νοΐ, *in the understanding;* but the Apocalypse, ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, *in the Spirit*. In the Gospel and Epistles we find a style and tone in which greater scope appears to have been given to the writer's own reflection. The former has an ease and flowing fulness compared with that of the Apocalypse, which seem to evince greater culture and thoughtfulness on the part of the author. The *power* of the divine influence exerted on the mind is not so prominently or palpably impressed on those productions. But it is otherwise with the Apocalypse. In what peculiar state of mind the apostle was when writing, whether *in ecstasy* or *in the spirit*—as he was when the visions were presented to his view—we are unable to affirm. The nature of the subject however—the unusual and marvellous phenomena brought forward on the scene—the heavenly beings in-

[g] Einleitung, p. 559.

troduced as actors—the solemn grandeur of the imagery demanded a peculiar diction. It is unjust to judge him by ordinary rules, since he was placed in extraordinary circumstances. We cannot tell what his usual power of imagination was; but even though it were small, there is every reason for believing that his mind was wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiastic excitement by the awful grandeur of the visions he was privileged to behold. His spiritual perception was quickened. His fancy was stimulated. The panorama which had moved before him left an impression of the sublime and mysterious. Scenes of solemn and terrific import had imprinted themselves on his memory; and who shall deny that he was adapted by the Spirit of God to portray them in a manner befitting their high mysteries? The apostle, in short, was under the influence of the inspiration of suggestion. He was generally unable to employ *of himself* a phraseology at all fitted to the theme. Not only ideas but words had to be suggested. His own reflection shrank back into its feebleness, oppressed by the greatness of the task. Overawed by the sublimity of the scenes to be delineated it withdrew, giving place to the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit. Hence an abruptness and a vehemence are observable in the manner. Brevity and energy are strongly impressed on the diction. The circumstances and time allowed no room for round periods or polished sentences. The dramatic action proceeds with rapid fervour, and the mind of the writer in high excitement is hurried along by the progress of events hastening towards a catastrophe. The heavenly beings introduced as speaking have no space for long dialogue, while the coming of Christ is at hand.[h]

No reliance can be placed on *the time of life* at which the Apocalypse compared with the Gospel was composed, though Olshausen and Guerike insist on it. Written, as they think, twenty years before the Gospel or Epistles, the former exhibits marks of inexperience in writing, of youthful fire, and of an ardent temperament. It presents the first essays of one expressing his ideas in a language to which he was unaccustomed. *We* can lay no stress on this consideration, believing that there was not

[h] Compare Hoffmann, Weissagung und Erfüllung, vol. ii. p. 314, et seqq.; and Woodhouse, Dissertation, p. 115, et seqq.

an interval of twenty years between any two of the apostle's writings.

The considerations already adduced may serve to throw light on the language of the book, after all the extravagant assertions regarding anomalies, solecisms, and ruggednesses have been fairly estimated. For it cannot be denied that many unwarrantable assumptions have been made by De Wette and others respecting the impure Greek contained in the Apocalypse. Winer has done much to check such bold assertions; but with little success in the case of those who are resolved to abide by a prevalent current of opinion. There are books in the New Testament almost as Hebraising as the Revelation. Many anomalies charged to the account of the Hebrew language may be paralleled in other parts of the New Testament, or in classical Greek. What shall be said, for instance, to Hitzig's attempt to demonstrate from the language of Mark's Gospel compared with that of the Apocalypse, that both proceeded from one author, viz. John Mark?[1] This writer has conducted a lengthened investigation with the view of shewing that all the peculiarities of language found in the Apocalypse are equally presented in the second Gospel; particularly, that the Hebraisms of the one correspond to those of the other. Who ever dreamed before of the numerous solecisms in Mark's language? And yet Hitzig has demonstrated its likeness to the Apocalyptic nearly as plausibly as Ewald, Lücke, and others have proved the total dissimilarity between the diction of the Apocalypse and that of John's Gospel.

The circumstances just stated may also serve to account for the difference between the diction and style observable in the Gospel and Apocalypse, or at least for much of that diversity. For, after all the explanations that can be given, there are not a few phenomena whose strangeness strikes every reader. Uncommon constructions, anomalies of language, deficiencies in the use of particles, new epithets, and strongly marked Hebraisms still remain, for which all known circumstances cannot *wholly* account. We are ready to admit, that *complete* satisfaction on this point can scarcely be attained by him who undertakes to vindicate the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse. But on the whole, the

[1] Ueber Johannes Marcus und seine Schriften, 1843.

results at which we have arrived are tolerably satisfactory. Considering the uniqueness of the book before us, it is scarcely to be wondered that it should present some singular features. Hence an air of plausibility attaches to the arguments of recent German writers; although it is certainly preposterous to look for stereotyped uniformity in the writings of the same author. How different are the language and representations that characterise some of Paul's epistles, as compared with others! Place, for example, the epistle to the Ephesians by the side of that addressed to the Romans, and how dissimilar are their features! The difficulties lying in the path of such as take the authorship from John the apostle appear to us *far greater* than any that may be urged against the traditional account. We abide therefore by the commonly received opinion as to authorship, believing that the weight of evidence and reason is decidedly in its favour. And though there be peculiarities which have not yet been explained on the supposition of its truth, yet they do not present an insuperable barrier to its reception. Time and subsequent research may possibly place them in so clear a light, that they shall be found perfectly to harmonise with it; and even should obscurity continue to rest upon the point, we may be consoled with the thought that there are innumerable mysteries in the ways and word of God which the brightness of eternity will first reveal to man's vision.

5. That there are differences between *the doctrinal* aspects of the Apocalypse and fourth Gospel may be freely admitted, for the case could not be otherwise; but that opposite or conflicting views are contained in them is a position which cannot be maintained. In the one work doctrines are developed which would have been inapposite in the other. There must be a gradual development of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God on earth. Ideas appear in the one which are unknown to the other. Different aspects of the one doctine are given in both. The writer was not so barren of thought or confined in phraseology as to be a mere echo of himself. The influence under which he wrote did not shut up his powers, or put a yoke on their movement. It is idle to look for a stereotype character of mind and expression. We affirm without fear of contradiction that there is no *contrariety* in the two compositions.

"The speedy coming of Christ to judge and take vengeance on his enemies is the great theme of the Revelation. About this topic little is said in the Gospel and Epistles of John. And when we take into account the difference in the state of the author's mind, in the range of materials, in the immediate object, it is natural to look for a difference in presenting the same ideas. In the Gospel and Epistles we look for the spiritual aspect of Messiah's coming and kingdom agreeably to the genius of the works themselves and the purposes for which they were originally written. In the Apocalypse we look for the external, sensuous aspect, in accordance with the symbolic character of the entire poem. But the one aspect does not exclude the other. It is possible to unite both, although one or other must certainly be the prominent characteristic. Here then is variety without opposition. Sameness would have been inapposite. The sensuous descriptions of Messiah's appearance and reign, divested of their peculiar costume, represent the same spiritualities as the unsymbolic statements of John in his other writings. Such imagery does not convey carnal or gross conceptions. It is the outward covering of pure and correct ideas of the exalted Messiah.

Spirits, demons, and angels are differently described in the Apocalypse and Gospel. But they are seldom introduced into the latter. Little is said respecting them. In the former they constitute an important part of the moral machinery of the poem. The way in which they are introduced, the functions they discharge, the actions they perform, everything in short connected with their existence and activity accords with the Gospel's brief hints. The diversity arises out of diversity of circumstances. The object for which John's Gospel was primarily written did not lead the apostle to introduce so many particulars regarding angels and evil spirits. The intervention of good, and the malignant influence of evil spirits, are clearly implied in the Old Testament prophets, particularly Zechariah and Daniel. It is therefore accordant with the prophetic, Hebraistic character of the Apocalypse to make angelic agency a prominent feature in the book.

As to a spirit of revenge or rage breathing in the Revelation it cannot be admitted for a moment. And even if it were, it would be consonant with the temperament of John. He was fiery, energetic,

decided. On one occasion he wished to call down fire from heaven to consume the Samaritans. But there is no unhallowed spirit in the Apocalypse. The saints are fearfully persecuted: God is long-suffering. Vengeance must come on the church's impenitent adversaries. At this all the holy beings in heaven and earth rejoice. It is a just retribution. It is a merciful dispensation to the world as well as the church. The cruel and persecuting, if they do not repent, must be cut off. The mildest saint that ever lived cannot but feel an inward satisfaction at the overthrow of the wicked. As well might an evil disposition be attributed to the blessed Saviour himself, in consequence of his denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees. The same John who wrote the Apocalypse says: "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed."

It would be a work of supererogation to enter farther into the allegations of those critics who deny on internal grounds that the apostle John wrote the Apocalypse. It is not, for example, worth while to state, much less refute the argument repeated even by Schumann,[k] that Antichrist appears in the Apocalypse as a great earthly ruler, while in John's first Epistle false prophets bear the name. It will be time enough to enter into this objection when it is shewn that Antichrist is identical with something in the Apocalypse. Even Eichhorn[l] and Bertholdt[m] made many good remarks on the other side, though they did not take the position they were warranted to assume. All the circumstances so carefully derived from the Apocalypse itself do not appear to us sufficiently strong to overturn the ancient traditionary account of the author. If *the apostle* did not write it, it is impossible to account satisfactorily for the very early opinion which attributed it to him; as well as for various internal phenomena. The difficulties are increased tenfold on the hypothesis that *the apostle* was not the author. We agree with ecclesiastical tradition, believing that most of the peculiarities presented by the book itself can be sufficiently explained in conformity to it.

[k] Introduction to the books of the Old and New Testament, English translation, p. 337.

[l] Einleitung, vol. ii. sect. 191, p. 375, et seqq.

[m] Einleitung, vol. iv. p. 1813, et seqq.

"Some have attributed the book to John the presbyter. Formerly the existence of this person was unknown or doubted, the historic grounds adduced in proof of his individuality being impugned, or otherwise explained. Such was the way taken by Guerike respecting him. But he afterwards revoked his doubts, contented with affirming that the historic basis on which the existence of the Ephesian presbyter rests is assuredly feeble. The chief argument for believing that another John besides the apostle existed, lies in a passage from Papias of Hierapolis, preserved by Eusebius. In this fragment, several of the apostles, and among them John, are mentioned; while immediately after, the presbyter John is specified along with Aristion. Thus the presbyter is clearly distinguished from the apostle. After Papias, Dionysius of Alexandria, Eusebius himself, and Jerome, allude to the presbyter. Hence we are constrained to believe with all the ablest critics who have touched on this point, with Bleek, Lücke, Credner, Hitzig, Neander, that there were two Johns; one, the apostle, the other, the presbyter.

Those who attribute the Apocalypse to this John generally proceed to shew on internal grounds that John the apostle was not the writer; after which they rely on the fact that the author styles himself John. But this is nothing more than preparing the way for proving that the presbyter wrote the book.

The external evidence adduced for the same purpose resolves itself into the authority of Dionysius of Alexandria, whose testimony has been so often and so much insisted on that it must be given at length: "Some who were before us have utterly rejected and confuted this book, criticising every chapter, shewing it throughout to be unintelligible and inconsistent; adding, moreover, that the inscription is false, forasmuch as it is not John's; nor is it a revelation which is hidden under so obscure and thick a veil of ignorance; and that not only no apostle, but not so much as an holy and ecclesiastical man was the author of this writing; but that Cerinthus, founder of the heresy called after him Cerinthian, the better to recommend his own forgery, prefixed to it an honourable name. For this (they say) was one of his particular notions that the kingdom of Christ should be earthly; consisting of those things which he himself, a carnal and

sensual man, most admired,—the pleasures of the belly and of concupiscence; that is, eating and drinking and marriage; and for the more decent procurement of these, feastings and sacrifices and slaughters of victims. But for my part I dare not reject the book, since many of the brethren hold it in high esteem: but allowing it to be above my understanding, I suppose it to contain throughout some latent and wonderful meaning; for though I do not understand it, I suspect there must be some profound sense in the words: not measuring and judging these things by my own reason, but ascribing more to faith, I esteem them too sublime to be comprehended by me. Nor do I condemn what I have not been able to understand; but I admire the more, because they are above my reach. . . . . And having finished in a manner his prophecy, the prophet pronounces those blessed who keep it, and also himself. For 'blessed is every one,' says he, 'that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book; and I John who saw and heard these things' (Revel. xxii. 7, 8). I do not deny then that his name is John, and that this is John's book, for I acknowledge it to be the work of some holy and divinely inspired person. Nevertheless I cannot easily grant him to be the apostle, the son of Zebedee, brother of James, whose is the gospel inscribed according to John, and the catholic epistle; for I conclude, from the manner of each, and the turn of expression, and from the disposition of the book, as we call it, that he is not the same person. For the evangelist no where puts down his name, nor does he speak of himself either in the Gospel or the Epistle." Then a little after he says again, "John no where speaks as concerning himself nor as concerning another. But he who wrote the Revelation, immediately at the very beginning prefixes his name: 'the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass. And he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John, who bare record of the word of God, and his testimony, and the things which he saw' (Revel. i. 1, 2). And then he writes an epistle, 'John unto the seven churches in Asia; grace be unto you and peace' (verse 4). But the evangelist has not prefixed his name, no not to his catholic epistle; but without any circumlocution begins with the mystery itself of the divine revelation,

'that which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes' (1 John i. 1). And for the like revelation the Lord pronounced Peter blessed, saying, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven' (Matt. xvi. 17). Nor yet in the second or third epistle ascribed to John, though indeed they are but short epistles, is the name of John prefixed; for without any name he is called the elder. But this other person thought it not sufficient to name himself once and then proceed, but he repeats it again, 'I John, who am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle called Patmos for the testimony of Jesus' (Revel. i. 9). And at the end he says, 'Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book; and I John, who saw and heard these things' (chap. xxii. 7, 8). Therefore, that it was John who wrote these things ought to be believed, because he says so. But who he was is uncertain; for he has not said, as in the Gospel often, that 'he is the disciple whom the Lord loved;' nor that he is he 'who leaned on his breast;' nor the brother of James; nor that he is one of them who saw and heard the Lord; whereas he would have mentioned some of these things if he had intended plainly to discover himself. Of these things he says not a word; but he calls himself 'our brother and companion, and witness of Jesus,' and 'blessed,' because he saw and heard those revelations. And I suppose there were many of the same name with John the apostle, who for the love they bore to him, and because they admired and emulated him, and were ambitious of being beloved of the Lord like him, were desirous of having the same name; even as many also of the children of the faithful are called by the names of Paul and Peter. There is another John in the Acts of the Apostles, surnamed Mark, whom Paul and Barnabas took for their companion; concerning whom it is again said, 'and they had John for their minister' (Acts xiii. 5). But that he is the person who wrote this book, I would not affirm. But I think that he is another, one of them that belong to Asia; since it is said that there are two tombs at Ephesus, each of them called John's tomb. And from the sentiments and words, and disposition of them, it is

likely that he is different (from him that wrote the Gospel and Epistle). For the Gospel and Epistle have a mutual agreement, and begin alike. The one says, 'In the beginning was the word;' the other, 'That which was from the beginning.' The former says, 'And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father.' The latter has the same with a slight variation; 'that which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the word of life. For the life was manifested.' He is uniform throughout, and wanders not in the least from the points he proposed to himself, but prosecutes them in the same chapters and words, some of which we shall briefly observe: for whoever reads with attention will often find in both 'life;' frequently 'light;' 'the avoiding of darkness;' oftentimes 'truth, grace, joy, the flesh and the blood of the Lord; judgment, forgiveness of sins, the love of God toward us, the commandment of love one toward another; the judgment of this world, of the devil, of antichrist; the promise of the Holy Spirit, the adoption of the sons of God, the faith constantly required of us, the Father and the Son,' everywhere. And in short, throughout the Gospel and Epistle it is easy to observe one and the same character. But the Revelation is quite different and foreign from these, without any affinity or resemblance, not having so much as a syllable in common with them. Nor does the Epistle (for I do not here insist on the Gospel) mention or give any hint of the Revelation, nor the Revelation of the Epistle. And yet Paul, in his epistles, has made some mention of his revelations, though he never wrote them in a separate book. Besides, it is easy to observe the difference of the style of the Gospel and the Epistle from that of the Revelation; for they are not only written correctly, according to the propriety of the Greek tongue, but with great elegance of phrase and argument, and the whole texture of the discourse. So far are they from all barbarism or solecism, or idiotism of language, that nothing of the kind is to be found in them; for he, as it seems, had each of those gifts, the Lord having bestowed upon him both these, knowledge and eloquence. As to the other, I will not deny that he saw the revelation, or that he had

received the gift of knowledge and prophecy. But I do not perceive in him an accurate acquaintance with the Greek language: on the contrary, he uses barbarous idioms and some solecisms, which it is necessary I should now shew particularly, for I do not write by way of ridicule; let none think so. I simply intend to represent in a critical manner the difference of these pieces."[n]

Here are critical arguments which the moderns have not failed to adduce and amplify.

It will be seen from the paragraph now given, that all the direct external evidence in favour of John the presbyter resolves itself into the authority of Dionysius. Eusebius speaks so hesitatingly,[o] that nothing can be determined with respect to his real opinion. And Dionysius rested his proofs not on the testimony of his predecessors, nor on historical tradition, but on the Revelation itself.

There is thus no *direct* evidence in favour of the hypothesis that John the presbyter wrote the Apocalypse. Indeed our existing accounts of this person are so brief as to afford no data for associating the writing of the book with his name. All that we know is, that both Johns were contemporary, that they are called *disciples of the Lord*, that they resided in Asia Minor, and that their tombs were shewn at Ephesus. It is vain to appeal to the second and third Epistles of John for the purpose of comparing the Apocalypse with them, as Jachmann does,[p] who thinks that they proceeded from the presbyter, since the hypothesis that they were written by him has not been established. But notwithstanding the deficiency of evidence, and the excellent observations on Dionysius's arguments made by Eichhorn,[q] Bleek, Credner, Rettig, and Jachmann adopt the opinion of Dionysius. De Wette is also inclined to it.

Others suppose, that a disciple of John undertook to write on a subject he had learned from the apostle; and that he considered himself at liberty to introduce his instructor as the speaker, because

[n] The original, too long to be given, may be seen in Heinichen's edition of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 374, et seqq.

[o] H. E. iii. 24, 25. [p] In Pelt's Mitarbeiten, u. s. w., for 1839.

[q] Einleitung, vol. ii. sect. 196.

he wrote in his manner. This is the view of Ewald, Lücke, Schott, and Neander.

Ballenstedt[r] conjectured, that *John the divine* (Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος) was a different person from John the apostle, or from John the presbyter, and that *he* wrote the Apocalypse, the fourth Gospel, and the first Epistle of John. But the title of the Apocalypse did not proceed from the writer himself; and the fathers universally identify *John the divine* with *the apostle.* He was so styled after the Arian controversy had arisen, because the divinity of Christ is most plainly taught in his writings. The hypothesis is wholly baseless.

Hitzig wrote a treatise to prove that the writer is John Mark, the same person from whom the second Gospel proceeded. His arguments are mainly based on parallels in language and construction. Beza had previously put forth the same idea as a conjecture. But the hypothesis has found no favour in the eye of critics. The arguments advanced on its behalf are insufficient to commend it to general approbation. Ebrard has refuted it with minute skill.[s]

III. *Its canonical authority.*

The *canonical authority* of the book follows at once from its being written by the apostle John.

Those who think that it was not of apostolic origin lessen perhaps its canonical credit. Doubtless some of them *intend* to do so, when endeavouring to deprive John of its authorship. Others may have no such purpose. The book may not have been written by an apostle, and yet be *virtually* equal in authority to any acknowledged production of an apostle. Thus Luke was only an evangelist; and yet his writings are true and correct, because approved and ratified by apostles. So also in relation to Mark. Still it cannot be said with truth that any but apostles were inspired. *We* believe that the credit and authority of the book before us safely rest on the fact of its being written by John the apostle. Let those who attribute it to another writer vindicate, as they may, its canonical credit. It belongs to them to determine its precise position, value, and authority, as a biblical book.

[r] Philo und Johannes, u. s. w.

[s] Das Evang. Johannis, und die neueste Hypothese, u. s. w., pp. 137-193.

"It will be found that most writers adopt the course which we have felt ourselves constrained to follow in regard to the Apocalypse. They too rest its canonical authority on its Johannean authorship. This is true of Flacius at the time of the German Reformation, who has been followed by able defenders of the same view down to the present day, by Twells, C. F. Schmid, J. F. Reuss, Knittel, Storr, Lüderwald, Hartwig, Kleuker, Herder, Donker-Curtius, Hänlein, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Hug, Feilmoser, Kolthoff, Olshausen, J. P. Lange, Dannemann, Hävernick, Guerike, Hofmann, Hengstenberg, Bunsen,[t] Woodhouse, and all English commentators on the book. The destructive Tübingen school of theologians attribute it to the apostle for the sake of ruining the fourth Gospel. This is apparent from the tendencies of Baur, Schwegler, Zeller, and Schnitzer.

IV. *Time and place of writing.*

There is some difficulty in determining the date of the Apocalypse. But that difficulty arises, not so much from the nature of the testimony on which a conclusion must be founded, as from schemes of interpretation which have been made to affect and modify it. The most common opinion is that it was written in A. D. 95, 96, or 97. So Dupin, Basnage, Turretin, Spanheim, Le Clerc, Mill, Whitby, Lampe, Lardner, Tomline, Burton, Woodhouse, Elliott, Ebrard, Hofmann, Thiersch, Hengstenberg. When Elliott quotes Neander in favour of the same date, he attributes to him an opinion entirely opposite to that which he has really expressed. In favour of the date in question ancient testimony is quoted. Let us hear it.

Irenaeus writes: *εἰ δὲ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοὔνομά τοῦτο, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐῤῥέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς:*[v]

"But if it had been necessary to proclaim his (Antichrist's) name openly at the present time, it would have been declared by him who saw the revelation. For it was seen no very long time ago, but almost in our own generation, at the close of Domitian's reign."

[t] Ignatius von Antiochien und seine Zeit, p. 88. [v] Ap. Euseb. H. E. iii. 18.

Here the nominative case to the verb ἑωράθη (it was seen) can only be ἀποκάλυψις (the revelation); not Ἰωάννης (John), nor ὄνομα (name), nor any other nominative.[w]

In order to nullify this evidence in favour of a late date, it has been conjectured by Guerike,[x] that Δομετιανοῦ is an adjective formed from Δομετιος, Domitius, meaning Domitius Nero, not the emperor Domitian. Two reasons are given for this new version, viz. that were Δομετιανοῦ a substantive, the article τοῦ should be before it; and therefore being an adjective, Δομετιανικῆς is the proper word for *belonging to Domitian*, not Δομετιανοῦ, which can only mean *belonging to Domitius*. But Δομετιανοῦ may be taken as a noun even without the article before it. Elliott has appropriately adduced three cases of proper names without the article in Euseb. v. 8.[y] We have no doubt of the baselessness of Guerike's conjecture, though Stuart seems inclined to adopt it.[z]

Clement of Alexandria speaks thus: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον:[a] "For when, *after the death of the tyrant*, he removed to Ephesus from the island of Patmos." Here *the tyrant* may mean either Nero or Domitian. Yet the manner in which he speaks of the occurrence as if it were a well-known thing, favours the latter. He appears to follow a tradition with which his readers were so familiar, that he thinks it unnecessary to name the tyrant. And certainly, Domitian best deserves the appellation, among the emperors of the first century. *The tyrant* was a definite historical person, whom the Christians would at once identify. Eusebius understands Clement to mean Domitian.

Sir Isaac Newton, however, and others after him, endeavour to shew, that by the tyrant is meant *Nero*, not Domitian. In the story told by Clement of John and the robber, which the quoted words introduce, and to which Chrysostom also refers, the latter says, "that the young reprobate continued captain of the robbers *a long time*." "Therefore this is a story of many years, and requires

[w] *See* Woodhouse's Dissertation, p. 19, et seqq.; and Hug's Einleit. vol. ii. pp. 528, 529, fourth edition.

[x] Einleitung, p. 285, note 4. [y] Horae Apocalypticae, vol. i. p. 510.

[z] Commentary on the Apocalypse, vol. i. p. 283.

[a] Quis dives salvetur, c. 42.

that John should have returned from Patmos rather at the death of *Nero* than of *Domitian;* because between Domitian's death and that of St. John there were but two and a half years."[b]

It is not certain how many years elapsed between John's return from Patmos, on the Domitianic hypothesis, and Domitian's death. It was either *three* or *four* years. The question then is, Does the phrase πολὺς χρόνος employed by Chrysostom in relation to the interval of time between the commencement of the young man's instruction and John's revisiting the district denote *many years;* or is it applicable even to a period of one or two years? It may doubtless be used of a brief space, since it is merely *relative.* It may apply to some *days* as well as *years.* Hence nothing can be inferred from the phrase in question to make the story of the young robber one of *many years*, especially as it is said by Chrysostom that he was still *a young man* when recovered by John. The tradition respecting John's age when he was first called by Christ makes him *puer*, as Jerome has it, which Elliott fairly computes at eighteen. Hence at Nero's persecution he was little more than sixty, an age which does not well agree with the epithet γέρων applied to him by Clement at the time he followed the robber into the mountains. If John lived to the third year of Trajan's reign, as is stated by Eusebius and Jerome, there were four years' interval between his return to Ephesus, on the Domitianic hypothesis, and his death. That space allows for the πολὺς χρόνος, and other events. It should be remembered also, that the story, though true substantially, may be adorned in parts of it.

Tertullian writes: "Felix ecclesia (Romana) . . . . . ubi Petrus passioni dominicae adequatur, ubi Paulus Johannis exitu coronatur, ubi apostolus Johannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur:"[c]

"Happy church (of Rome) where Peter suffered like his Master, where Paul is crowned with the same death as that of John (the Baptist), where the apostle John, after he had been sunk into burning oil unhurt, is banished to an island."

Here the sufferings of John are put along with those of Peter and Paul. Hence some infer, that they were *synchronous.* But

[b] Observations upon Daniel and the Apocalypse. [c] De Praescriptt. c. 36.

the inference is neither logical nor necessary. The sufferings are spoken of in such a manner as to shew that they happened at the same *place*, viz. at Rome; but the element of time is left out of account. They are grouped together in reference to *locality*, not to *time*. It is highly probable that Tertullian followed the current tradition in regard to the emperor who banished John, since there is no trace of any other in the early centuries.

Origen says: *Πεπώκασι δὲ ποτήριον καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐβαπτίσθησαν οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου υἱοί· ἐπείπερ Ἡρώδης μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰάκωβον . . . . . μαχαίρᾳ, ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον· διδάσκει δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου Ἰωάννης, μὴ λέγων τίς αὐτὸν κατεδίκασε, φάσκων ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ταῦτα· ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης, κ. τ. λ.*:[d]

"The sons of Zebedee have drunk the cup and been baptized with the baptism, since Herod slew James with the sword, but the king of the Romans, as tradition teaches, condemned John who testified for the word of truth, banishing him to the island Patmos. And John tells us of his own witness-bearing, not saying who condemned him, but merely speaking thus in the Apocalypse," etc.

Here it is probable that Origen, as a disciple of Clement, means Domitian. The name he does not give because it was generally known, being embodied in the tradition to which he refers. Lücke however, and Stuart after him, think that Origen did not give the name of the emperor because he did not know it; or, knowing Irenaeus's declaration, did not receive it; or, because he did not know of any tradition according with it. But this view is untenable, because if Origen had been doubtful of the prevailing tradition, he would not have appealed to it in the unqualified way he has done, without expressing a doubt of its full credibility. He speaks as he does, because the tradition was at once definite and well known. When Clement simply names the emperor *the tyrant*, and Eusebius speaks of *the island*, Origen also supposes the tradition too common to need a specification of particulars.

Eusebius agrees with the date of Irenaeus, both in his Ecclesiastical History and his Chronicle. In the former he writes: *ἐν τούτῳ κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην*

[d] Comment. in Matt. tom. xvi. 6.

ἔτι τῷ βίῳ ἐνδιατρίβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἕνεκεν μαρτυρίας, Πάτμον οἰκεῖν καταδικασθῆναι τὴν νῆσον:[e]

"In this persecution (under Domitian), tradition says that John the apostle and evangelist being yet alive was banished into the island Patmos, for his testimony of the divine word."

Again: τότε δὴ οὖν καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον φυγῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου διατριβὴν ἀπειληφέναι ὁ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος:[f]

"The tradition of our elders says, that at that time also, the apostle John returned to Ephesus from his banishment to the island, and took up his abode again there."

And again: Ἰωάννης τὰς αὐτόθι διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς:[g]

"John presided there (in Asia) over the churches, when he returned from his exile to the island, after Domitian's death."

In his Chronicle, he places the banishment in the fourteenth year of Domitian's reign. In his Evangelical Demonstration, he writes: καὶ Πέτρος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυροῦται, Παῦλός τε ἀποτέμνεται, Ἰωάννης δὲ νήσῳ παραδίδοται; "Peter is crucified at Rome with his head downward; Paul is beheaded; John is consigned to an island."

Here the three events are associated in the same manner as they are by Tertullian. But the mode in which they are connected is no proof of their synchronism. The *place* whence the sufferings and death of the three proceeded is the link bringing them together.

Nothing can be clearer or more direct than the language of Eusebius, repeated as it is in different parts of his writings. It is true that he refers in the Chronicon to Irenaeus; but there is no reason for believing that *he* was the only source and author of the tradition. He refers to the tradition of *the elders* in one passage, shewing that it did not resolve itself in his judgment into Irenaeus alone.

Again, Victorinus bishop of Pettaw wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse towards the close of the third century, in which it is expressly stated, that the Apocalypse was seen by the apostle John in Patmos when banished thither by Domitian. Though this commentary has been interpolated, yet the substance of it

[e] H. E. iii. 18. [f] Ibid. iii. 20. [g] Ibid. iii. 23.

appears to be authentic, since it agrees well with the character which Jerome attributes to the work.

Jerome is favourable to the Domitianic date.

Such is the chain of early evidence which proves the banishment of John to Patmos by Domitian, and consequently the late date of the Apocalypse. The tradition is uniform and consistent. There is no intimation of any other. Hence none other existed; or if it did, these fathers deemed it unworthy of mention or consideration. The uniformity and certainty of the historical tradition appear in the similar statements of it which so many writers present; while a few minor details that differ are of no consequence, except as they shew that the witnesses did not repeat one another from Irenaeus downwards, or did not all repeat Irenaeus himself. It is no where said or implied that they echoed one another or Irenaeus. Had they done so, Tertullian would not have placed John's return from Patmos before Domitian's death; while Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Jerome place it in the reign of Nerva his successor. And where did Victorinus learn that the apostle was *condemned to the quarries* in Patmos?

The stream of early external evidence is clearly and decidedly on the side of the Domitianic date. During the first three centuries, and the first half of the fourth, there is not the slightest allusion to any save *the one* tradition.

Sulpicius Severus, and Orosius held the same view. But the testimonies need not be followed to a later period than the fourth century.

Epiphanius[h] says, that John prophesied in Patmos under the emperor Claudius. This must be an error, for no emperor persecuted the christians before Nero; the seven churches were probably not more than founded at that time, and the apostle John was not so early associated with Asia Minor.

The title to the Philoxenian version of the Apocalypse (a version usually attributed to the sixth century) assigns the banishment of John to Nero. Theophylact also, in the preface to his Commentary on the Gospel of John, gives the same date. So also the younger Hippolytus of Thebes, in the fragment of his Chronicle entitled, *De Duodecim Apostolis.*

[h] Haeres. li., 12, 33.

From the preceding notices it will be seen, that external testimony in regard to the date of this book greatly preponderates in favour of the Domitianic date. Irenaeus is the earliest and weightiest witness for it, and though he may have made a mistake, yet he had the best means of knowing the truth, because he was a disciple of Polycarp, who sat at the feet of John himself. How far succeeding writers followed his authority in this particular we cannot now determine. It is certainly a gratuitous assertion in Stuart to say that "their evidence is little more than a mere repetition of what Irenaeus has said."[j] And it is perhaps too much to say on the other hand with Elliott, that "they gave their own deliberate independent judgment formed on *all* the evidence that then existed."[k]

We have seen that Clement, Tertullian, Victorinus, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, to whom may be added Sulpicius Severus, and Orosius, are on the same side with Irenaeus.

Epiphanius is alone in making Claudius the emperor who banished John. In favour of a Neronic date are Epiphanius, the later Syriac, and Theophylact. To these has been added by Stuart the fragment on the Canon published by Muratori. In this fragment we read, "ipse beatus apostolus Paulus sequens praedecessoris sui Johannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat ordine tali." On which Stuart reasons in this manner: "John then, in the first place, was Paul's *predecessor*, according to this writer; next, as John has written only to seven churches by name in the Apocalypse, Paul, following his example, wrote only to the same number by name; and thirdly, as the consequence of this, Paul must of course have had the example of John in his eye. Now as Paul suffered martyrdom under Nero, who died in A.D. 68, it follows that John, according to the author of this fragment, must have written the Apocalypse before that period."[l] But this is founded on misapprehension of the meaning. When Paul follows *ordinem* of John his predecessor, it is signified that he follows his *manner*, predecessor meaning that John was an apostle before Paul. It is not implied that the Apocalypse was older than Paul's epistles, as Stuart, and Elliott after him, imagine. Frein-

[j] Commentary, vol. i. p. 269. [k] Horae Apocalypticae, vol. i. p. 41.

[l] Stuart on Apocalypse, vol. i. p. 266.

daller and Credner give the true sense of the words. But the terms in question are obscure and inconsequential. Andreas and Arethas too who wrote commentaries on the book have been cited on the same side. But the testimony of the former is not applicable; or if it be, it is self-destructive. That of the latter is self-contradictory.[m]

Leaving the Claudian date out of view as certainly erroneous, we proceed to consider *the internal* evidence for the Domitianic and Neronic dates respectively. We have seen that external testimony is clearly and overwhelmingly in favour of the former. Does the internal evidence coincide with it in this respect? The following observations will shew that both point to the same conclusion.

1. It would appear, that the Apocalypse was written at a time of general persecution. Severe and bloody trials had come upon Christendom. In proof of this we may not appeal, with Hengstenberg, to such passages as, xiii. 7, 8; vi. 9; xvii. 6; xvi. 6; xviii. 20, 24; xx. 4; vii. 14; because they may depict times then future, not present. But there was persecution in Asia Minor when John wrote, because he says to contemporary fellow-christians in that district: "I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ," etc. This language *naturally* and *properly* refers to persecution. In like manner the church of Ephesus is praised for labour and patience (*κόπον καὶ ὑπομονήν*). The latter term denotes constancy in the endurance of sufferings inflicted by the enemies of the christian faith. The church of Smyrna is addressed in similar language: "I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty." Here tribulation (*θλῖψις*) means *persecution*, as De Wette rightly expounds it. We also read of a martyr Antipas, at Pergamos. And in the "Martyrium Romanum," Antipas is said to have suffered in the tenth year of Domitian. It makes no difference whether *Antipas* be a *symbolical* or *literal* name, for in either case it denotes an historical person. Judging by anaolgy we should infer that it is *symbolical*. But the persecution of Nero was confined to Rome. Domitian's was the first that reached the provinces of the Roman empire.

[m] See Elliott's Horae Apocalypticae, vol. i. p. 505.

This persecution was marked by banishment. John was an exile for fidelity to the truth. Such instances of banishment occurred under Domitian, as we learn from Suetonius and Dio Cassius. But there is not a word of banishment to the islands, under Nero. The christians were directly executed, not condemned to exile.

2. The state of the seven churches is favourable to the same date. The description given of them shews that they had been established for several years. Their first love had passed away. Their zeal for purity and perfection had disappeared. They had declined, and were become corrupt. The Pauline period, and that in which they are addressed were different, as appears from the tone characteristic of each. Thus the church of Ephesus is reproved for having left her first love, and is exhorted to return to her former condition. Now when Paul wrote his epistle to the Ephesians they were not in this degenerate state: "Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints," etc. This was A. D. 62. Again when he wrote the second epistle to Timothy (at Ephesus), A. D. 64, the state of the Ephesians was by no means that portrayed in the Apocalypse. Thus we have only four or five years' interval allowed for the great degeneracy of the church in question. And that is too short for the purpose. Longer time is needed. In like manner it is said of Sardis: "Thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead." This church's graces were all but dead; its light well nigh quenched. Of the early state of the Laodicean church we may judge by the condition of the neighbouring societies at Ephesus and Colosse, especially the latter. The apostle, writing to the Colossians, addresses them in terms of praise, "joying," says he, "and beholding your order, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ;"—language which may be fairly applied to the Laodiceans. But now the church at Laodicea was lukewarm, wretched, miserable, poor, blind, naked.

Such changes as this portraiture of the churches implies, cannot well be put within five or six years. Lücke supposes,[n] that ten years may account for them; but so long a space cannot be obtained. Six years at most, is all that can be procured.

[n] Versuch, u. s. w., p. 413.

Again: the erroneous doctrines of the Nicolaitans or Balaamites was deeply rooted and wide spread at the time the Apocalypse was written. Hence it is said: "I gave her space to repent of her fornication and she repented not." Hence also the church of Ephesus is commended for hating the doctrine of the Nicolaitans. The church of Pergamos had in it some members that held the same doctrine.

It may be questioned, whether the Nicolaitans made a sect at this time; as Lenfant and Beausobre[o] affirm. It is questionable too, whether they ought to be viewed in connexion with persons foretold and described in the second epistle of Peter and in that of Jude; though many look upon them as the same class. But we learn from the Apocalypse, that the heretical opinions of the Nicolaitans or followers of Balaam, arose out of the oppressions of heathenism. The influence which a persecuting heathenism had on the spirits of these Asiatic christians, had led them away into a kind of heathenism. It is thus that the propriety of the promise made to the church of Thyatira is seen: "He that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give *power over the nations.* And he shall rule them with a rod of iron, ... and I will give him the morning star." Whoever should resist the oppression of the heathen and not be seduced by heathen influences away from the truth, should obtain the victory over his oppressor: "To him will I give power over the nations."

In the later epistles of Paul, we find nothing of such gross and wide spread errors arising out of heathenism. Germs of heresy do appear in the pastoral epistles, chiefly of Jewish origin. They were but imperfectly developed. But here doctrines of an immoral tendency had taken deep root and germinated. Their centre was at Pergamos, where Antipas had died a martyr. There Satan had his seat. There persecution had raged most; and consequently apostasy from the faith appeared.[p]

3. The manner in which symbols borrowed from the Jewish temple, and Jewish appellations are transferred directly to the christian church, shews that Jerusalem and its temple no longer existed. Jerusalem and Zion denote the christian church, with-

[o] Preface sur l'Apoc. de S. Jean, p. 613.

[p] See Hengstenberg, p. 16, et seqq.

out any explanation or clause appended. In like manner, the church in the eleventh chapter is called *the temple*. This is plain from the last verse of the tenth chapter: "Thou must prophesy again before (respecting) many peoples, and *nations*, and tongues, and kings," a part of which prophesying is the symbolical transaction of measuring the temple, described in the beginning of the next chapter. In this measurement the seer had to do with ἔθνεσι, the Gentiles, as well as peoples, and tongues, and kings; consequently with the whole earth or persons over the earth, *i.e.* the christian church.[q] Such transference of Jewish appellations and imagery would hardly have been made as it is, if Jerusalem and Zion still existed, with the fame of their ancient dignity attaching to them.

But notwithstanding this internal evidence in favour of the Domitianic date, many contend that the Neronic is supported by clear testimony derived from the book itself. Let us therefore notice the chief points insisted on by the advocates of the earlier date.

1. The Hebraistic character of the language is referred to. The language of the Apocalypse is correct if tried by the usage of Jerusalem, but incorrect if tried by the usage of Ephesus. Hence it is inferred that the book was written soon after his departure from Judea, when such a style would still be natural and proper. Now he removed to Ephesus before the destruction of Jerusalem.[r] An answer to the present argument has been already furnished.

2. It is argued, that the whole tenor of the composition forbids the supposition that it was written in old age. The first epistle is the composition of an aged man, its style being quiet and contemplative; while the Apocalypse is just such a production as we should expect, in the prime of life from him who was designated a "son of thunder." Hence it was not written at the later, but at the earlier date.[s]

This argument has been virtually answered already. Had the Apocalypse been a production of the same character with the Gospel or Epistles of John, great weight would have belonged to

[q] Ebrard, Wissenchaftliche Kritik, u. s. w., p. 1033, note 3, first edition.

[r] See Guerike, Einleitung, p. 537. [s] Biblical Review, vol. i. p. 179.

the argument in question. But when we recollect, that the writer was in that peculiar state termed ἐν πνεύματι, in a wrapt ecstatic condition peculiarly fitted for receiving visions, the value of it is lessened. John's personal qualities do not appear much. His mental idiosyncrasy is in the back-ground. His modes of thought and style are not brought out as they are in his other productions, because the present one is peculiar. It is true that the inspiring Spirit did not wholly prevent the manifestation of the prophet's personal qualities, just as He acted in harmony with the mental characteristics of the ancient prophets. But the apostle was wrapt in ecstasy. His mind was passive rather than active. It *received* impressions. The power of reflection was not put forth. Ideas were presented to him in a peculiar manner; and he had little more to do than record them as they were presented. He heard words, and he had to write them.

Thus, the peculiar state in which the writer was, the things presented to his vision, and the mode of their exhibition, afforded little room for the exercise of his mental qualities. The prophets were at times in a condition somewhat similar. But they were not in it so continuously as John was. Besides, the things presented to them were not so unearthly as those now seen. Their poetry is less sublime, less ethereal, *more historical* than the apostle's. The unapproachable grandeur of the latter proves that the writer was less under the influence of his own reflectiveness. The extraordinary power of the divine Spirit carried him away.

3. The references to the Jews, in the epistles to the churches at Smyrna and Philadelphia, shew that Judaism had not then fallen from its power and glory.

In the epistle to the church at Smyrna, some persons boasted that they were Jews, calumniated the members, and bore themselves haughtily as the peculiar people of God, all others being aliens in their sight. This was natural before the destruction of Jerusalem. But afterwards, when the observances of Judaism became an impossibility, such conduct would be most unnatural.

This argument presupposes that the word *Jews* is to be taken literally, whereas Vitringa and others understand it in the sense of *Christians*, relying on the christian explanation attached to the *seven lamps* as a part of the temple scenery.

The church at Philadelphia is referred to in the same way. It is declared that there will soon be such a manifestation of the divine favour towards the christians, that the Jews will be humbled and compelled to confess that the prosperity they had lost was transferred to the christians. Now nothing could teach this so effectually as the destruction of Jerusalem.[t] Here again the same sense of the appellation *Jews* is presupposed.

It appears to us better and more natural, to take the appellation *Jews* literally. That it means *false professing christians* is very questionable. This being the case, it remains to be considered whether the true explanation of the passages, in the epistles to the Smyrnians and Philadelphians, relating to the Jews, fairly implies the existence of Jerusalem and the Jewish polity. To the church at Smyrna it is said: "I know the blasphemy of them which say they are *Jews*, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan." If the term blasphemy mean *false accusation* or *calumny* directed against the christians by such as were not Jews in the spiritual sense affixed to the title by Paul (Romans ii. 28, 29), then surely there is nothing in the words inconsistent with the fact that certain Jews in Asia Minor endeavoured to excite the hatred of the heathen against the christian believers, by misrepresenting and maligning them. The manner in which the Jews acted at the martyrdom of Polycarp, evinces their disposition even after Jerusalem had been destroyed. When they were unable to persecute, they calumniated. To the church at Philadelphia it is said: "I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie, to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee." These words also convey no meaning which forbids their application to several Jews posterior to the downfall of Jerusalem. That such persons should be brought humbly and reverently to acknowledge christians as composing the one true church of the Lord, need not find its fulfilment in the overthrow of Jerusalem. It would be by their conversion. In this way their spirit would be changed.

4. The references to persecution in the epistles shew that they were written before much had been endured by the churches. The church of Smyrna is told that a brief period of suffering is

[t] See Biblical Review, vol. i. pp. 179, 180.

at hand. The special mention of one who had suffered martyrdom at Pergamos, indicates that such cases were very rare.[v]

But we have shewn already, and it is not here denied, that there had been persecution. Now history fails to confirm the fact that there was persecution at all in the provinces during Nero's reign. It is true that the church of Smyrna is told of a brief period of suffering being at hand; but that church is also said to have had *tribulation* and *poverty*. Because Antipas is specially mentioned, it does not follow that cases of martyrdom were very rare. Rather does it follow, that he was a person of unusual prominence and importance. Again, it rests on a mistaken interpretation of the word *temptation*, to affirm that the church of Smyrna is informed of a *period of general calamity* soon coming to all the world. *Temptation* does not mean here *persecution*, as some have supposed.

5. The correspondence of some predictions of the Apocalypse with those respecting the fall of Jerusalem, shews that they also have the same reference. Thus Rev. i. 7, is compared with Mat. xxiv. 30; Rev. vi. 12, with Mat. xxiv. 29; Rev. vi. 16, with Luke xxiii. 30.[w]

Here the symbols are certainly similar. But it is a mere *petitio principii* to affirm that they refer to the one catastrophe. We are disposed to believe that the passages in the Apocalypse do not allude to Jerusalem's downfall.

6. The description of the *Jewish christians*, in the seventh chapter, is said to confirm the same conclusion. The sealed ones out of *the tribes of Israel* cannot mean any but christian Jews.[x]

But Israel should not be taken here as the *literal* Israel. Rather does it mean the *spiritual* Israel, the true christian church. This appears from the omission of the tribe of Dan.

7. In the eleventh chapter, John is commanded to *measure the temple and the altar.* Mention is also made of *the city where our Lord was crucified.*[y]

But it is tolerably clear that the temple is a symbol of *the church.* And that *the city where our Lord was crucified* called

[v] See Biblical Review, vol. i. p. 180. [w] Ibid. p. 181.

[x] Stuart's Commentary on the Apocalypse, vol. i. p. 274.

[y] See De Wette, Einleit. p. 382, section 187.

also *the great city*, and *spiritually* Egypt and Sodom, does not mean *the literal* Jerusalem has been shewn by many.[z] The word must be taken *figuratively* to mean *the church corrupted*, in which the Lord is crucified afresh.[a]

8. Another argument in favour of the early date is derived from the thirteenth and seventeenth chapters. In the latter we read: "And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." Here it is thought to be indicated that five kings or emperors had already fallen, one was then reigning, and the other had not yet come. Consequently the visions were seen in the time of the sixth, who was either Galba, or Nero, or Vespasian, according to different computations. *The beast that was and is not*, is explained to be Nero. In the former chapter, *the beast that rises up out of the sea* and had a deadly wound, is identified with the beast that was and is not, *i.e.* with Nero the Roman emperor.[b]

But there are many serious objections to this view. The most obvious is, that heads or kings cannot mean individual kings, but kingdoms or monarchies. This is agreeable to analogy, for in Daniel vii. 6; viii. 22; the beast's heads are not individual kings. It is also favoured by the corresponding symbol, *mountains*. In like manner the ten horns or kings mentioned in the twelfth verse, mean *kingdoms*. Other objections fatal to the exposition in question, are presented by Elliott and Hengstenberg.

9. The many false Apocalypses, as those of Peter, Paul, Thomas, Stephen, etc., corroborate the opinion that the Apocalypse was written very early. Cerinthus wrote his revelations in imitation of John's, and yet he died before John. So Sir Isaac Newton and Tilloch reason. Here it is *assumed* both that Cerinthus lived so early as to withstand the apostles in the first council at Jerusalem; and that he died before John. This, however, is more than doubtful. Epiphanius is the witness in favour of the former; but his testimony is not trustworthy. We believe that Cerinthus is

[z] See Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, vol. iv. p. 512.

[a] Hengstenberg, Die Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes, u. s. w., v. i. p. 529.

[b] See Ewald's Commentarius in Apocalypsin Johannis, etc., p. 47, et seqq

placed too early by these writers. He belonged to the beginning of the second century.

10. Tilloch has argued at great length,[c] after Sir Isaac Newton, that many of the epistles furnish evidence of the priority of the Apocalypse to themselves. He finds in them direct quotations from the book, or allusions to it. The epistle to the Hebrews, those of Peter, the first to Timothy, the epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Romans, Corinthians, that of James, those to the Galatians and Thessalonians, those written by John himself, are pressed into the service. But the evidence they furnish is reluctantly extorted from them. The parallels in question are capable of another and better explanation. Tilloch has failed to prove that the one series of passages was derived from the other. There may be *similarity* without *imitation*. Coincidence of ideas and expressions does not at once shew borrowing. In several instances adduced, the Old Testament is the common source; in others, no proof of imitation appears. The one Fountain of inspiration is sufficient to explain the latter. Besides, there are insuperable difficulties in several of the epistles to the hypothesis, that they were written after A. D. 54 or 68.

An attentive examination of all the internal evidence which has been adduced in favour of the early and late dates respectively, leads us to the conclusion that the latter is the true one. The external testimonies on the same side greatly preponderate; nor does the internal series on behalf of the Neronic age, suffice to overthrow it. On the contrary, the internal on behalf of the Domitianic plainly agrees with the external; and both together are sufficient to convince us of the great probability attaching to the opinion of Irenaeus. We therefore assume A. D. 96, as the most probable date of John's residence in Patmos.

Were the visions *written* in Patmos, or after John's return to Ephesus? It has been thought that they were written *after he had been* in Patmos, because ἐγενόμην[d] is used in chap. i. 9, 10, and ἐμαρτύρησε in the second verse.[e] But the use of this tense

[c] Dissertations introductory to the study and right understanding of the language, structure, and contents of the Apocalypse, etc., pp. 48-125.

[d] See Bleek, Beiträge zur Evangelien Kritik, p. 82.

[e] See Woodhouse, Dissertation, p. 25, note.

does not overthrow the view of such as believe that he *wrote* as well as *saw* the visions in Patmos, and consequently does not prove that the Apocalypse was composed in Asia Minor. The time of *reading* not of *writing*, was in the author's mind. The latter would be past when the perusal of the book in the churches of Asia Minor would happen. Hence the use of the past tense (ἐμαρτύρησε), is explained in the second verse, without having recourse to the untenable assumption of Ebrard,[f] that it alludes to the writing of the fourth gospel. But the case of ἐγενόμην in the ninth verse cannot be accounted for on the same principle, because John could not tell if his sojourn in Patmos would be past before his revelations should be perused. The verb in the ninth verse is best explained on the ground of a loose connexion between the two clauses equivalent to, *when I was on the island Patmos, I was in the Spirit*, etc.; and in the tenth verse *I was* in the Spirit, the allusion is to the time of perusal. There is no good reason for supposing that John did not write down *immediately* the things that he saw, and with this idea the imperative *send* best agrees. The written document was *sent* from Patmos to Asia Minor.[g] It weighs nothing with us that Eichhorn, Bleek, and De Wette conjecture, that the place mentioned may be a poetical fiction. Even Ewald opposes that assumption. The introduction to the book is historical; and therefore Patmos must be the real island so called.

V. *Unity.*

Some writers have thought that the Apocalypse was written at different times by the same author, as Grotius, Hammond, and Bleek imagined: others, as Vogel, conceived that it proceeded from different authors. Dismemberment of this kind is now abandoned. No reasonable doubts of its unity can be entertained. The whole is regular in its structure, and one paragraph is so connected with another, that it must have proceeded from the same writer. If the nature of prophetic perspective be rightly understood, all will appear natural. John saw things past, present, and future at once. He did not need to wait for the progress of

[f] Wissenschaftliche Kritik, p. 1046.

[g] See Tinius, Die Offenbarung Johannis, u. s. w., Einleitung, p. 26, and Hengstenberg, vol. i. pp. 115, 116.

events; events were presented to his vision just as the Spirit willed. Hence the present tense is so frequent in place of the future. The hypotheses of Grotius, Vogel, and Bleek have been refuted by Lücke; and that of Hammond does not need the like examination.

The class of writings to which it belongs.

Pareus seems to have been the first who suggested the idea of its being a *dramatic* poem. The like opinion was also held by Hartwig. The genius of Eichhorn afterwards wrought out the suggestion into a theory pervaded by great symmetry and beauty. Hence the opinion that it forms a regular dramatic poem, is chiefly associated with his name. According to him the divisions are—

1. The title, i. 1-3.

2. The prologue, i. 4-iii. 22.

3. The drama, iv. 1-xxii. 5. From iv. 1-viii. 5, is the prelude, in which the scene and theatre are set forth.

The first act is the taking of Jerusalem, or the triumph of Christianity over Judaism, viii. 6-xii. 17.

The second Act is the taking of Rome, or the triumph of Christianity over Paganism, xii. 18-xx. 10.

The third act depicts the new Jerusalem descending from heaven, or the felicity which is to endure for ever, xx. 11-xxii. 5.

In the fourth place comes the epilogue, xxii. 6-21; (*a*) of the angel, xxii. 6; (*b*) of Jesus, xxii. 7-16 (*c*) of John, xxii. 16-20. The apostolical benediction, xxii. 21.

As this theory has not been followed by any expositor, it requires no refutation. It is exceedingly ingenious, but without foundation. The book is made up of something more than sublime scenery and fiction. The analogy of such Old Testament writings as bear the greatest resemblance to it determines that it is not a drama. The book contains *a prophetic poem.* Its diction, with some exceptions, is the diction of poetry. According to the rules of rhetoric, it nearly approaches *an epic.* Those who examine it well with a view to discover the arrangement and connexion of parts, will observe unity and artificiality in the disposition of the whole. As it resembles the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, especially Daniel, a thorough study of those Scriptures should precede the study of it. If the writer imitated

the utterances of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, and his language be strongly Hebraised, the interpreter of the book should be qualified by a familiar acquaintance with the symbols, imagery, diction, and spirit of the ancient prophets and poets.

VI. *The object for which it was originally written.*

The books of the New Testament were designed to promote the instruction of christians in all ages. They were written to teach, exhort, and reprove mankind. They do not belong to the class of ephemeral writings that have long since been fulfilled in the purpose for which they were at first composed. Their object was not merely a local or partial one. So it may be said of the Apocalypse. It is suited to all. "Blessed is he that readeth and they that hear the words of this prophecy." But this general characteristic is perfectly consistent with the fact, that it arose out of specific circumstances, and was originally meant to subserve a definite end. When first written, it was suited to the peculiar circumstances of the early christians. The times were troublous. Persecution had appeared in various forms. The followers of Christ were exposed to suffering for conscience sake. Their enemies were fierce against them. Comparatively few and feeble, the humble disciples of the Lamb seemed doomed to extinction. But the Apocalyptic writer was prompted to present to them such views as were adapted to encourage them to steadfastness in the faith—to comfort them in the midst of calamity—and to arm them with resolution to endure all the assaults of their foes. Exalted honours, glorious rewards, are set before the christian soldier who should endure to the end. A crown of victory—the approbation of the Redeemer—everlasting happiness;—these are prepared for the patient believer. In connexion with such representations, the final triumph of christianity and the Messiah's peaceful reign with his saints, form topics on which the seer dwells with emphatic earnestness (compare chap. i. 1-3; ii. 1; iii. 22; xxii. 6, 7, 10-17). The suffering christians of Domitian's reign may have sorrowfully thought that they should not be able to stand the shock of their bitter and bloody assailants, the power and policy of the world being leagued against them, but the writer's statements all tend to the conclusion that truth should

make progress, and the church, emerging out of all her struggles, wax stronger and stronger.

If this be the primary and principal aim of the book, it is obvious that we should not look in it for a history of the kingdoms of the world. It did not consist with the writer's object to compose a civil history of the Roman empire, or of the world at large. The genius of Christ's kingdom is different from that of the kingdoms of the world. It advances steadily and silently independently of, and frequently in opposition to them. Nor does it exhibit a history of the true church itself. The powers of darkness and the malice of superstition with which it had to struggle in early times are indicated, as well as the agencies opposed to it at all times, but there is no regular or proper history.

In speaking of *the writer's design* in the Apocalypse, it would perhaps be more accurate to notice the scope and tendency of the book *apart from John.* It is probable, that he wrote simply in obedience to the command given him, without having himself any definite purpose or clear understanding of the visions he saw. The Holy Spirit by whom he was prompted, had doubtless an important end in view, arising out of local circumstances and extending into far distant time; but it is questionable whether the apostle wrote with all the calmness, self-possession, and collectedness of purpose he had at other times, and which his fellow-apostles must also have had, while writing and preaching.

VII. *Schemes of interpretation.*

There are four leading schemes of Apocalyptic interpretation.

First, that called *the Preterist*, according to which the book refers to the triumphs of Christianity over Judaism and Paganism, represented chiefly by the downfall of Jerusalem and of heathen Rome. This scheme has been adopted alike by Roman Catholic and Protestant expositors, including Bossuet, Grotius, Hammond, Wetstein, Eichhorn, Heinrichs, Scholz, Ewald, Lücke, Schumann, De Wette, Stuart, Lee, Hug.

Secondly, *the Continuous*, agreeably to which the book presents a progressive history, of which many things are accomplished, and others not. This has been the most common view, and is held by the numerous writers who embrace the year-day theory,

such as Mede, Brightman, Sir Isaac Newton, Vitringa, Daubuz, Woodhouse, Faber, Cuninghame, Bickersteth, Birks, Elliott, etc.

Thirdly, *the simple Futurist*, according to which the first three chapters relate to actual churches existing in Asia Minor in the days of the writer, while the remaining prophecies refer to events yet future which are to precede or accompany the Redeemer's second coming. This is held by Burgh, Maitland, Benj. Newton, Todd, etc. Here also some may think belongs Züllig, who calls the substance of the book *prophetic eschatology*. But he cannot at all be classed with these expositors, although maintaining *the eschatology* of the book, because he supposes that *the eschatology* of it is exhausted by the speedy coming of Messiah to destroy Jerusalem and the Jewish state, and to set up his kingdom. In connexion with this are propounded most erroneous views of portions belonging to the Apocalypse, the form in which it is cast, and the current opinions of the apostles and others of that day supposed to be reflected in it. The commentator indulges in the most arbitrary hypotheses, which to say the least, are contrary to the character of apostles, specially of John.[h]

Fourthly, *the extreme Futurist*, agreeably to which *the whole book*, including the description of the seven churches, refers to what is still future. The seven churches are supposed to be bodies of Jews formed *after* the first resurrection. This view has been maintained by the Rev. James Kelly, and by several Irish writers.

Rejecting the last as too extravagant to be regarded, the first three claim attention; and accordingly most writers adopt one or other of them.

1. Among the expositors of this class there is a diversity of opinion in the details of their system. Thus Herder, Koppe, and others confine the body of the work to a description of the downfall of the Jewish state; while Ewald, on the other hand, restricts it to Rome and her emperors. Most however assume that the downfall of Paganism as well as of Judaism is sketched. "Some again contract the *Jewish* part of the scheme, so as only to embrace the last Jewish wars waged after Domitian's time by Trajan and Adrian; others insist chiefly on Titus' previous de-

[h] See Die Offenbarung Johannis vollständig erklärt, Einleitung.

struction of Jerusalem. Again, in regard of *heathen Rome's* part in it, some conceive the prophecy to embrace the whole 400 years of Roman imperial history, from Domitian to Rome's completed destruction by the Goths; others contract it mainly within the times of Nero, Vespasian, and Titus."[i]

There are difficulties attaching to this scheme which induce us to refrain from adopting it. The most formidable are such as these, which cannot be more than mentioned in the present place.

(*a*) The time when the Apocalypse was written plainly precludes allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem as future. That catastrophe was past about twenty years.

(*b*) Fulfilled prophecies commonly cease to be obscure. They are rendered perspicuous by the accomplishment. They are appealed to as bulwarks of the christian faith. And why is not the body of the Apocalyptic predictions so referred to? If they have been long ago fulfilled, why are they as obscure as ever? Why are they not quoted, like other accomplished prophecies, in controversy with infidels?

(*c*) Those that were to suffer the plagues enumerated cannot have been Jews, as is believed by the Preterists, because they are described as idolaters in Revel. ix. 20. It is well known, that the Jews abhorred this sin. The description fairly applies to *Gentiles alone*, not to Jews, as Ewald candidly allows and asserts.[k]

(*d*) The two *christian* witnesses described in the eleventh chapter are slain by the Jews in Jerusalem, according to this scheme. But this fact wants support. The christians fled from Jerusalem when the Roman army approached it. The Jews, even had they been so disposed, did not slay christian witnesses in their metropolis. History is wholly silent in regard to the Jews' persecution of christians at the time indicated; and indeed the fact is quite improbable.

(*e*) These interpreters give no consistent and probable explanation of the first two verses of the eleventh chapter: "And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. But the court which is without the

[i] Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, vol. iv. p. 489.

[k] See his Commentarius exegeticus et criticus, etc., p. 186.

temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months." According to Stuart, who states that he follows Eichhorn in the present case, the language prefigures *the preservation of all which was fundamental and essential in the ancient religion.*[1] The outer court denotes *the temporary part* of the Jewish religion; the temple, the altar, and the worshippers its *fundamental part.* But in explaining the words immediately succeeding he says, that *the destruction* of the city and temple of Jerusalem is threatened, and was literally fulfilled by the Roman army in the space of forty-two months. Here there is a blending of the literal and the figurative totally incongruous and inconsistent. If the Gentiles treading the city mean its capture by the Romans; the temple was certainly destroyed at the same time. The destruction of the city was the destruction of the temple. Yet the temple is understood *in a figurative sense*, and the holy city (which included the temple) *literally.* Those who take Jerusalem literally, as the Preterists do, should take the temple also literally, because it constituted a part of the city. Or, taking the temple and its court figuratively, they should apply a spiritual sense to the holy city.[m]

(*f*) The two supposed portions of the book relating to the two catastrophes of Jerusalem and Rome are so closely interwoven with each other, as to forbid their application to two different subjects. This was seen long ago by Ewald, who argues that Rome and the Caesars are the one topic of the prophecies.[n] The beast described in the seventeenth chapter (verse 8, etc.) is confessedly identical with the beast described at the commencement of the thirteenth; and it is tolerably clear that the latter is the same with the beast mentioned in the seventh verse of the eleventh chapter. Hence, if Rome be the seat of the beast spoken of in the seventeenth chapter, as all must admit, *the same place* must be applied to the beast in the eleventh chapter.

(*g*) The times of the supposed Jewish and Roman catastrophes are not set forth in their natural order. "The former is supposed

[1] Commentary on the Apocalypse, vol. ii. p. 214.

[m] See Hofmann, Weissagung und Erfüllung, vol. ii. p. 301, et seqq.

[n] Commentarius exegeticus et criticus, etc., pp. 28, 29.

by the Preterists to be first set forth, and the Roman figured afterwards; whereas the chronological order of the two events was in fact just the reverse: the Roman persecution of christians and quickly consequent fall of Nero, preceding the fall of Jerusalem."[o]

These are the most obvious phenomena which lie against the Preterist scheme, constituting very serious difficulties in the way of its reception. Others will present themselves to the inquirer as perhaps equally strong. Elliott has endeavoured to refute it after his own fashion, with considerable dogmatism, ability, and success.

2. Writers belonging to the second class differ in various particulars from one another, especially as to whether the Apocalypse contains *continuous* or *synchronous* prophecies. They are also divided in opinion as to whether the sixth seal relate to the reign of Constantine, or to the French Revolution of 1790-94.

In this scheme also great difficulties are inherent. We shall mention a few of them.

(*a*) It is a principle of interpretation with these expositors that *a day* in symbolical prophecies stands for *a year*. To us it seems that such an extension of the meaning belonging to the term is incorrect. No conclusive proof of it has been given. It is unwarrantable to take *a day* for *a year*.

(*b*) Another difficulty lying against the reception of this scheme is identical with that already noticed as an objection to the preceding one. The absence of appeal to a great part of the Apocalypse as already past, in controversy with infidels, shews, that the fulfilment has not made the predictions clear. "We point the infidel," says Maitland, "to the captive Jew, and the wandering Arab; but who challenges him with the slain witnesses? We set before him the predicted triumphs of Cyrus; but do we expect his conversion from the French Revolution and the conquests of Napoleon? We send him to muse on the ruined city of David, and to search for the desolate site of Babylon; but who builds his argument on the opened seals of the Apocalypse? And why is this? I do not speak hastily, and I would not speak uncharitably—but I cannot suppress my conviction that it is because the necessity of

[o] Elliott, vol. iv. p. 513.

filling up a period of 1260 years has led to such forced interpretation of language, and to such a constrained acquiescence in what is unsatisfactory to sound jndgment, that we should be afraid not only of incurring his ridicule, but of his claiming the same licence which we have ourselves been obliged to assume."[p]

(*c*) This scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation assumes, that one of the beasts described in the thirteenth chapter represents the Roman popes, either the ten-horned wild beast, or rather its ruling head, as Elliott thinks; or the lamb-like two-horned wild beast, as Faber, Cuninghame, Bickersteth, etc., believe. It also assumes, that the little horn of the beast described by Daniel (chap. vii.) is identical with the eighth and last head of the Apocalyptic wild beast, both meaning the popes. In like manner, it is assumed, that these wild beasts of Daniel and the Apocalypse, or rather the last ruling head or horn of one and the other, are identical with Paul's man of sin and the antichrist of John's epistles, meaning *the succession of popes*.

Here is a series of assumptions which need cogent proof. Such proof has been often attempted. But we are persuaded that it has failed. We do not believe that the papacy is prefigured by the Apocalyptic beast described in the thirteenth and seventeenth chapters of the book before us, or by any part of those beasts. As Hengstenberg, who has ably refuted this hypothesis, justly says, "the Holy Spirit would be a very bad painter, if he portrayed the papacy in such a way."[q] *Forced interpretations* may *appear* to make the descriptions of the seer suit the papal power; but they agree with it badly.

As little do we believe, that the papacy is to be found in the little horn of Daniel's beast, in the man of sin predicted by Paul, or the antichrist of John. Here again commentators have laboured hard to make the characteristics suit popery; but with little success. Maitland has proved, that the saints have never been delivered into the hands of the pope or the papacy in such a way as the prophecy in the seventh chapter of Daniel requires; that the papacy has *not* the peculiar characteristic marks of the apostasy predicted by Paul in the second epistle to the

[p] First Enquiry, p. 71, second edition.

[q] Die Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes, u. s. w., vol. ii. part 1, p. 81.

Thessalonians, the first epistle to Timothy,[r] and in the prophecies respecting Antichrist.[s] Though it is probable that we do not agree with this learned writer in his view of the persons or things to which these several prophecies relate, we concur with him in denying their applicability to the papacy. Protestantism is injured by such weapons. They cannot stand the test of truth.

(*d*) It is impossible to make out the 1260 years' reign of Antichrist, which form an important part of this scheme. Interpreters have not even approached to agreement respecting the commencement of the period. They differ among themselves *by three centuries* in dating its commencement. The period is doubtless *apocryphal.*

(*e*) Taking Elliott's interpretation of the sixth seal, by which the conversion of Constantine and triumph of christianity over paganism are said to be prefigured (and this is the preferable exposition of the *Continuous* expositors), we believe that every impartial inquirer must reject the scheme that resorts to such methods of elucidating scripture language. "Does Mr. Elliott," asks an esteemed writer, "really believe, that there was one living pagan throughout the whole Roman earth, who thought, when Constantine assumed the profession of christianity, that the day of the Lamb's wrath was come? Why, they did not believe even in the existence of the Lamb of God. How then can it be said that 'EVERY bondman and freeman,' as well as the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the chief captains, and the rich men, and the mighty men, hid themselves in the caves, and in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains and the rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb? It is language thoroughly inapplicable to the days of Constantine; for then not only was there no general wail, but the shield of imperial protection was thrown even over paganism itself. It was anything rather than a day of general woe."[t] This language is accordant with the testimony of every good historian. Milman states that "all historical records strongly

[r] See his Second Enquiry, pp. 90-136.

[s] See his Attempt to elucidate the Prophecies concerning Antichrist.

[t] Newton, in First Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry, pp. 160, 161, second edition.

confirm the opinion that paganism was openly professed; its temples restored; its rites celebrated; neither was its priesthood degraded from their immunities, nor the estates belonging to the temples generally alienated: in short, that it was the public religion of a great part of the empire, and still confronted christianity, if not on equal terms, still with pertinacious resistance, down to the reign of Theodosius, and even that of his sons."[v]

3. Though the third scheme of interpretation be more plausible than either of the preceding, yet there are difficulties connected with it also, which are of considerable magnitude, and will always prevent its general reception.

(*a*) John wrote, in the first instance, for the benefit and consolation of the early christians who were suffering under Domitian's tyranny. But if the writer goes at once in the sixth chapter to describe events immediately preceding the coming of the Lord—if he directs the thoughts of his readers at once to the far distant future, the comfort must have been exceedingly small. In that case, the period to which his descriptions referred was remote. No *immediate* relief was announced. It is true that his readers *were ignorant* of the fact that the Redeemer's advent was far distant; and therefore it may be alleged they were in a position equivalent to that occupied by the christians who will be *in point of fact* near the great event; but if God be sincere in His announcements, He must speak of things *as they are in themselves*, and not as men *erroneously or ignorantly judge of them*. The analogy of prophetic literature is opposed to the Futurist scheme. The circumstances and wants of the time at which a prophet writes are always regarded. He commences with them. They form the starting-point of his announcements. They are primary in his purpose. It is by them that his contemporaries are encouraged, strengthened, warned, threatened.

(*b*) Certain passages in the book itself appear not to agree with the scheme. Thus we find at the very commencement: "The Revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants *things which must shortly come to pass*." In like manner: "Behold, I come *quickly*" (xxii. 7). This is repeated in the twelfth and twentieth verses of the same chapter.

[v] History of Christianity, American edition, p. 323.

Surely such language shews that the fulfilment was at hand. Nor is it sufficient to say that the fulfilment should *soon commence*, to be continued for a long series of years or ages. It is also vain to neutralise the force of the statements by referring to *the divine* measure of time, "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day," because in addressing men, the Deity must employ language suited to their conceptions, not such as could only lead them astray.[w]

In opposition to this, it has been thought that the book intimates the period to which the events described in it specially relate. The apostle says of himself: "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day," *i. e.* as explained by Maitland, the apostle was carried forward in spirit to that period which is called in various parts of Scripture "the day of the Lord," and by John, "the Lord's day," and enabled and directed to describe what shall then come to pass.[x] But this version of the apostle's words is doubtful, because it violates literal propriety, and also because the phrase ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα is not applied, either in the Septuagint or New Testament, to *the day of judgment.* Clement of Alexandria applies it to Sunday or the christian Sabbath; and Tertullian employs its equivalent *dies dominicus* in the same sense.

(*c*) To take the *Apocalyptic Israel* literally, involves the interpreter in improbabilities and inconsistencies. Accordingly Burgh inconsistently makes the worshippers in the Jewish temple *christian converts*, not *Jews;* and interprets *the new Jerusalem* described in chap. xxi. with *the names of the twelve tribes of Israel written on the twelve gates* of the whole church in final blessedness.

(*d*) Very many of the literalities required and held by this scheme appear incongruous with the general style of the book, and therefore untenable. Thus Babylon is taken literally for the city of that name on the Euphrates;[y] whereas nothing appears more certain than that it denotes Rome. The marks by which the city is distinguished point to *heathen Rome*, and none other. Hence it is written, "Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her," shewing that

[w] See Michaelis's Introduction, by Marsh, vol. iv. pp. 503, 504.

[x] Letter to the Rev. Wm. Digby, pp. 46, 47.

[y] See Newton's Second Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry.

holy apostles and prophets had been slain or persecuted by her. The connexion of Babylon with seven mountains also shews, that Rome alone is meant; for we cannot accept of Mr. Newton's explanation which resolves the seven mountains into "*all* the concentrations of governmental influence"[z] that are to belong to the literal Babylon.

Such are a few of the objections that seem to us prejudicial to the Futurist scheme—a scheme which has many advantages over the Preterist and the Continuous, did the choice necessarily lie between one or other of them. We feel disinclined to adopt any of the rival hypotheses, till they be better supported.

But it is easier to find defects in prevailing schemes of Apocalyptic interpretation than to propose a new and better one. We may see the errors inherent in them, without being able to shew a more excellent way.

It remains for us briefly to indicate our own views of the Apocalypse. The book may be called a *prophetic poem*. As the predictions of the Hebrew prophets were generally written in the poetical style, so those of John, the only one of the apostles who claims the name of prophet in the old sense, are essentially poetical. In accordance with this fact, the Apocalypse has the distinguishing characteristics of Hebrew poetry, viz. parallelism in the three species of it described by Lowth and Jebb; a general equality in the parallel lines associated with one another; and the division of the whole into a regular number of parts, most commonly three.[a]

If the book be a *prophetic poem*, its descriptions are of a general character, expressive only of the nature and magnitude of the subject. Great exactness and a formal display of minute circumstances should not be looked for in them. The imagery is varied and copious, well fitted to strike and impress the reader's mind; but it should always be remembered, that it *is poetic* imagery.

Again, it appears to us very unlikely that the history of the church universal is depicted. Some expositors go so far even as to find an epitome of the church's entire history in the epistles to the seven churches; others find it in the rest of the book. Agree-

[z] See Newton's Second Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry, p. 87.

[a] See Züllig, Die Offenbarung Johannis, u. s. w., p. 81, et seqq.

ably to such a notion, particular events are assigned to particular periods; persons are specified, peoples are characterised, and names assigned with considerable particularity. The ablest interpreters, after this fashion, are Vitringa, Mede, Faber, and Elliott; but the entire plan of proceeding leads to endless confusion. The attempt to identify the successive events of history with the successive descriptions of the prophecies appears to us utterly hopeless. It amounts to nothing except ingenious guessing. Probably the book was not intended to portray proper *history*. Its symbols were not designed to shew forth the specific fates and fortunes of christianity as it came in contact with the fortunes of kings, and emperors, and leading ecclesiastics in the western and eastern empires. The supposed harmony of history with prophecy, which the Apocalypse is alleged to shew, is wholly futile. Hence we do not find with the *Preterists* even so much as a number of Roman emperors in the book; much less a description of Jerusalem's overthrow and certain events connected with or resulting from it. Neither can we, with the *Futurists*, look for a literal fulfilment of the various particulars detailed in the prophecies of it. Equally vain is it for the *Continuous* expositors to look in it for "the continuous fortunes of the church and of the world, that is, of the Roman world and christian church settled therein from the time of the revelation being given, to the end of all things."[b] Both the Continuous and Futurist expositors overlook the fact that it is *a poem*, and as such is invested with the garniture and drapery of poetry. The traits and images generally, instead of being *historically* significant, are borrowed from the Old Testament, and serve for ornament, symmetry, and impression. They convey certain truths more effectively and forcibly. Analogous examples are furnished by many poetical parts of the Old Testament, and by the parables of the New, where it is absurd to look for corresponding events or circumstances in what was intended to serve merely for embellishment.

In accordance with these views, we cannot believe that the times were meant to be taken definitely and literally. They do not mark just *so many* days and years. They are *symbolic*, not *chronological* periods. The character of the Apocalypse being

[b] Elliott, vol. i. p. 110.

general and poetical, not chronological or particular, the numbers appear to be employed indefinitely. Certain numbers occur very often, such as seven and the half of it, ten, four, and twelve. All these are employed *poetically*, not *chronologically* and *definitely*; nor do we conceive that some are *definite*, others indefinite. Here we cannot agree either with the *Continuous* or *Futurist* expositors.[c]

Again, the principle of *synchronisms*, which interpreters since Mede and Vitringa have largely adopted, cannot be approved if their scheme of interpretation be correct. An explanation and defence of this principle have been given by Mede;[d] and the ingenious device of the learned writer has been followed by the great majority of English expositors. In this way the same events are said to be represented by a series of successive symbols, the symbols being varied, but the things intended by them remaining the same. Instead therefore of the book being continuously progressive, it is progressive and retrogressive throughout. Such a plan, unlike that of other prophetic books, is repugnant to the sober sense of every intelligent student. It introduces complexity sufficient to insure its rejection by those who are unwedded to systems. Not a hint of it is furnished by the writer himself. It was left for the ingenuity of after ages to decypher; and when discovered by "the father of prophetic interpretation," it is difficult even for the learned reader to understand it. There is no good reason for supposing that the symbols do not progress. Did we believe that they symbolised *definite events in history*, which we do not, we should certainly hold that those events are *successive*, not *synchronous*.

On *another scheme of interpretation*, we can readily believe that the vials, seals, and trumpets may not be successive. They may be *complementary*, as Hengstenberg supposes. But if they be so, the prophecies should not be understood as symbolising the leading events of history. They must shadow forth certain agencies which impede or advance the interests of the church of Christ. The description contained in them must be *general*, not *specific*.

[c] See Heinrichs's second excursus, De variis numeris, qui in Apocalypsi certo et definite expressi leguntur, vol. ii. p. 209, et seqq.; and especially Züllig, Einleit. p. 115, et seqq.

[d] Clavis Apocalyptica, in Works (fol. 1677), p. 419, et seqq.

Three cities are mentioned as the theatre of the sublime and terrible occurrences described; first, Sodom, the holy city, designated as the place where our Lord was crucified. This can mean none other than Jerusalem. Secondly, Babylon with its seven hills. This is Rome. Thirdly, the new Jerusalem. What is meant by these appellations? Jerusalem denotes the church, mystically called Sodom and Egypt on account of corruption. Defiled and impure, Christ being wounded and crucified within her, she is called Jerusalem. Rome represents the power of heathenism opposed to God, which had its seat and centre in that city. The *new Jerusalem* denotes the purified church consummated in blessedness.

The position of the millennium is a matter of great difficulty. Bush contends that it should be regarded as commencing somewhere between A. D. 395, and A. D. 450, terminating not far from the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A. D. 1453. The opinion of Hammond is not very dissimilar, viz. that the period reaches from Constantine's edict in favour of christianity, to the planting of Mohammedism in Greece by Othman. In either case the millennium is past.

In accordance with the opinion already advanced, we are disposed to think that the period in question is not meant to be literally and chronologically a thousand years. The number is put indefinitely. It points to a time when christianity had triumphed over paganism. Heathenism had been destroyed in the Roman empire. This leads to the ancient view, viz. that the period is *past*, not *future*. It will be observed, that the beast and the false prophet are both destroyed (chap. xix.), when this time commences (chap. xx). Now the beast cannot mean the papacy, as has been often assumed. It refers to *the heathen power* which was opposed to Christ and his religion. Hence the millennium began after the abolition of paganism in the Roman empire. And no evidence is wanting to shew that Satan is loose at present.

In regard to the period described in xxi., xxii., characterised by the new heavens, the new earth, and the new Jerusalem, we take it to denote the heavenly state, and the church in her perfected condition. We are quite aware of the opinion held by Hammond, Hug, Bush, and others, viz. that it describes a flourishing state of

the church *on earth*. Yet notwithstanding the ability with which it has been advocated by Bush,[e] there is a degree of unsatisfactoriness about it. The parallelisms instituted between John's description and Isaiah (liv. 11, 12; lx. 3, 11; lxv. 17-20,) is striking, but not demonstrative of that for which it is instituted. The imagery indeed is substantially the same; and probably the language of the New Testament seer was borrowed from Isaiah; but the strain of the former rises far higher than the sublime vision depicted by the ancient prophet.

VIII. *Its contents.*

The contents of the Apocalypse have been divided in many ways. The most opposite views of its structure have been taken. Having doubts whether John himself had a comprehensive view of the things he wrote, or that he meant to arrange them after a definite plan, we incline to distribute the whole into such parts as are indicated by the favourite numbers seven and three, especially the former.

First, there are seven epistles to the seven churches in Asia Minor, chapters i.-iii.

Secondly, there are seven seals, iv. 1-viii. 1.

Thirdly, seven trumpets sound, viii. 2-xi.

Fourthly, three enemies of God's church, viz. Satan, the beast, and the false prophet war against her, xii.-xiv.

Fifthly, seven vials are poured out, xv., xvi.

Sixthly, the three enemies of the church are overthrown, the beast, the false prophet, and Satan, are judged and overthrown, xvii.-xx.

Seventhly, the new or heavenly Jerusalem is described.

To enter upon the exposition of these parts is beyond our province. Perhaps it is beyond our ability to unfold their meaning. To interpret the Apocalypse aright is a difficult problem, which few can solve. One thing is certain, that very much has been *put into* the book out of the fancies, prejudices, likings, and dislikings of men. In the meantime, we are content to believe that the accomplishment of the various seals, trumpets, and vials, is not to be found in *specific events*. The subject of the seer

[e] See the Hierophant, p. 7, et seqq.

is the triumph of christianity *chiefly* and *primarily*, over heathenism, the persecuting, hostile power under which he himself and contemporary fellow-christians were suffering, and over other opposing tendencies and influences. The apostle describes the destruction of antichristianism—the triumph of christianity over it. This is the comprehensive scope of his predictions. The spirit of the world is symbolically represented as persecuting the followers of Christ. Its enmity to Him, and consequently to all who bear his name, is deep and determined. This personification of the antichristian world is equivalent, to a certain extent, to the genius of the Roman empire, or rather it includes it. It should not be limited to that, either in comprehension or duration. The hostility of heathen Rome to the true religion is embodied in the descriptions; but it does not exhaust their significance. They embrace the leading tendencies which are opposed *in their nature* to the peaceful victories and universal dominion of Christ's kingdom on earth. Prominent events at different periods of the church's history are not referred to, or they are referred to in an indefinite way if they be the consummation of agencies which have been and are in continuous operation against the progress of Messiah's kingdom.

In concluding this division of our subject, we cannot refrain from alluding to the work of Hengstenberg as the only one which in our view approaches the true scope and sense of the Apocalypse. That erudite commentator has had the sagacity and piety to trace the right lines of a correct interpretation.

THE END.

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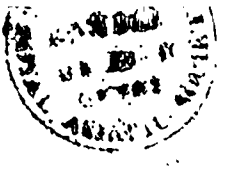

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 53, line 17, *for* Scheckenburger, *read* Schneckenburger, *et sic passim.*
,, 57, No. 4, *for* viii. *read* xviii.
,, ,, No. 7, *for* xv. 32, *read* xv. 13.
,, 146, ,, 6, *for* preeminence, *read* prominence.
,, 281, ,, 29, *insert a comma after* accuracy.
,, 309, ,, 28, *for* xiii. 8, *read* xiii. 18.

ERRATA IN VOL. II.

Page 16, note, *for* Scheckenburger, *read* Schneckenburger, *et sic passim.*
,, 32, line 5, *for* subjectively, *read* subjectivity.
,, 41, ,, 29, *for* first *read* second.
,, ,, ,, 33, *for* vi. *read* v.
,, 93, ,, 11, *for* temple, *read* city.
,, 136, ,, 18, *for* Schultness, *read* Schulthess
,, ,, ,, 29, *for* to slender, *read* too slender.
,, 207, ,, 5, *for* modern, *read* moral.
,, 210, ,, 21, *for* to, *read* at.
,, 217, ,, 10, *for* 14, *read* 13.
,, 220, ,, 1, *for* second, *read* first.
,, 229, ,, 19, *insert a point of interrogation after* authority.
,, 238, ,, 2, *dele* or.
,, ,, ,, 3, *before the words,* to the Christ-party, *insert* or.
,, 251, ,, 22, *for* xiii. *read* xiv.
,, 253, ,, 7, *for* x. *read* xii.
,, 279, ,, 5, *after the words,* It is manifest therefore, that according to the apostle, *omit the words following, and read,* each shall righteously receive according to the things he hath done in the body, whether good or bad, etc.
,, 341, ,, 7, *for* traditions, *read* transitions.
,, 452, ,, 17, *for* possibilia, *read* passibilia.

ERRATA IN VOL. III.

Page 251, line 9, *for* first, *read* second.
,, 279, ,, 7, *for* their, *read* its.
,, 469, ,, 21, *for* Corinthians, *read* Corinthians.
,, 631, ,, 3, *for* parallelisms, *read* parallelism.

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